



The Applied Anthropologist

ISSN 0882-4894

VOLUME 40

NUMBER 2

2020

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The Applied Anthropologist

Vol. 40

No. 2

2020

POINT-TO-POINT

PETER VAN ARSDALE

RESISTANCE AND RESPONSE

The theme of this special issue of *The Applied Anthropologist* is “resistance and response.” A gripping poem, four feature articles, and two commentaries address this from a variety of angles and perspectives. Yet a common thread runs through these contributions: genuine concern for people who have been threatened, oppressed, marginalized, colonized, displaced, overlooked. These issues are among those that applied anthropologists and sociologists are most adept at tackling. Field research is often our vehicle. We’re able to move from awareness, to action, to advocacy, all within the context of activism.

Resistance can take on many meanings and interpretations. In the extreme negative, at odds with the betterment of humankind, is the “resistance” seen in the actions of the late white supremacist Tom Metzger. His movement, White Aryan Resistance, played a role in attacking what he termed “nonwhite mud-races.” He built on his earlier role as a Grand Dragon of the Ku Klux Klan. Also in the negative, potentially impacting the American democratic process, was the “resistance” demonstrated by Donald Trump when Joe Biden was declared victorious in the 2020 presidential contest. Trump’s “other resistance,” to the numerous contributions made by immigrants and members of other diverse ethnic groups, has been well documented.

At the opposite extreme, in the betterment of humankind, is the resistance covered in this issue of our journal. To set the stage, I want to feature the activism of an anthropologist little-known to fellow anthropologists today. As reported in the June, 2020, issue of *Smithsonian*, Paul Rivet came to play a critical – yet largely secretive – role in the World War II Nazi counteroffensive network. As director of Paris’ Musée de l’Homme, Rivet’s efforts began in 1940. German troops were marching westward and Parisians were already fleeing the city in droves. He foresaw what would transpire at the hands of the Nazis. His work grew out of his extended academic and museum career. He had criticized racist ideas promoted by Germans – and even by some fellow anthropologists. Along with younger museum protégés, he organized one of the earliest French underground movements. Historian Julien Blanc, in 2010, wrote that the museum group “fed and watered the Resistance to come.”

As anthropologist and activist, Paul Rivet would later say: “Humanity is one indivisible whole throughout space and time.” This is a point similar to that made by Professor Glenn Morris of the University of Colorado – Denver. In a November, 2020, on-line seminar sponsored by the Coalition Against Global Genocide and the *Denver Urban Spectrum*, Morris noted the unity and indivisibility of Native Americans. He stressed that the fight against history’s largest genocide, that of indigenous peoples of the Americas, goes on. He also stressed that the recent protests at Standing Rock, where representatives of virtually every North American tribal nation stood with the Sioux, resisting the Dakota Access Pipeline, were seminal. The November seminar was timed to coincide with Native American Heritage Month, one theme of which was “resistance and endurance.”

Resistance recently touched an issue close to me, personally. Having conducted my doctoral work in the early 1970s in Papua, Indonesia (i.e., the western portion of the island of New Guinea), I observed the oppression and abuse of Papuans directly, at the hands of Javanese officials. Over recent decades the situation has not improved. Yet when Papuan students studying in Surabaya, Java, were taunted as “monkeys” in 2019, they resisted – and were aided by other young Indonesians. Resistance requires bold action, thoughtful discourse, and cross-ethnic unity.

Peter Van Arsdale, Ph.D., is Interim Editor (and former Editor-in-Chief) of The Applied Anthropologist. He recently retired from the University of Denver. He remains active, through Rotary International and other organizations, in humanitarian projects involving East Africa. His next book, Encounters, will be published in 2021.

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A GROWING-OLD SERMON FOR OUR TIME

DAVE STEPHENSON

The entry for June 15 in Abraham Lincoln's personally-autographed copy of *The Believer's Daily Treasure; or Texts of Scripture for every day of the year*:

"See then that ye walk circumspectly, not as fools, but, as wise. Redeeming the time, because the days are evil."

Ephesians V. 15, 16

A seventy-five-year-old
White man
Walked out on the street
One day
Amidst a cacophony of chatter
To say
Loudly and clearly,
"Black Lives Matter."

This elderly man
Was then
Shoved.
He then fell
On his back,
Cracked his head,
And bled.

A younger man
In a uniform
Had shoved
The elderly man
Using a club,
And left the shoved,
Elderly man,
Unconscious,
Lying
In a pool of blood, while
In formation,
With other uniformed,
Shielded
Men with clubs,
The younger, uniformed man
Uncaring,
Walked right by
The elderly man,

And all of the uniformed men,
In formation, walked right by, and
Left that elderly man
In that pool of blood.

Another elderly white man,
Our President,
Then lied,
As he is prone
To do,
And said,
That that other elderly white man
Had fallen and cracked his head
On purpose
To stir
Violence
And wrongfully protest
A peaceful procession, while

The elderly man,
Who had been shoved,
Days later, was
Lying
In a hospital bed.

Meanwhile,
Across the country, and
Around the world,
Tens of thousands of
Elderly men and
Women
Of all races and creeds
Are falling dead
From a pandemic,
In places where they are
Supposed
To be safe,
In places where
They have been shoved,
By circumstances,
Of old age, while

Most of the rest
Of us,
Who are younger,
Just walk by.

Many of these elderly men
And women
Who are unsafe in the "safe" places
Where they have been shoved
Share, along with hundreds of other
Elderly men and women who have been shoved
On to American Indian reservations,
And into Reserves in the Amazon rainforest,
And on to and into many other supposedly safe,
But unsafe, places
On our Earth,

An accumulated wealth of invaluable knowledge
About the ways of our world
And immeasurably valuable
Kernels of wisdom.

But all of these elderly people,
All over the world, also
Share the threat of
Having their lives suddenly
Cut short
By a heartless pandemic
And thus
With the threat of
Forcing their families and loved ones
To carry on
Without a chance
To call on
The invaluable, accumulated
Knowledge and wisdom
Of their suddenly departed
Elderly
Relatives and
Loved ones.

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A Growing-old Sermon...

And most of us
Just continue to
Walk by.

I know of a seventy-one-year-old woman
In a small town nearby
Who had a recent history of cancer and,
Due to pain from a variety of physical ailments,
Could not sleep.

So she went outside to ask if the loud band
That was playing
Could play
More quietly.

And a young, strong man
In uniform,
Then, instead of listening
To this elderly woman
And getting to know her pain,
Violently threw her
To the ground.

And this elderly woman
Ended up also
Lying
In a hospital bed.

That elderly woman
Is now seventy-three.
She was so traumatized by
Her violent encounter with the
The young, strong man
In uniform,
That she has moved.

She was shoved from
Her home
Because it had become
An unsafe place.

Meanwhile, the same man in uniform,
Continues to patrol the same small town
In the same place,
And, when he comes to that place
Where he violently threw
The elderly woman
To the ground,
He continues
To walk by.

That seventy-five-year-old
Elderly white man
Whose head had bled
Has been released
From the hospital,
And, when later asked about
What our President said,
When the President lied,
Said only what was true,
"Black Lives Matter,"
And thereby implied
Old lives do still, too.

I had a doctor
Who once said,
"The truth is that
Growing old
Is better
Than the alternative."

As I turn seventy, though,
I now know
Another truth:
Our world needs
Better alternatives
For those
Who grow
Old.

Amidst the cacophony
Of contemporary chatter,
What still needs to be told
Is both that
Black Lives Matter,
And so do the lives
Of all of us who
Grow old.

Author's note: After writing this poem, I learned on June 17, 2020, that one of the most iconic defenders of the Amazon rainforest and of the Indigenous peoples who reside there, internationally-renowned Kayapo Chief Paiakan, had just died at the age of sixty-five from the COVID-19 virus. Chief Paiakan was a close friend and ally of my close friend, colleague, and mentor, Oxford University Anthropologist Darrell A. Posey, who passed away from brain cancer in 2001. I met with Chief Paiakan and other Kayapo in Belém, Brazil, at the mouth of the Amazon river, in August, 2018, to celebrate the opening of a museum exhibition in honor of Darrell. For more information about Chief Paiakan see <https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2020/06/18/ionic-amazon-indigenous-chief-paiakan-dies-of-virus.html>.

Dave Stephenson is both a lawyer (J.D., University of Denver College of Law 1984) and an applied sociocultural anthropologist (Ph.D., University of Colorado 1982; M.A. 1975). He received his undergraduate education from Dartmouth College (A.B., with distinction, 1972). Dave has over thirty years of international public and private sector experience in cross-cultural socioeconomic analysis and consulting. He also has successfully tried numerous cases in state and federal courts throughout the United States and several American Indian tribal courts, and has testified internationally as an expert on international human rights law, intellectual property law, and cultural heritage law. He has served as an officer and board member of numerous international professional organizations and currently is on the Board of the Ved Nanda Center for International and Comparative Law. He is Of Counsel with Insigne LLP, a boutique, international law firm (www.insigne.law) and resides in Colorado. He can be reached at: david.thunderlaw@gmail.com.



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Vol. 40
No. 2
2020

DE-PIONEERING HIGHER EDUCATION AND LAND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

MADISON DILLARD, SARAH BEALS, ROSA GUTIERREZ,
SAMANTHA GILMORE, AND LUCOR JORDAN

ABSTRACT

This multi-authored article investigates how institutions theorize themselves through the pervasive cultural construct of the *pioneer*. Examples from Denver and Colorado are emphasized. Further problematizing the myth building and legitimization of authority of institutions of higher education within the settler state by unpacking the concept *settler colonialism*, the authors recognize it as a persisting structure rather than as a historic event. Through this, the contemporary practice of settler land acknowledgement is analyzed and interrogated within the context of both historical and continuous pioneer violence; next steps for land acknowledgements are then framed by Eve Tuck's *desire-based research model*.

KEY WORDS: Settler Colonialism, Land Acknowledgement, Higher Education, Decolonizing, Genocide, Pioneer

Introduction

Universities in the United States are, at their heart, settler institutions. Their social and cultural status as loci of expertise and “true” knowledge, as well as their possession of often sprawling grounds are direct consequences of their relationship with the structure of *settler colonialism*. Settler colonialism “is a persistent social and political formation in which newcomers/colonizers/settlers come to a place, claim it as their own, and do whatever it takes to disappear the Indigenous peoples that are there” (Arvin, Tuck, and Morrill 2013, 12). And at the very center of the settler mythos of possession is an idea that there is a point along the continuum of settler colonialism which, as Sherman Alexie argues “[i]n the Great American Indian novel, when it is finally written, all of the white people will be Indians, and all the Indians will be ghosts,” or more simply the fate for Indigenous peoples within US manifest destiny is to become increasingly less Indigenous, and as such to have diminishing claim on land. In this narrative, the settler, by virtue of time of occupancy and erasure of Indigeneity, becomes the rightful and “native” owners of the land—thus being in a position to acknowledge the tragedy of settlement as a finite and irrevocable event, which in acknowledging, does not challenge settler institutions monopoly on power, privilege and possession.

However, when discussing the concept of power, privilege and possession within settler colonialist structures, these concepts must stop being “un-marked” terms. It is articulated by Maile Arvin, Eve Tuck, and Angie Morrill in *Decolonizing Feminism: Challenging Connections between Settler Colonialism and Heteropatriarchy*, that one of the foundational constructs which supports the structure of settler colonialism is the heteropatriarchy/heteropaternalism. These each serve to reify a heteronormative social structure in which straight male actants are the unquestioned center of social, political, and familial authority. Men have power, men own, and men have a say, and the colonial heteropatriarchy is white. Within a settler colonial paradigm, non-settler—and most often non-white—groups and individuals are pressed into power dynamics which define them as emasculated or immature, and thus in need of paternalistic authority. The heteropatriarchy also inscribes itself as a universality upon non-western Peoples’ ignoring the potential for non-binary or fluid constructs of gender or the presence of matriarchies and egalitarian social structures which are common in Indigenous North American, and African/African American cultures.

Drawing from these masculinized settler world views, institutions of higher education have for centuries built their institutional narratives with rhetoric that reflects these ideas; central to the mythos is the construct of the “pioneer.” Schools “pioneer” research, and create “pioneers” of their fields, ready to spread pedagogy and epistemology as literal colonizers of the mind. As schools invent themselves as bastions upon the frontiers of knowledge, they incorporate violent language tied to settler colonial origins, as well as overt and implicit symbolism of white supremacy that mark the everyday and the epic of their organization. This supersedes the declarations of being inclusive institutions that find excellence through their commitment to diversity; institutions fundamentally cannot uphold inclusion and diversity while simultaneously upholding colonialist rhetoric.

Pursuing a motif of a diverse community attempts to bring solidarity and requires a culturally diverse student body, staff, faculty, and curriculum in place; however, simply bringing diverse bodies into the institution will only serve to expose students and faculty to daily micro aggressions in an environment “grounded in cultural world views which are either antagonistic to other belief systems or have no methodology for dealing with other knowledge systems” (Smith 2012, 128). Marginalized students experience both internal and external hardships while pursuing higher education, and this impacts their academic success and health (O’Keefe and Greenfield 2019; Patterson Silver Wolf, Perkins, Zile-Tamsen, Butler-Barnes 2018). The root of many of these issues stems from colonial and settler practices that began during the construction of the nation when “pioneers” colonized the land. But just as colonial societies profit from reterritorialization of land, they also profit from appropriation of knowledge. And the process of this turning human beings into commodified knowledge is similarly extractive and damaging as the process of turning land into profit.

Hegel articulates a philosophical structure of appropriation of the other as a form of knowledge that uncannily simulates the project of nineteenth century imperialism; the construction of knowledges which operate through forms of expropriation and incorporation of the other mimics at a very conceptual level the geographical and economic absorption of the non-European world by the West (Smith 2012, 129).

Just as pioneers were able to kill or own non-western and Indigenous bodies, pioneering institutions of higher education enjoy the privilege of killing or owning non-western and Indigenous knowledge and epistemologies. Higher education – whether as an institution or as a community of scholars – cannot move forward while failing to address the true foundations upon which they were built upon and indefinitely perpetuate. Institutions of higher learning must consistently challenge the erasure and historicizing of Indigenous presence, or alternately mining their lived experiences for “authentic” Indigeneity which can be placed in conversation with their narrative of settler inheritance of land and legitimacy. We must work toward a future in which Native people are restored a right to exist on this land freely and able to (re)write, and (re)right the narratives that surround their and the institution’s placement in time and space. The use of parenthesis around the prefix ‘re’ is in conversation with Linda Tuhiwai Smith. By turning ‘re’ into (re) it presents a relational rather than discrete concept which places values, histories, space, and sacredness into a processual space (Smith 2012). It is in this context of the historical and moral frame which land acknowledgments in higher education are situated, as well as expanding on the question of who decides how what the next steps will be. The unproblematic paternalism and an erased/removed/extinct Indigeneity which gave way to concept of the nativized settler, must first be (re)written as informed by a reckoning of history, and (re)righted by leveling the power asymmetries between settler privilege and Indigenous agency. This will shape the futures and experiences of all new students that set foot within these institutions as a step towards inclusion and equity. In order to move toward a more informed and equitable future, we must unpack the language and concepts which our institutions use—and avoid using. We will address the concepts of *settler colonialism*, *genocide*, *land acknowledgements*, and the “pioneer” as a persistent cultural construct of the settler colonial state.

Land Acknowledgements; Recognizing Settler Colonialism, Genocide, and Land

Acknowledgment by itself is a small gesture. It becomes meaningful when coupled with authentic relationships and informed action. But this beginning can be an opening to greater public consciousness of Native sovereignty and cultural rights, a step toward equitable relationship and reconciliation. (USDAC 2017, 3)

Responding to social pressure from within and without, settler state institutions around the world are engaging in *land acknowledgements* (USDAC 2017, 2). These formal statements attempt to recognize that the land being presently occupied has a problematic history, while falling short of accepting a problematic present. Word choice either historicizes settlement as past or sanitizes violent deterritorialization by honoring the “sacrifice” of Indigenous peoples (Morgridge College 2018). While presumably created with positive intentions, land acknowledgements must be paired with action to be more than just lip service. Furthermore, using the term “sacrifice” is problematic as the settler institutions do not occupy these lands as a result of a willing sacrifice on the part of Indigenous peoples; but rather through theft achieved through human rights violations. Central to the process of settler colonialism is a complex system of moral and legal myths designed to promote legitimacy of the settler-state.

Settler-colonial invasion is a structure not an event: a set of ongoing techniques (including *inter alia*, geographical removal, sequestration, allotment in severalty, assimilation, and tribal termination) whereby settler authorities continue to seek the elimination of Native societies once the dust has settled on the initial violence of the frontier (Wolf 2012, 4).

Settler colonialism is not a discrete nor historic occurrence. There was not some moment when settlement happened and Indigenous people vanished; settlers are still settling, and Indigenous people are still living on this land. The urban communities which surround higher education continue to be the home of many Indigenous peoples despite erasure; a 2010 US Census recorded that 46,395 out of 56,010 of Colorado’s Native American respondents live in urban areas such as the Denver Metro area and Colorado Springs (Colorado.gov 2010).

What kind of conqueror takes such care to keep up the appearance that no conquest is taking place? (Branner 2005, 2).

Who “granted” land to our “land grant” institutions of higher education, and why was it possible in the first place, and how can the conversation be framed without acknowledging a violent and militarized process? To understand why the federal government “owned” land that wasn’t theirs, it is important to explore the often-mysterious tapestry which Chief Justice John Marshall wove using strange loose threads and broad twists of logic. These include the Doctrine of Discovery, the Royal Proclamation of 1763, the Right of Pre-emption and the (in)famous Marshall Trilogy. Much of westward expansion and the pioneer mythos can only be legitimized if these justifications are taken as logical, just, and moral.

The Doctrine of Discovery subversively defined who could “discover,” and in turn who could be “discovered.” The Royal Proclamation of 1763 formally established the British land claims and “Indian Country.” The claim stipulated that while Indigenous Peoples held the right of occupancy, the Crown held the ultimate title of the land. This proclamation served to ward off other European claims on Indigenous land while permitting the British empire the opportunity to absorb their newly acquired Crown lands at their leisure. The king’s right to make such a claim was not based on diplomacy with First Nations, but rather Diplomacy with European nations who had long struggled with how best to prevent violent land grabs from leading to conflict with their neighbors in Europe (Wolf 2012, 9).

Tied directly to the Doctrine of Discovery, was the right of preemption. This established the “exclusive right to purchase the Natives’ right of occupancy should they choose to sell it” (Wolf 2012, 11–12). Our current claim of authority is built upon this assumption of power which the European monarchies held hundreds of years ago. Our country’s legitimacy and geographic authority are grounded in having “inherited” a claim of authority by a king that we argued had no authority in the colonies. Settler colonialism that followed was built upon an assumption that the U.S. essentially already owned all of the lands, and this arrogance would be reflected in the western expansion and current era as a settler state. This is particularly true with in comes to “land grant” institutions of higher education. Many U.S. universities were given land in order to serve as bastions of western civilization along the “frontier,” linking them inexorably to tenuous claims of legitimacy.

The constant work of the settler colonial structure is to attempt to minimize evidence of its existence; great efforts are taken by governments, institutions, and individuals to ignore, minimize or cover up genocides which they find themselves associated with. Shame, guilt, and inevitable association between privilege and crime make it painful or unpleasant for the perpetrators to accept. While western philosophers such as John Locke, the *Moral and Legal Justifications for Dispossessing the Indians*, and the *Puritans’ Justification for Taking the Land* (Banner 2007, 10), attempted to establish moral imperatives for settling; the settlers themselves engaged in systematic, sanctioned, and often legalized killings through direct massacres, poisoning, and intentional introduction of European diseases (Risling Baldy 2018).

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Another of the arguments to justify the moral acquisition of settled lands, is the concept of *terra nullus*. *Terra nullus* is the presumption that the vast majority of the lands encountered by European settlers was empty and un-used by humans. While this ethnocentrically recognizes “use” as defined by John Locke and the western idea of “improvement” or profiting from natural resources, it ignores the evidence of eons of Indigenous agriculture, land management techniques of controlled burning and leaving areas to regenerate based on knowledge of maximum biotic resiliency before returning to hunt or farm; it is also based upon intentionally inaccurate estimates of the precontact population of the Americas. Anthropologist Henry Dobyns utilized a “depopulation ratio” closely informed by the impact of epidemics upon populations with no immunity to assert that as a result of settler colonialism 95% or more of the Indigenous people in the Americas were killed by European disease alone (Lewis 1997). This does not include wars of extermination and the policy of essentially deputizing pioneers and frontier communities to wage persistent genocidal campaigns. There have been many well-documented massacres, including the slaughter of an estimated 200 Cheyenne and Arapahoe children, men, women, and elders at Sand Creek, Colorado in 1864 of which John Evans was culpable, during the same year he founded the University of Denver (Clemmer-Smith, et al. 2014). These massacres are instances of genocide, and we cannot and will not forget their perpetrators, nor their ongoing impacts.

Critically Engaging with the Word “pioneer”

“To see was to conquer” (Wolf 2012, 11)

Define the word “pioneer.” What does it mean to you? What does the image of a “pioneer” look like? For some, it might capture a lone settler looking upon the prairie, taming the land for his settlement. This immediately brings us to the understanding that the word “pioneer” is masculine, gendered word. It does not include a female entity; rather, you picture a prospector or a rancher. This gendered word does not reflect the broader community of Denver. Here you can see a community intersected by culture, language and traditions, each intersection unique beyond the bounds of the word “pioneer.” These are the same languages and cultures that “pioneers” tried to destroy or assimilate. To put it bluntly, a “pioneer” is not an explorer or a trailblazer, but rather a force of destruction and erasure that moves along the vanguard of land intrusion into other-peoples’ homes.

The “pioneer” is a complex cultural construct which exists at the heart of settler origin narratives. The meanings embedded within this construct vary based on what side of that narrative you find yourself. The “pioneer” is an expression of unabashed imperialism, supporting manifest destiny sought to exploit and commit genocide against Native peoples. Throughout “frontier” communities, the settler state uses rhetoric to enflame settler anxiety such as the governor of Colorado declaring that “at the points indicated; also, to kill and destroy, as enemies of the country, wherever they may be found, all such hostile Indians” (Evans 1864).

As the *John Evan’s Report* highlighted, during this era of Denver history, even Native groups which had negotiated formal peace treaties with the United States were not immune from *pioneer violence*. The pattern typified by John Evans’ role in the massacre at Sand Creek is one that forms the most basic strategy of settler colonialism. Despite this, settler institutions romanticize stories of fur trappers, miners, and “pioneer” settlers in covered wagons. Denver has an iconic relationship with all of these stories as one of the most celebrated “boom towns” of the West. This boom, is a period of aggressive deterritorialization and was made up of pioneers who in response to economic pressure and poverty in the east, were encouraged by the settler state to pursue the promise of “vacant land” and untapped resources.

This genocide is not in the past. “Within their daily lives, Native Americans experience the effects of broken treaties, loss of land and cultural rights, and breaches of fiduciary duty” (Moreton-Robinson 2015, 55). *Native peoples continue to be affected on the micro and macro level, living in a system that was created to work against them, on their own land.* Institutions must acknowledge and engage with the processes which have brought them to have the moral responsibility to account for crimes against Indigenous people. Yet, many choose to atone only as far as is comfortable, preferring not to face these unsettling truths. Officially endorsed massacres of innocent women and children such as is detailed in the John Evans report were not rare, nor has the state’s culpability to continued murder and violence become a thing of the past. The maintenance of legal impunity for American settlers who continue to murder and rape Indigenous women, girls, and Two Spirit peoples is a clear example that the pioneer spirit is alive and well in the United States (Deer 2015).

Land Acknowledgements: Is the Discussion Centered on Damage or Desire?

“Acknowledgment is but a first step. It does not stand in for relationship and action, but can begin to point toward deeper possibilities for decolonizing relationships with people and place.” (USDAC 2017, 4)

As introduced above, there is a great deal of culpability which the university system must address in acknowledging *their* presence on Indigenous land. Ending denial is important but what happens next? Does it end with framing communities as diminished and displaced? Eve Tuck argues that centering narratives on harm reinforces the pattern of paternalism with colonial institutions “portraying our communities as defeated and broken” (Tuck 2009, 412). Simply (re)writing historical falsehoods and omissions is not enough. Approaching land acknowledgements from a damage-based model of considering present situations are attractive for institutions because they preserve or even reinforce traditions of paternalism. Central to Chief Justice Marshall’s concept of diminished sovereignty and domestic dependency was the presumption that because of past damages, it was strategically necessary to prevent Tribes from wielding a full measure of sovereignty and self-determination as in *Johnson v McIntosh* and *Cherokee v Georgia* (Wolf 2012, 8). This is an example of how the process of quantifying harm into damage, can lead to reinforced structures of oppression by turning harm to damage to social pathology. In dealing with Indigenous communities, universities have not shown a great deal of reluctance to align themselves with Marshall when it comes to cementing their privileged position within research and collaboration with Indigenous peoples.

As in the context of research within Indigenous communities, the university has enjoyed a seemingly benevolent role, creating a system in which they document and measure harm to generate a metrics that will lead them to a measured reparation. This imagined benevolent role was born out of a paternalistic belief in the credentialed etic outsider as the necessary expert in community research, while individual members of the public must be relegated to “testifying” to their hurt so the expert can propose a solution. This dynamic has been maintained by strategically ignoring how potentially problematic it is to approach history and experience as a tool for uncovering social pathology in order to justify the implementation—and infliction—of social change. Furthermore, by privileging the etic perspective in determining what if any action is justified in the present universities have enjoyed an easily used right of refusal to inconvenient emic perspectives. There is also the pitfall of considering land acknowledgements as rooted in the past tense—i.e. past transgressions against present benevolence—actually serves to reinforce the legitimacy of settler land claims by failing to properly acknowledge Indigenous voices and desires as being central

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to the present and future. Instead they are treated as mostly on the other side of the finite act of settlement. An alternative to quietly legitimizing the institution's "right" to Indigenous land by historicizing settler-colonialism, and perpetuating the assumption that the associated rights of ownership privilege the institutions voice in potential conversations, would be by focusing on the need for Indigenous voice and agency to not be trivialized or tokenized during the negotiation of the present and future of the institution. These instead should be acknowledged as essential stakeholders whose vision and desire for the institution is fundamentally important.

The process of (re)righting the institution and its relationship with Indigenous students, faculty and peoples who live, work, and maintain relationships to settler occupied geographies must be built upon a recognition that it will not occur within the heteropatriarchal structure that has defined the university in its dealings with Indigenous people. This can be approached through shifting to a *desire-based* framework which Eve Tuck outlines in *Suspending Damage: A Letter to Communities*. A desire-based framework "can yield analyses that upend commonly held assumptions of responsibility, cohesiveness, ignorance and paralysis within dispossessed and disenfranchised communities. Desire, yes, accounts for the loss and despair but also the hope, the visions, the wisdom of lived lives and communities" (Tuck 2009, 417). Such a model places the expertise in the hands of Indigenous individuals and communities, interrupting the comfortable university practice of selecting symbolic concessions and compensations.

As mentioned at the beginning of this article, it can be unsettling for institutions to revisit their historical narratives and make a space for the truth about how they came into existence—but it can be even more unsettling to level historically unbalanced power dynamics and surrender a monopoly of control. For land acknowledgements to lead to desire-based conversations in good faith universities can no longer decide what is or is not on the table for change. For example, attempting to increase numbers of Indigenous students and faculty might be comfortable way to alleviate settler guilt, while releasing human remains that are considered "property" of the university or retiring mascots that are considered "heritage" are not.

Conclusion

Emerging from the working group which provided the impetus for this article and the open letter that preceded it, is the acknowledgment that a careful critique of the institutional imagery, rhetoric, history, and origin narratives are an essential step toward building equitable relationships with members of Indigenous communities; we found it to be the case that the structures of settler colonialism that are romanticized and reified by these historical inaccuracies and constructs are also essential bastions of institutional misogyny, racism, and ethnocentrism which stand in opposition to the formation of a fundamentally inclusive institution. Too often in the past, because agendas of social emancipation are framed as necessarily moving within settler structures and according to settler values, the politics of social struggle have been set as being dependent on recognizing the legitimacy of the settler structure. Civil rights, social justice, and economic enfranchisement start and end within the jurisdiction of settler courts, settler societies, and settler capitalisms—by basing all of our advancements with an acknowledgment of the legitimacy of the settler structures that oppress us we are asked to choose disenfranchisement or Indigenous erasure. Eve Tuck draws on Edward Soja and Henri Lefebvre's concept of *critical thirding*: "Critical thirding as a way to break the closed circuit of an irreconcilable binary" (Tuck 2009, 419). We propose that the way forward for our institutions of higher education is a third way in which success within settler institutions of higher education—and settler society—no longer must be

expected to be dependent upon embracing historical falsehoods, white supremacy or rhetorical forms of violence. In the comfortable binary that institutions privilege, it is presented as my-way-or-the-highway; within a critical thirding, the third way is determined by an internal assessment of the past and of desires for the present and future which need not be grounded in western concepts of time, meanings of relationship to land that do not begin or end with private property.

It is possible to create and share honest land acknowledgments, which lead in turn to conversations held in good faith, in which desire-based collaborations are maintained between institutions of higher education and Indigenous communities, that lead to *change* that will not be comfortable for the institutions. Institutions will lose their overly simplistic historical narratives but gain the foundation for a multi-vocal critique of history that frames a more honest—though often disappointing—story that can bring us to a more inclusive and less disappointing future. If land acknowledgments begin and end with words rather than action, they could easily be replaced with the vernacular phrase of our time which encapsulates a learned awareness of transgression but an unfortunate indifference to personal responsibility, "sorry... not sorry."

Such an attitude leaves our institutions in a sorry state indeed.

Authors' note:

This article is a critical exploration of certain key themes and constructs explored in greater detail in a larger scholarly work specific to the experiences and perspectives of a working group of current and former students of the University of Denver. While produced with the acknowledgment and permission of contributors to the original work, only the individual authors listed chose to be credited here. The original can be found at <https://decolonizedu.com/>, along with current activism and projects readers can get involved with at their own institutions. It is also acknowledged that this work represents a non-hierarchical co-creation; all authors, their insights and efforts are equally weighted as this article would not have existed without the work and creativity of each. We would like to end by recognizing that while the structures of settler colonialism are extant, it is not necessary to assume that a settler state must be part of our imaginings of the future. (Websites listed in "References," below, were accessed on multiple dates.)

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Vol. 40

No. 2

2020

REIMAGING SANCTUARY AS SPACES OF RESISTANCE

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ABSTRACT

This article helps to elucidate the contexts and characteristics of the U.S. Sanctuary Movement of the 1980s and the New Sanctuary Movement today, with an emphasis on push factors from countries of origin, U.S. foreign policy, the construction of "Others," and the work and tensions of activists on the ground. The article provides a basis from which the reader can better understand what sanctuary is and how it has the potential to expand. We argue the sanctuary concept provides a framework that tangibly reaches within and beyond immigrant rights organizations, with the potential to generate cross-movement coalitions in solidarity with undocumented people. These can address broader structural issues and their outcomes, such as detention, deportation, displacement, and dispossession as part of a larger local/global community.

KEY WORDS: Sanctuary Movement, Resistance, Immigration, Migrants, Activism, Coalitions

Introducing Sanctuary

"Sanctuary says: oppression is trying to fill our lives with fear and blood and daily numbing horror. But not in here.... [S]anctuary makes a ring of fire around our people. Sanctuary grants us a taste of reprieve and protection so they can gather strength to go out there again and fight. Sanctuary is our duty. A movement space must hold sanctuary" (Franco, 2017, p. 1).

The sanctuary idea is not new, or even radical in nature. Sanctuary is not a framework that requires immense effort to understand because it is something we as humans have been doing for centuries. Sanctuary is rooted in compassion, a return to caring for one another in which we see our struggles and resistances aligned, with an emphasis on community building to collaboratively find solutions to support those who have been subject to exclusion and oppression.

What does it mean for movement spaces to hold sanctuary? How can it connect, and even strengthen them? Where does sanctuary come from? Sanctuary is a flexible notion and practice with ties to several historical periods and geographical locations. To this day those who engage with sanctuary grapple with how it should be defined, what purpose it serves, what action it can take, and how far it can expand. The history of sanctuary is long and varied; cities of refuge are noted in the Old Testament for people who had unintentionally killed people, and ancient, Greeks, Romans, and Egyptians had shrine-protected regions and temples sought out by all persecuted and mistreated slaves, oppressed debtors, and political offenders (Rabben, 2016). The common thread that many follow backwards in sanctuary's genealogy is its roots to the Christian church and the Roman empire. Yet even among scholars there is disagreement over whether sanctuary began as a pagan custom or as a distinctively Christian innovation, noting that if sanctuary could be shown to have a pagan pedigree, its pervasiveness in the legal traditions of the ancient and medieval church could be condemned or, conversely, its legitimacy might be better secured (Shoemaker, 2011).

Although sanctuary was an ancient practice in Europe, it was abolished or drastically restricted in the 16th century throughout the continent by kings, parliaments, and popes. By the early modern period sanctuary had come to be identified with impunity for crimi-

nals and thought to promote more crimes (Shoemaker, 2011). This is only one of the nuances and kaleidoscopic ways in which one can dig in to sanctuary's history. Decades later, on the other side of the Atlantic, Native American groups that had tense relationships were also found to be offering and receiving sanctuary with one another. For example, after rebelling against the Spanish in 1690, the Tewa fled west and sought refuge with the Hopi (Rabben, 2016). Tracking the growth of the concept and its practice can lead to many questions about criminal law and order, and the normalization of state-centered views of punishment and social control (Shoemaker, 2011).

Expanded sanctuary means connecting the dots and pluralizing the concept, reworking the sanctuary framework to reach a collective definition grown out of the understanding that we are all "simultaneously separated by and bound together by the violences of border imperialism" (Walia, 2014, p. 4). The co-optation of sanctuary by cities highlights the slippage in systems of meaning, as it is often the case that municipal legislation calling for refusal to cooperate with federal law does not live up to any tangible protection for people on the ground, especially in the face of racial profiling and over-policing in the very communities "sanctuary" seeks to protect. Rather than looking at this slippage as a downfall of the expansion of sanctuary, however, activists like Janae Bonsu of National Public Policy/Chair of Black Youth Project 100, use this slippage as an opportunity to call on impacted communities to think critically about what their definition of sanctuary should address. The ambiguous spaces where these linkages happen provide an opportunity for organizers to impose meaning through a process of creating a shared agreement about what sanctuary is, or should be.

Creating Spaces of Belonging, Sanctuary Resists Forces of Exclusion

By building a movement and creating space to confront the unjust formal political processes of the U.S. immigration system, sanctuary today tries to unite migrants seeking asylum and U.S. citizens as one fighting force, recognizing that immigration discourse entangles all individuals within its categories and practices (Coutin, 1993). Thus, sanctuary asks, what other ways can we be thinking about community, belonging, and citizenship in a globalized world? Is citizenship a certain set of rights allotted to us by our status in a state, or is it de-

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finied by how we participate in our society and communities? Who gets to be a citizen and why? Are there citizens who do not get the same rights as other citizens? How do we think about belonging, how we achieve it, and what rights does it afford us? By understanding the political contexts and social histories behind social movements, we can make sense of what the original demands were and how these changed with the context of inside and outside factors. "The process of creating a movement continues as long as the movement exists, as the choices that people make in particular social and historical conditions alter those conditions and thus affect subsequent actions" (Coutin, 1993, p. 23).

Past as Prologue: Early Sanctuary Movement Opens its Doors

The U.S. Sanctuary Movement originated through faith-based initiatives to physically shelter Central American asylum seekers who arrived in the 1980s during the Reagan administration. Many of these migrants fled violence associated with Cold War competition playing out in their countries (Rabben, 2016). The rise of the U.S.-Central American Sanctuary Movement was directly related to the dramatic increase in numbers of undocumented Central Americans fleeing political repression, social upheaval, and economic distress caused by civil wars and U.S. military involvement (Perla and Coutin, 2009).

Concurrently, the U.S. Congress had imposed a ban on foreign assistance to governments that committed gross violations of human rights. The Reagan administration was thus compelled to deny Salvadoran and Guatemalan government complicity in atrocities, characterizing migrants from these countries as "economic migrants," and actively discouraging them from applying for political asylum. Thousands of migrants were arrested at the border, crowded into detention centers, and pressured into "voluntary return" to their countries of origin without ever getting the opportunity to seek legal advice (Gzesh, 2006). Approval rates for Guatemalan and Salvadoran asylum cases between 1983 and 1986 were less than 3 percent, while cases from Iran were approved at 60 percent, due to the 1979 revolution, and 40 percent for Afghans fleeing Soviet invasion (Hall, 2017).

Mounting evidence of violence and persecution that sanctuary congregations were hearing through migrant testimonies – coupled with the reluctance of the Reagan administration to recognize their asylum claims – reinforced and justified their mission to advocate for the legal inclusion of Central American migrants in the United States. By 1982, the U.S. Sanctuary Movement was solidifying through its underground practices of helping refugees cross the border, providing them shelter along with legal and financial aid. On the two-year anniversary of the murder of the Salvadoran Archbishop, Oscar Romero, John Fife (who was the minister of Southside Presbyterian Church in Tucson, Arizona, and a leader of the movement at the time), hung two banners on the church building that stated: "This is a Sanctuary for the Oppressed of Central America" and "Immigration: Do Not Profane the Sanctuary of God," officially and publicly declaring the congregation a sanctuary. Three short years later, in 1985, many churches, synagogues, and student groups across the United States had followed Fife's footsteps and Sanctuary became a national movement in the public eye, uniting over 500 sites across the country (Davidson, 1998).

The Birth of the New Sanctuary Movement

The New Sanctuary Movement and the proliferation of places calling themselves sanctuaries in the United States today is a result of its history as a movement in the 1980s and as a practice elsewhere before that, carried forth by the people currently working to define it, practice it, and explore its potential to expand. We acknowledge that the concept works transnationally, as there are similar movements in

Europe and Canada. And both the movement in the 1980s and the movement now have been built upon a rich enactment of social justice work done by Central American populations living in the United States, as well as a range of organizations in their countries of origin.

Although the first movement dwindled after the peace accords in Central America in the early 1990s, this period of history had devastating after-shocks that continue to destabilize the region. These factors include pervasive economic inequality, systemic violence, and institutional corruption, perpetually pushing would-be asylum seekers to the U.S. border (Smith and Lakhani, 2016). Moreover, the revival of narratives marking migrants as criminals and the expansion of the deportation regime have renewed calls for new tactics of resistance and solidarity within the immigrant rights movement. As a response, sanctuary has taken on a new life out of the remnants of the old movement. The resurgence of the Sanctuary Movement raises new questions about how and why it is growing and toward what ends.

Recent research examining the past and present Sanctuary Movement in the United States suggests that the new movement has a broader scope in terms of who it reaches, who participates, and who it fights for (Ritchie and Morris, 2017; Délano, 2019; Farman, 2017). Communities as diverse as grassroots organizations, academics, cultural institutions, and business owners are engaging in conversations about the imagined futures of the concept of sanctuary.

Transnational sanctuary and migrant solidarity movements based in countries of origin are an essential component of the New Sanctuary Movement. In Mexico, the organization Otros Dreams en Acción addresses the migration continuum post-deportation and proposes everyday practices of solidarity and advocacy strategies that focus on the economic, social, and political inequalities that affect the returnees, as well as their communities at large (Délano, 2019). Other examples include networks of migrant shelters that provide hospitality and protection for people in processes of forced mobility, such as La 72 Teno-sique which emphasizes the importance of strengthening social structures from within origin countries to create humanitarian paths that promote solidarity and holistic support (Délano, 2019).

Reimagining the Possibilities of Sanctuary

Today's New Sanctuary Movement within the U.S. began in 2007 in response to massive mobilizations in 2006 against the Border Protection, Antiterrorism and Illegal Immigration Control Act of 2005. This legislation sought to strengthen interior enforcement of immigration laws through several mechanisms, including criminalizing violations of federal immigration law, which indirectly shifted the responsibility of immigration enforcement to state and local law authorities. This was a key moment in the growing relationship between the Department of Homeland Security (DHS), via Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), and the police through training and authorizing of funds to access equipment used in enforcing immigration law, thus enhancing the interconnectedness between the criminal justice system and immigration enforcement (Gigliotti, 2005).

In 2006 and 2007, coalitions of congregations across the United States started to come together again as increasing workplace and neighborhood ICE raids impacted thousands of people. These efforts continued throughout and increased during the Obama Administration with his Secure Communities program, which asked local jails to hold undocumented immigrants in custody to be transferred to federal immigration detention centers. In 2014, Obama also introduced the Priority Enforcement Program that focused "on 'criminal aliens' convicted of felonies or several misdemeanor offenses;" data later showed that ICE was targeting people with no criminal record at a higher rate than before (Feltz, 2016). To some, the heightened hateful anti-Latino and

anti-Muslim rhetoric of the Trump campaign paired with his persistent anti-immigrant executive orders, represents a crisis and broken system. Those who have been following the trajectory of immigrant rights in the United States over a long period argue that these recent moves are a distraction inviting us to focus our collective gaze on a visible crisis, while the hidden structures of long-term inequality remain unnoticed (Amaya, 2017).

New Sanctuary Movement Diversifies its Agenda, Consolidates Lines of Effort in NYC

The history of activism in New York City includes a large array of immigrant activist organizations, networks, and actions in response to worker exploitation, state violence, racism, and more. Ergo, looking at the New Sanctuary Movement in New York City illuminates the expansive constellations of organizations that sanctuary connects – both locally and globally – and the high level of engagement from a variety of communities working together to create sanctuary, whether they choose to use this word to describe it.

The activist movements that address injustice in the city provide grounds to explore the expansion of sanctuary in relation to coalition building among a myriad of formations that would not be possible otherwise. This is because there is such a large and diverse number of organizations, informal groups, NGOs, and movements all in one place, with connections to other contexts around the United States, which may inform reactions to similar or different tensions. This is also true for Chicago, where “expanded” sanctuary began to take its first steps with groups like Mijente, OCADA, and Black Youth Project, which came together to tackle not just immigration-related sanctuary policy but also policies related to issues like law enforcement, education, labor, gender, and economic injustice (Farman, 2017).

Naomi Paik, in her 2017 article “Abolitionist Futures of the US Sanctuary Movement,” asks the reader to think about what resources the history of the Sanctuary Movement provides for an expansive politics of defending each other in the face of invigorated state violence. With the complexity of citizenship and all the identities that can be held in mind, activists of the New Sanctuary Movement recognize that people can be targeted by multiple intersecting forms of domination, but moreover that defending one group demands defending all oppressed people. Models of solidarity politics suggest that the future of sanctuary must be reflected in the fight for everyone, obstructing forces of state violence as has been done but also requiring alternatives and positive investments in the communities targeted for removal and suppression (Paik, 2017). The New Sanctuary Movement in New York City has held space with prison abolition groups, anti-gentrification groups, anti-police brutality groups, anti-war organizations, post-colonial activists, and others in recognition that these systems of oppression are interconnected and local/global in scale. “These interrelated and overlapping forces of political, economic, and social organization shape the nature of migration, and hence inform the experiences of migrants and displaced peoples” (Walia, 2014, p. 5). The new movement questions the nature of our institutions, working with and against ethical and social mandates.

Coalition building and expansion of social movements, however, do not come without limitations. There are many questions in regards to social and moral inclusion and how to practice it without stepping over boundaries or becoming paternalistic and recreating the same hierarchies and divisions it seeks to dismantle (Paik, 2017). This was as much a concern for the Sanctuary Movement of the 1980s as it is now. It is important that movements committed to fighting structural violence of the state question the externally enforced power structures within their coalitions as their demands reach wider audiences and commitment

starts to come from a diverse group of communities: “It is through this kind of active engagement against imperialism, capitalism, state building, and oppression – along with the nurturing of emancipatory and expansive social relations and identities, forged in and through the course of struggle – that visionary alternatives to border imperialism can be actualized” (Walia, 2014, p. 6).

The Privatization of (in)Justice Invites New Spaces for Sanctuary Activism

At New Sanctuary Coalition’s accompaniment training in New York City, the first author has listened to lectures on how the U.S. government and law enforcement have constructed immigrants as criminals by redefining what “aggravated felonies” that result in deportation of non-citizens are. The Illegal Immigration and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996 greatly increased the range of criminal offenses that are neither aggravated nor felonies (Barron, 2017). Deportation and detention are big business in the United States. Large-scale privatization of prisons creates conditions in which two private companies (The GEO Group Inc and Corrections Corporation of America) make more money when more people are detained (Menjívar, Gómez Cervantes, Alvord, 2018; Luan, 2018). ICE spends more than \$2 billion a year on immigrant detention through private jails, which several human rights organizations, such as Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch, claim skimp on detainee care in order to maximize profits (Burnett, 2017). In 2017, GEO and CCA reported more than \$2.26 billion and \$1.77 billion in annual revenues, respectively (Freedom Cities, n.d.).

Additionally, as a stipulation in their contracts, GEO and CCA typically require 90 percent or more of prison beds to be filled, ensuring that state and federal governments work for them to create more criminals and detainable immigrants (Leacock, 2017). Tracking prison profiteering is part of both the prison abolition movement and the New Sanctuary Movement. The MoMADivest campaign, which emerged from Art Space Sanctuary in NYC, has been targeting civic art institutions for their connections to investments in prison companies that detain immigrants in order to get board members to divest from prison companies. This is a strategy also used by a two-year long campaign led by immigrant families that was able to get JPMorgan Chase and Wells Fargo to stop funding private prisons and immigrant detention companies (Rueb, 2019). In this case, the community of citizens and non-citizens affected by private prisons both benefited from the activism and organizing of non-citizens responding to the policing of immigrants and corporate profiteering of detention centers.

Critical Self-reflection to Bridge Theory and Practice

The history of the Sanctuary Movement is often told as an effort by mostly white, middle class, religious activists who put themselves on-the-line to give refuge and advocate for social and legal inclusion of migrants, whose experiences and personhood were defined by the trauma they had faced in their countries of origin (Houston and Morse, 2017). There was always a tension in the ascription of the refugee identity to migrants by sanctuary activists. While it provided a sense of legal legitimacy in the fight for asylum, the refugee label was often contested by migrants as it constrained their lived experiences and their recognition as important activists in the movement (Perla and Coutin, 2009). Ironically, these practices to generate inclusion and promote empathy often re-inscribed migrants as “traumatized others” (Houston and Morse, 2017; Kristeva, 1991).

Examining the exclusions that emerge alongside efforts of inclusion demonstrates how social justice in theory can depart from social justice in practice, and, an uneven relationship between activists and migrants, failing to fully consider migrants as activists with their own modes of

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resistance and agency to build the narrative of their own experiences and identities (Houston and Morse, 2017). Reflections on narrative and dissonance are imperative if a movement such as sanctuary hopes to create true political solidarity, and, hopes to urge activists to question and discover the root of their motivations to fight for social justice.

Conclusions: Scaling Sanctuary Up, Expanding the Movement Out

Imagining political communities beyond narrow national and state-centric terms that cannot capture the multiple dimensions of contemporary political identities is a start to rethinking citizenship, social inclusion, and decriminalization in a way that can be beneficial to all stakeholders of migration. The relation between the New Sanctuary Movement and the Prison Abolition Movement is an example of these imaginations being put into practice. Organizations and coalitions simultaneously try to resist exclusion and create structural change in the name of liberation from interlocking mechanisms of oppression that build narratives of criminalization and securitization to shape public perceptions of crisis and pass legislation that justifies more control, more policing, and constitutes detrimental effects for the targeted communities. "[W]ithout addressing safety and protections for all targeted communities, sanctuary is a misnomer.... Whether its stop-and-frisk or no-knock raids, both undocumented immigrants and U.S.-born Black folks have a vested stake in redefining what sanctuary really means" (Bonsu, 2017, p. 1).

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The Applied Anthropologist

Vol. 40

No. 2

2020

NATIVE CDFIS AND CONTINUED RESILIENCE: SHORT-TERM RESPONSES WITH LONG-TERM IMPACTS IN PANDEMIC TIMES

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ABSTRACT

Underfunded and vulnerable, native nations have been disproportionately and substantially impacted by the COVID-19 pandemic. Even without a global pandemic, indigenous communities often lack access to capital, health services, and basic necessities. This is due to a myriad of factors including centuries of genocide, adverse political policies, and a historical lack of federal and state recognition of treaty rights. Furthermore, during times of economic hardship when organizations, businesses, and individuals are accessing emergency relief funds, native communities are not prioritized. Yet native nations, such as those in Hawaii, are resilient. Resilience in the face of adversity is a core component of Native Community Development Financial Institutions (Native CDFIs). These organizations provide capital, increase entrepreneurship, enhance homeownership, and streamline resources to people who need it the most but are often discriminated by, or lack access to, mainstream banks. Native CDFIs demonstrated their response to the pandemic through innovative loan products, emergency grants, and rapid adaptation to provide crucial web-based opportunities. These efforts continue to influence and cultivate financial well-being rooted in cultural values. This article highlights three Native CDFIs and a national Native CDFI intermediary to exemplify their active resilience during the COVID-19 pandemic and how they created opportunities that will exist far beyond pandemic times.

KEY WORDS: COVID-19 Pandemic, CDFI/Community Development Financial Institution, Native/Indigenous, Hawaii, Resilience, Economic Response

Introduction

Native people survived colonization, genocide, forced removal, boarding schools, and religious persecution among many other tragedies (Smith, 2012; Littlemoon and Ridgeway, 2009; Bodley, 2008; Tucker, 2007; Lynn-Sherow, 2004; Vogel, 1972). Yet despite historical trauma, they have remained resilient towards modern systemic racism and injustice. Generally, Native communities are vulnerable and underfunded which results in the continued marginalization and undervaluing of these communities by mainstream communities and governments. When economic distress, national tragedies, and natural disasters arise, indigenous communities are disproportionately impacted (Doshi et. al., 2020). Not only does a disaster like the COVID-19 pandemic create deep wounds, but combined with the regular lack of access to capital, health services, and basic necessities that indigenous communities face, turns a situation like this into an unbearable force. This situation is compounded by the fact that Native communities are often overlooked regarding to access to and providing emergency relief funds. Native communities are resilient; during these especially trying times leaders, organizations, and individuals are working towards recovery. One subset of those working towards resilience, recovery, and justice are Native Community Development Financial Institutions (Native CDFIs). Native CDFIs have always worked diligently, and even more so during the COVID-19 pandemic, to influence and cultivate economic development and financial well-being rooted in cultural values. This article highlights the work of Native CDFIs in the face of the COVID-19 pandemic in order to support their communities and Native people as a whole.

Native CDFIs: Cultivating Economic Development and Financial Well-Being Rooted in Cultural Values

The Native CDFI movement was born out of a need to serve disadvantaged communities and families who are often excluded from and discriminated by the mainstream banking and community

development world. Native CDFIs are mission-driven and community-based lenders and educators that have a longstanding reputation for providing loan products and financial services to Native communities throughout the United States. Taking a holistic approach to lending, these organizations build relationships, rather than merely processing transactions, with the individuals and families they serve. They are driven by the needs in their communities and inspired by the resilience, capacity, and dedication of their people.

Currently, there are 70 certified Native CDFIs (through the US Department of Treasury – CDFI Fund) and 20 emerging Native CDFIs in the United States, US territories, and sovereign Native nations within US boundaries. Disadvantaged, rural, and low-income communities are often challenged by the realities of living in banking deserts; community members are unbanked or underbanked and often cannot access capital to buy a home, establish or build credit, or start or expand a business (Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, 2019).ⁱⁱ Even when these groups do apply for loans, they are often denied outright, or they are given higher interest rates. This leads to communities of unbanked and underbanked individuals, a distrust for mainstream banks, and an environment ripe for predatory lenders (Fay, 2017).ⁱⁱⁱ

As culturally- and community-based organizations, Native CDFIs are representative of their target markets and understand the cultural, spiritual, geographical, and social environments that their clients operate in, which in turn allows them to provide services that align with community and cultural values. From the time an individual inquires with a Native CDFI, they are provided with personalized services and financial counseling, regardless of their intention to obtain a loan. Although many clients are looking for a loan, a CDFI's work is based on building the financial capacity and wellness of its clients. CDFIs also then work diligently to ensure that a client who needs a loan is supported through the entire process. In the traditional banking world, people who do not qualify for a loan simply do not quali-

fy. Then, literally and figuratively speaking, “the buck stops here.” They are not provided with the technical assistance and support needed to become loan ready. Conversely, Native CDFIs are dedicated to building financial, homeownership, and entrepreneurial capacity by assisting clients for the long haul, staying flexible, and overall supporting long-term economic resilience and opportunity for the communities they serve.

Native CDFIs: Continued Resilience During the COVID-19 Pandemic

The COVID-19 pandemic has created and exacerbated economic crisis around the world. However, this is especially disastrous for Native communities (Mineo, 2020). Native populations are the least likely of any demographic group to have emergency savings, least likely to be banked, and least likely to have access to a financial institution (Deweese and Mottola, 2017). Yet, they are most likely to be entrepreneurs without the appropriate infrastructure such as basic utilities, broadband access, culturally appropriate trainings, and small business start-up and development centers (Oweesta Corporation, 2020). Because of this continued marginalization, Native entrepreneurs experience difficulties accessing federal programs like Small Business Administration (SBA) loans and the Paycheck Protection Program (PPP), creating more demand for Native CDFIs as a primary capital resource (Oweesta Corporation, 2020).

A survey conducted in partnership between the Center for Indian Country Development (CICD) at the Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis and the National Center for American Indian Enterprise Development (NCAIED) found that even though 59 percent of respondents (Native small business owners) had not yet laid off or furloughed any employees, just 36 percent applied for a PPP loan (Feir et al., 2020). The CICD-NCAIED results also noted:

“Many businesses faced challenges in accessing credit: only 1 in 3 survey respondents reported having a strong or very strong relationship with their lender prior to the pandemic. While additional research is needed to understand the extent to which tribal businesses accessed and are benefiting from the PPP, survey results underscore the initial concerns that the PPP may have challenges in reaching Indian Country.”

Native communities are located largely in isolated and rural environments with minimal access to healthcare, poorly constructed homes, and overcrowded, multi-generational living situations. These conditions heightened the spread of COVID-19 for some communities (Mineo, 2020). Additionally, the service industry suffered from the impacts of COVID-19, an industry that provides over 30 percent of tribal citizens with jobs, as compared to 18 percent of the total US population (Lozar et al., 2020).

Since their inception, Native CDFIs have worked towards resilience and prosperity in response to a myriad of social, financial, and economic disadvantages. Even before COVID-19, many Native CDFIs already offered emergency and debt consolidation loan products, foreclosure prevention, homebuyer readiness education, and small business support services, among others. The role of CDFIs and their structure have uniquely positioned their COVID-19 response by allowing them to be flexible to meet the needs of their clients and communities through procedures such as restructuring and modifying loans or completely shifting to offer grants. Where they see a need, they work diligently to provide an opportunity.

There is a wealth of examples of how Native CDFIs have adapted and responded to serve their communities despite the COVID-19 disaster. Below is a brief snapshot of what several Native CDFIs and Native CDFI networks are doing to remain resilient in the face of global ad-

versity. Then, three in-depth case studies are provided. This information was collected through direct communication with the following organizations.

- Nimiipuu Community Development Fund (NCDF), a Native CDFI based in Idaho, has disbursed \$135,000 in loan capital to tribal government and tribal enterprise employees during COVID-19. In their applications, employees reported increased difficulty in affording their cost of living due to some household members not working and kids staying at home. They redesigned their loan product this year to help with debt consolidation and other needs perpetuated by uncertainty.
- Tiwa Lending Services (Tiwa), serving the Isleta Pueblo, has worked to accommodate its tribal members during the pandemic by offering emergency loans, modifications to mortgages, allowing consumer loan clients to skip a payment, and not reporting late payments to the Credit Bureau. The Pueblo of Isleta Housing Authority received CARES Act monies, and because of this, was able to help one of Tiwa's borrowers catch up on their mortgage payment. Further, Tiwa has continued to provide homeownership counseling and loan closings via Zoom.
- NACDC-Financial Services (NACDC) is doing its best through the COVID-19 pandemic to ensure potential and current borrowers are successful. Although working remotely, it is still fund raising and has dispersed 88 loans totaling \$992,099. The greatest benefit during this challenging time is the partnerships it has established that will provide support long after the 2020 hurdle is overcome.
- Since launching its consumer relief loan in May, Wisconsin Native Loan Fund (WINLF) has received 55 loan applicants totaling \$490,119 and has disbursed seven loans totaling \$27,057. WINLF, although not hit as hard as others by the COVID pandemic, is concerned that the people who truly need relief may not realize help is available to them.
- Native CDFIs thrive on building partnerships and utilizing national, regional, and state networks made up of Native CDFIs and thought leaders to share best practices and support (Northwest Area Foundation, 2020). The Mountain | Plains Regional Native CDFI Coalition, made up of ten Native CDFI members, was born in March 2020 to better position themselves to respond to COVID-19 with “a longer-term vision for regional capacity building, specifically related to agriculture” by collaborating and leveraging their efforts (Four Bands Community Fund, Inc. et al. 2020, 3). The coalition banded together in early April to conduct 3 studies to better understand the possible impact of COVID-19 on their clients in order to fundraise and develop programs and services to serve their clients. In their region they estimated a total wage loss ranging from \$284 million to \$913 million with an estimated loan capital need of \$2.45 million (Four Bands Community Fund, Inc. et al. 2020).
- The Wisconsin Indian Business Alliance (WIBA), a coalition of three Native CDFIs in Wisconsin (Wisconsin Native Loan Fund, First American Capital Corporation, and First Nations Community Financial), has collectively deployed \$4,440,513 in loans, served 2,262 Native individuals and families, assisted 526 businesses, and contributed to the creation/retention of 129 jobs. Additionally, WIBA has disbursed \$670,000 in \$2,500 business stimulus grants through Wisconsin Economic Development Corporation's Ethnic Minority Emergency Grant (EMEG) initiative.

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- Looking forward to recovery, the unprecedented social, financial, economic, and health damage associated with the COVID-19 crisis creates an uncertain future. The American Indian Chamber of Commerce of Wisconsin and First American Capital Corporation (AWCCW-FACC) are currently working to recapitalize the funds available to lend, and to expand staff to resource-up so it is positioned to remain a reliable, nimble, relevant, and resilient Native CDFI business resource throughout the COVID-19 crisis.

Case Studies

As seen through the examples above, Native CDFIs across the nation have been working diligently to continue providing capital and education to assist Native communities that have been disproportionately impacted by the COVID-19 pandemic.

The following case studies have been developed to further explore the innovative and successful programs and products that Native CDFIs have implemented and enhanced. The organizations highlighted here were chosen to tell the story of resilience in a region – Hawaii – as well as with a national intermediary lender. The data and stories showcased were collected through interviews with leadership, media and press releases, and the Opportunity Through Impact System (OTIS), a shared Native CDFI data collection and reporting system.^{iv}

Hawaiian Community Assets: Emergency Loans and Using Data to Influence Public Policy and Attract Funding

Hawaiian Community Assets (HCA) is a 501(c)3 nonprofit and HUD-approved housing counseling agency that offers comprehensive housing and financial counseling and training services rooted in traditional economic practices and cultural relevance. Through HCA's nonprofit Native CDFI, Hawaii Community Lending (HCL), it provides loan products including credit builder and repair, social enterprise, and emergency loans.^v HCA was founded by Kehaulani Filimoe'atu and Blossom Feiteira in 2000. Native Hawaiians are not a federally recognized tribe and in Hawaii, the native Hawaiian home lands (trust lands) are managed by the state Department of Hawaiian Home Lands (DHHL) (Office of the Secretary, Interior, 2016).^{vi} As of September, 2019, over 28,000 native Hawaiians were on the waiting list to access their own home lands and the numbers continue to grow (Fujii-Oride, 2019). On the waitlist for over 30 years, Kehaulani and Blossom finally got called to qualify for a lot to build a home and were denied because they did not have enough savings and their credit scores were inadequate. Leaving in complete disbelief, they wondered why they had not been told to prepare to qualify for homeownership and a land allotment, why they did not know what the qualification process looked like, or even how to qualify. However heartbroken, they saw this as an opportunity to support their community and provide much needed homeowner readiness and support services.

According to Jeff Gilbreath, Director of Lending for HCL, in 1999 Kehaulani and Blossom went door to door and talked to homeowners who lived on homesteads and compared the data to those who did not. They found that native Hawaiians on homesteads had at least a 2 percent interest bump on their mortgage loans. So, even when native Hawaiians were qualified for a mortgage, they were being approved at higher interest rates. This predatory practice, known as redlining, has been denying people of color of homeownership and capital opportunities for decades (Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, n.d.). Kehaulani and Blossom took this information to the Federal Reserve of San Francisco during a public comment period. It found in their favor that Bank of America owed the native Hawaiian people \$150 million in mortgage financing (Parachini, 2019). Bank of America still

has not fulfilled its entire obligation and has argued it should not be required to provide any more. Gilbreath said HCA and HCL have remained committed, stating "we know what we have done in brokering mortgages and we know that we can do more to help reach this commitment. Let's be a good partner and make sure families get the access to the capital they need." All this to say, HCA and HCL were developed out of the need for economic equity and social justice. The pandemic provided a situation to enhance these practices and continue the mission in innovative ways.

Gilbreath stated that from late 2019 through early 2020, the organizations were in the process of preparing for organizational growth. With six full-time staff at HCL, it believed it was equipped with the capacity to take in upwards of \$5 million in loan investments from various sources. However, when COVID-19 hit Hawaii, those investors pulled out because they believed their funds should be used for relief grants instead of loans.

Gilbreath also noted that in March, 2020, HCL saw a 400 percent spike in loan applications for its emergency loan product (initially launched in 2018), but its debt consolidation loan product did not have the capital to meet the demand. HCL successfully deployed its available loan capital at the beginning of April, and was getting noticed by various county leaders. Kauai County and its partner Hawaii Community Foundation reached out to HCA and HCL to offer support via an emergency loan product. Soon after, Hawaii County heard about it and wanted to do something similar.

According to a media release from HCA, it quickly created the Hawaii County Emergency Resilience Loan Program. This allowed it to reach 85 households – 242 children and adults – who had lost income due to COVID-19. The emergency loans were as large as \$5,000 with zero percent interest and every borrower was provided with financial counseling. A total of \$251,900 was deployed with an average loan size of \$2,694.

Lahela Williams, Executive Director of HCA, stated:

"Program data cited that a disproportionate number of women, Native Hawaiians, Pacific Islanders, African Americans, and Native Americans applied for the emergency loans, demonstrating the uneven economic impact COVID-19 is having on females, Native communities, and people of color in the local workforce."

Overall, 71 percent of all borrowers were female, 47 percent were self-employed, and 60 percent were renters. Nearly 50 percent were Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander.

Gilbreath indicated that "the data reports through OTIS allowed not only for streamlined reporting to our funders, but also to influence public policy to ensure COVID resources reach our most impacted populations – Native communities, communities of color, and women." Due to the loan programs' success, county and state officials were motivated to replicate the model at the state level with CARES act money. Recognizing the disproportionate economic impact of COVID-19 on women, Hawaii County Councilmember Ashley Kierkiewicz introduced a resolution to the County Council supporting and urging equity, inclusion, and social and economic justice principles into COVID-19 related recovery initiatives for Hawaii County. The Council passed the resolution unanimously and HCA was officially appointed to run CARES Act programs for Hawaii Island. It was awarded \$8.5 million.

This program, Hawaii County Rent and Mortgage Assistance Program (RMAP), serves Hawaii Island and was launched in August, 2020. It is funded through CARES Act monies from the County of Hawaii. The six non-profit partners administering this financial assistance throughout Hawaii Island include HCA/HCL, HOPE Services Hawaii (HOPE), Hawaii First Federal Credit Union (HFFCU), Neighborhood Place of Puna (NPP),

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Hawaii Island Home for Recovery (HIHR), and Habitat for Humanity Hawaii Island (HFHHI). RMAP provides rent or mortgage payments of up to \$2,000 per month from March through December, 2020, to applicants who have been impacted directly by COVID-19.

Within three weeks of the RMAP launch, 338 households were approved with \$1.3 million of the \$8.5 million disbursed. According to Gilbreath, “[the coalitions of partner organizations] are on track to spend \$7.25 million and assist 1885 households by November 30th, 2020. For HCA/HCL alone, we have approved 59 of the 338 overall program households and disbursed \$200k of the \$1.3 million.”

Williams also stated in the media release, “As the COVID-19 economic crisis persists it will be important for all of us to continue to come together to create real, community-led public-private partnerships like this so we can get dollars out to our people as fast as possible for response and recovery.” According to Gilbreath, this energy and response caught the attention of those original investors who had pulled out and they are now looking to invest in HCA and HCL for recovery relief. Additional organizations are now looking to fund HCA’s and HCL’s efforts as well.

Council for Native Hawaiian Advancement: Emergency Financial Assistance Grants for Families and Online Marketplaces to Support Local Businesses and Artists

The Council for Native Hawaiian Advancement (CNHA), founded in 2001, is a 501(c)3 nonprofit organization with a mission to enhance the cultural, economic, political, and community development of Native Hawaiians.^{vii} CNHA is a member-based organization with a national network of Native Hawaiian organizations and a strong voice on public policy and advocacy for Native Hawaiian people. CNHA offers capacity building services and leadership development to its members through training and technical assistance. Its charitable arm, Hawaiian Way Fund, assists Hawaiian nonprofits and community organizations. CNHA is also actively involved in census engagement to ensure all Native Hawaiians are counted. Additionally, CNHA runs the Hawaiian Trades Program that provides workforce development in areas such as carpentry, solar, electrical, police, firefighting, and commercial drivers licensing (CDL). According to CNHA’s website, since this program’s inception in 2019, CNHA has successfully supported over 160 students.

In addition to being a highly successful nonprofit, CNHA is a Native CDFI and a HUD-approved housing counseling agency that delivers access to capital, financial education, and individualized financial counseling. Its loan products include interim construction, micro-business, small business, non-profit, and debt consolidation.

In January, 2020, prior to the COVID-19 pandemic, CNHA was funded by the Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA) to implement the Kahiau Community Assistance Program (i.e., Kahiau Program) to provide one-time emergency financial assistance grants to Native Hawaiian beneficiaries facing hardship due to an unexpected crisis. Recognizing that Native Hawaiians were faced with emergency-level hardship, CNHA was making moves to provide financial stability for these families before COVID-19 struck. Funds can be used to pay mortgage, rent, or utilities. The timing of the Kahiau Program could not have been more “perfect.” According to Kuhio Lewis, President and CEO of CNHA, when COVID-19 hit, the Kahiau Program was still in operation, and more funders further supported the program in late May. As of September, 2020, the Kahiau Program was still in operation. Thus far, it has received over 3,500 applications and disbursed \$670,000 to 520 households.

According to Lewis, on April 2, 2020, CNHA also launched the Ho‘āla Assistance Program (i.e., Ho‘āla Program) to provide emergency financial grant assistance to Hawaii residents facing hardship due to

COVID-19. The Hawaii Resilience Fund seeded the program with \$300,000 to be dispersed to households in amounts up to \$1,000. Within 10 hours, the program had received over 2,000 applications, depleting the funds, which forced CNHA to deactivate the application. However, quickly recognizing the success and demand of the Ho‘āla Program, in late May the City and County of Honolulu appropriated an additional \$25 million to it. As of September, 2020, the Ho‘āla Program is still active and has received over 4,200 applications and has served 1,570 households providing a total of \$1,870,000.

In addition to the two emergency grant programs, CNHA and its partners Hawaii Tourism Authority and Hawaiian Airlines, along with many sponsors, implemented the Pop-Up Mākeke in response to COVID-19. This was intended to help Native Hawaiian business owners and artists by hosting an online marketplace for customers to access local products. “We initially launched the Pop-Up Mākeke on April 1st in response to the statewide stay-at-home order and the cancellation of events statewide, including our largest hula festival – the Merrie Monarch Festival,” explained Lewis. He continued, “We closed the Mākeke at the end of May, once the stay-at-home order was lifted. Unfortunately, COVID-19 cases in Hawaii spiked, forcing us into another stay-at-home order.” This prompted CNHA to relaunch the Pop-Up Mākeke which is scheduled to run from October through December, 2020.

According to Lewis, the Pop-Up Mākeke has supported 101 vendors and raised \$324,000, with just under 11,000 items sold. This supported those artists who often depend on a portion of profits from tourists, where according to Lewis, 34 percent of Pop-Up Mākeke customers were outside of Hawaii. As seen in a [video](#)^{viii} highlighting its success, one local artist stated “it really helped me a lot because it paid for at least two months of my rent and more.” A local business owner also indicated that it “helped us keep [our] small business afloat.” Incorporating emergency grant programs and a successful online marketplace into the existing supportive services that CNHA already provided, it further solidified their commitment to uplifting Native Hawaiians throughout the state.

Homestead Community Development Corporation and Loan Fund: Homestead Units for Self-Quarantine – An Emergency Loan Product for Homesteads

The Homestead Community Development Corporation (HCDC), founded in 2009, is a Hawaii based non-profit primarily serving native Hawaiians eligible, state-wide, for a land allotment under the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act (HHCA) of 1920. HCDC is comparable to a tribal housing authority and tribal loan fund, as its board of commissioners is appointed by the Sovereign Council of Hawaiian Homestead Associations (SCHHA), formed in 1987, a self-governing organization of elected leaders serving enrolled members statewide, and members residing on the continent awaiting their land award.

The HCDC mission focuses on affordable housing, economic prosperity, and capacity building on or near the trust lands of the native Hawaiian people. Similar to tribal nonprofits and corporations, HCDC has deployed successful social enterprise strategies leading to a campground, an open air market, a certified kitchen space, a youth center, and a solar form facility. An enterprise center, as part of its economic development mission, empowers artisans, micro businesses, families and individuals on or near the trust lands of the HHCA.

To advance its affordable housing mission, HCDC operates its Hawaiian Lending & Investments loan fund (an emerging CDFI), providing access to capital to repair and renovate aging housing stock on trust lands, assisting families in financial services, and delivering savings match programs, and in 2020, HCDC partnered with 1st Tribal Lending

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to increase access to HUD 184a mortgage financing dedicated to Hawaiian trust lands. In addition, HCDC has developed 22 single family homes under a modified self-help program on two islands, all on trust lands to facilitate homeownership by low- and moderate-income allottees. Currently, HCDC is in escrow on the first-ever acquisition of a six-unit apartment complex in the town core of Lihue, on fee simple lands to begin its journey to develop, own and operate affordable rentals on all islands. Simultaneously, HCDC is in preliminary development stages of constructing 20 affordable rental units on trust lands, serving young men and elders in one-bedroom and studio rental units in the rural homestead of Anahola.

Since the onslaught of the COVID 19 pandemic in April, the common cultural practice of multi-generational families sharing a single-family residence on trust lands, has become a health threat to high-risk family members, especially *kupuna* (elders).

According to Robin Danner (2020), Executive Director of HCDC:

"One of the most notable problems is the reality of overcrowded and multi-generational families on the homesteads. Prior to the pandemic, it was certainly an inconvenience; a statistic supporting a greater push on the state to issue thousands more in homestead awards. Since the pandemic, it has become far more than an inconvenience."

The danger the pandemic posed on *kupuna* and at-risk family members in these overcrowded households called for immediate action. In direct response, HCDC developed a loan product for homestead families to finance and install 10x12 foot self-quarantine backyard units for protection. The Homestead Unit Self Quarantine (HUSQ) loan provides between \$2,000 and \$7,500 in financing with affordable payments between \$90 and \$138 per month. According to Danner (2020), in just the first five days of the HUSQ program launch, it received more than 40 inquiries. As of September, 2020, the HUSQ program was still accepting applications. Serving families on Kauai, Maui, Hawaii Island, Oahu, and Molokai, \$90,176 in loan capital was deployed from July to October, 2020.

When the pandemic is over, these quarantine units can be repurposed in a variety of ways. Faisha Solomon, Deputy Director and Loan Fund Manager of HCDC, stated: "I was raised on homesteads. I don't know many families in my homestead that wouldn't benefit from a simple unit, whether it's used now to keep family members safe, and next year to be a hobby or sewing room, or for fishing equipment." These units have the potential to be converted into tiny homes as rentable units for extended families to increase communal income for native Hawaiian householding, therefore providing a long-term economic impact for recipients.

HCDC has supplemented the HUSQ loan product by researching the development of a Septic System Upgrade loan product by the end of 2020. This would ensure that HUSQ units that make sense as permanent living space, are accommodated while upgrading older cesspool systems to more environmentally responsible septic systems, across the state on trust lands.

Innovative loan products like HCDC's HUSQ loan not only support these communities during times of tragedy and crisis, but also offer lasting impacts and opportunities that can be further leveraged through recovery.

Oweesta Corporation: Native CDFI Intermediary and Partner

Oweesta Corporation (i.e., Oweesta) is a national Native CDFI intermediary that provides loans, technical assistance, training, and research assistance to Native CDFIs such as illustrated in these case studies, as well as many others across the country. In 2019 the organi-

zation celebrated its 20th year. Its mission is to provide opportunities for Native people to develop financial assets by assisting in the establishment of permanent institutions, with programs contributing to economic independence and the strengthening of sovereignty.

Krystal Langholz, Chief Operating Officer at Oweesta, described resistance and response as "business as usual" for Native communities. Resilience has been "the mantra of the Native CDFI movement." Much of this resilience can be witnessed through Native communities continued survival of systematic inequalities. Langholz affirmed: "Native CDFIs and Native nonprofits continue to persist through a structure that was designed to make the work of a Native CDFI impossible." Some of these structures include having to deal with the understaffed and complex Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) system, which can take years,^{ix} Community Reinvestment Act (CRA) incentives being disproportionately less supportive of urban lenders,^x and philanthropy giving significantly less to Native communities.^{xi} Langholz described Native CDFIs as incredibly resourceful: "They use partners like they breathe oxygen." Native CDFIs regularly use each other and their networks to share best practices and lessons learned. With help from backbone institutions like Oweesta, Native CDFIs can become better equipped to unite and collaborate to create their own models and better serve Native communities which are often shut out of capital access opportunities.

According to Langholz, Oweesta Corporation developed a COVID-19 operational plan to respond to the crisis. The core components: maintain consistent contact with its Native CDFI borrowers, take care of internal staff, and host focus group meetings with Native CDFI borrowers to discuss their needs and consider their observations from their own communities around the impacts of COVID-19. These focus groups provided the basis for developing a response.

With help from their own investors, Oweesta instituted interest forgiveness on its loans through the end of year, increased its loan loss reserve, and repurposed funds originally allocated for travel. Oweesta has made loans and grants available to Native CDFIs in response to COVID-19 and hopes to create a loan capital pool specifically for pandemic recovery. Oweesta is continuing to fundraise for this capital pool with hopes to deploy early in 2021.

Oweesta also developed working capital loans and lines of credit for Native CDFIs to access.^{xii} The working capital loan concept was designed to support Native CDFIs with operating funds who are experiencing hardship due to COVID-19. Some of these funds assisted Native CDFIs which were waiting to receive grant revenue or other funding awards. The lines of credit were intended for any general lending capital needs. Oweesta encouraged organizations which received the lines of credit to launch or enhance their own emergency loan products for the communities they serve. Langholz indicated from March 1 to September 3, 2020, Oweesta had disbursed \$2,876,000 to nine Native CDFIs, and there were many more in the pipeline. Most of this capital was provided to emerging and younger Native CDFIs.

In addition to capital, Oweesta has always committed to providing trainings and technical assistance. When COVID-19 hit, it pivoted its developmental service program by providing eight COVID-19 related webinars with topics ranging from self-care, restructuring of loan products, sharing best practices around innovative loan products, how to do loan write-offs, and other highly technical topics to support Native CDFIs. It also provided training around how to connect with community members online, how to use Zoom, and how to structure online trainings. As Langholz described, "our training team worked really hard on how to create an interactive training experience." Like many Native CDFIs, Oweesta further enhanced already existing forms of capital and developmental services that continue to uplift individuals, families, and organizations across the nation.

The Applied Anthropologist

CAMP



Native CDFIs and Continued Resilience...

Call to Action and Conclusion

Native CDFIs are continually responsive to historically derived inequities and pressing contemporary needs. To perpetuate the spread of positive impact, Native CDFIs must continue sharing their stories and innovations. As they carefully document the information (i.e., collect the data) needed to tell their stories, Native CDFIs are also able to educate themselves on the needs of the communities they serve, refine and change their processes, attract and diversify their funding pools, and influence public policy. For future analytic efforts, Native CDFIs will benefit from collecting more follow-up information from their recipients, allowing them a deeper, more personal, understanding of how their response services have impacted individuals and their families.

These cases, with the accompanying stories, can educate the broader public on the efforts of Native CDFIs and why they are so vital for economic growth across the nation. Chrystal Cornelius, Executive Director of Oweesta, issued a statement in Oweesta's *Mobilizing for Native American Small Businesses & Families During COVID-19* publication (2020),

"Our Native Organizations – born out of colonization – born out of the American Indian Movement – born out of pure necessity – continue to honor this leadership obligation for our people. We are vehicles of capital, community building in culturally relevant manners and have changed the economic landscape of our communities. We are all related, as a human race and with all of Creation. Indian Country needs now, more than ever partners, investors and constant believers to realize aligning capital with justice for our Native Nations."

Supporting Native CDFIs can be as simple as spreading the word. Using platforms, networks, research, and privilege to uplift the Native CDFI movement is essential. If you are reading this, it should be noted that your privilege is unequivocal, even unequitable, compared to billions of other human beings, including many community members served by Native CDFIs. Let the organizations continue their mission-driven work. Then responsive readers, advocates, community-based workers, academics, and funders can share and become a part of their incredible stories. This is but a small response to open new opportunities for communities impacted by the recent pandemic, as well as half a millennium of preceding atrocities.

Notes

- i. It is common throughout Hawaii to differentiate between Native Hawaiians and native Hawaiians. Native Hawaiian with an upper-case "N" refers to all persons of Hawaiian ancestry regardless of blood quantum, whereas native Hawaiian with a lowercase "n" refers to those with 50% and more Hawaiian blood. This article differentiates this way as well as when discussing Hawaii-based Native CDFIs; otherwise generally speaking, "Native" is upper-case throughout (Office of Hawaiian Affairs, 1994).
- ii. Unbanked individuals do not have a checking, savings, or money market account. Underbanked individuals may have a bank account, but also use alternative and predatory financial products such as payday loans, pawn shop loans, paycheck advances, and auto title loans.
- iii. Predatory lending typically targets minority populations, people living in poverty, and elderly individuals. It is considered predatory because these institutions charge extremely high interest rates and ignore the borrower's ability to repay the debt. This creates "a cycle of debt that causes severe financial hardship on families and individuals."

- iv. OTIS was developed in partnership by Sweet Grass Consulting, LLC and Oweesta Corporation. It was originally created to support the Native CDFI industry's need for an impact tracking, data collection, and reporting system that was affordable. The system works as a network of participating Native CDFIs. Being a part of the OTIS network allows Native CDFIs to have their own separate data management systems, but sharing through a collective system means these organizations contribute to industry-level reporting. These industry-level reports assist with understanding Native CDFI demand, needs, and opportunities in order to support funding and advocacy efforts amongst industry leaders. Find more information at: <https://www.oweesta.org/otis/>
- v. Find more about Hawaiian Community Assets and Hawaiian Community Lending at: <http://www.hawaiiancommunity.net/>
- vi. Native Hawaiian homesteads are similar to American Indian reservations. These home lands (trust lands) were allotted through the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act of 1920, similar to the Indian Allotment Act policy era for American Indians on the continent. Because native Hawaiians are not federally recognized, these trust lands are managed by the state, rather than federally. Learn more about the Department of Hawaiian Home Lands at <http://dhhl.hawaii.gov/>.
- vii. Find more about Council for Native Hawaiian Advancement at: <https://www.hawaiiancouncil.org/>
- viii. Pop-Up Mākeke video can be accessed at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wi4VPFtnRPs&feature=emb_logo
- ix. "Lengthy waits have had crippling effects on home ownership as investors' loan offers expire or the parties otherwise become discouraged by the process and the time involved. Yet the Title Status Report (TSR) process has been dependent on BIA land title records offices only because that is where the records have been kept and no alternative process has been available" (Native Nations Institute, 2016, p. 52).
- x. The Community Reinvestment Act (CRA) of 1977 was designed to lessen predatory and discriminatory lending such as redlining. Although Native communities meet the criteria to satisfy bank CRA requirements, it often excludes those populations, especially those living on tribal lands (Native Nations Institute, 2016, p. 94).
- xi. The First Nations Development Institute (2018) found that of the top 1,000 foundations, less than half contribute to Native causes and organizations. Even though there has been an overall increase in foundation funding since 2006, there has been a \$35 million decline in annual grant support for Native American causes and organizations between 2006 and 2014.
- xii. Find more about Oweesta Corporation's COVID-19 response at: <https://www.oweesta.org/covid-19/>

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IN THE WAKE OF TWO STORMS: AN IMPACT ASSESSMENT OF HURRICANES IRMA AND MARIA ON THE ST. CROIX AND ST. THOMAS FISHERIES, USVI

BRENT STOFFLE, AMANDA STOLTZ, SCOTT CROSSON, AND JENNIFER SWEENEY TOOKES

ABSTRACT

Hurricanes are common in the United States Virgin Islands (USVI). For generations, the USVI fishermen and residents have adapted to hurricane impacts and grown accustomed to the process of rebuilding. In September of 2017, however, hurricanes Irma and Maria passed over the islands leaving an unprecedented massive destruction of property and disruption of services. Losses included boats, homes, power, and basic infrastructure access. The economic impacts included a consequential loss of tourism and tourism-related infrastructure. Fishermen experienced all of these impacts.

This NOAA sponsored research focuses on the impact of these two hurricanes on the St. Croix, St. Thomas, and St. John fishermen and residents. It examines how these people adapted and recovered. More than 165 interviews were conducted in July of 2019. Residents and fishermen described how they rebuilt and started anew, sharing a story of resiliency, struggle, and a love for the sea and family. An issue discovered in this research effort was the relationship between local use of external assistance programs in comparison to their own methods of recovery.

KEY WORDS: Hurricanes, USVI, Fishermen, Recovery

Disclaimer: It should be noted that the findings presented here represent those of the authors and do not reflect any position taken by NOAA Fisheries. All assertions and assessments are those of the researchers, only.

Introduction

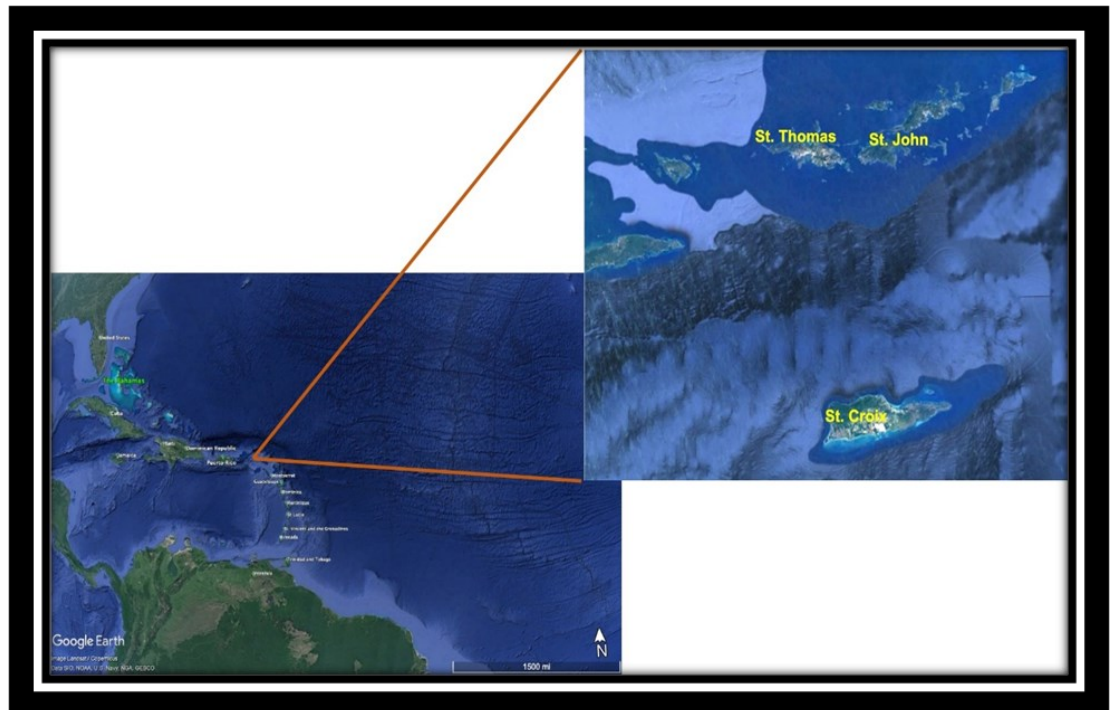
For more than 400 years in the Caribbean, people have been primarily and immediately responsible for their safety and recovery after a crisis. Developed over time, networks of reciprocal social relationships span neighborhoods, communities, and even across small islands. People engaged in multiple sources of income, kind and places of agricultural production to assure that there would be ways to get food, repair homes, and nurse the wounded or infirmed. Over time a migration of Caribbean people to other countries would be make individuals responsible for sending back remittances and supplies. However one of the most common sources of sustenance and recovery utilized by Caribbean people was and still is today products born from the sea.

In times of crisis people of the Caribbean turn to the sea. In doing so, they rely on those individuals and natural resources that are tied to each other based on a long history of use, adaptation, and conservation (Stoffle et al. 1994; Stoffle et al. 2020). This pattern is especially apparent in

the United States Virgin Islands (USVI), where people are socially, culturally, and economically interdependent with marine resources and fishing as a way of life (Stoffle et al. 2009; Stoffle et al. 2011).

For people of the USVI, many types of perturbations can disrupt everyday life. The majority of these tend to be environmental, such

Figure 1: Map of Caribbean and USVI



as hurricanes and earthquakes. These disruptions force people to respond and be resilient (Stoffle and Minnis 2008). They cause people to adapt and sometimes change their behavior to persist and rebuild. Social networks are tasked and put to the test. Perturbations can be short-lived or have long-standing impacts on individuals and communities.

The National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration Headquarters and Southeast Fisheries Science Center (NOAA and SEFSC, respectively) focused on the effects of hurricanes Irma and Maria that passed over the USVI in September of 2017 causing massive destruction of property and disruption of services. Because the people of these islands are heavily dependent on the local fisheries and fishing, it was essential to examine which fishermen were impacted and their subsequent strategies for recovery and rebuilding in the wake of the disasters.

In September of 2017, the USVI were hit first by hurricane Irma on the 6th, and then by Maria on the 20th. Both passed over the USVI as Category 5 storms with sustained winds of 185 miles per hour (mph) and gusts over 220 mph. There were widespread power outages, infrastructure destruction, and a massive disruption of local life patterns on land and sea (USVI Hurricane Taskforce 2018).

After Irma moved across the USVI and on to Cuba and Florida, St. Croix was used as a recovery center for St. Thomas and St. John. Before the recovery process made much headway, however, Maria followed and further damaged St. Croix. The two storms crippled the social, economic, and environmental resources of all three Islands.

This analysis contributes to the growing academic and technical literature on how increasingly violent weather and sea level rise impact coastal communities and small islands in the Caribbean (Leatherman and Beller-Simms 1997; Schleupner 2007). This is especially relevant for fishing dependent communities (Colburn et al. 2016), which are defined by Magnuson Stevens Fishery Conservation and Management Act, 16 US C. ch. 36, 1801, April 13, 1976. The Act's definition of a fishing-dependent community is

a community which is substantially dependent on or substantially engaged in the harvest or processing of fishery resources to meet social and economic needs, and includes fishing vessel owners, operators, and crew and United States fish processors that are based in such a

Figure 2: Category 5 Maria hitting the USVI



community.

St. Croix and St. Thomas fit this definition and are communities based on their contemporary local dependency on and engagement in fishing and harvesting marine resources and a historic cultural connection between the people of the island and fishing (Stoffle et al. 2009; Stoffle et al. 2011). One key component of meeting this definition is that fact that almost 100% of the marine resources harvested are landed, purchased, and consumed in the USVI.

Extreme weather events include stronger hurricanes, frequent tropical downpours and flooding, and extensive drought (Taylor et al. 2012). While drought may seem a minor event in areas of extreme

Figure 3: Damaged Hillside Homes in St. Thomas, USVI. Source NBCnews.com



Figure 4: Post-Hurricane Maria in St. Croix. ABCnews.com



rainfall, it was historically recognized as a significant issue (Mulcahy 2020) and has become a vital concern for the high island small nations of the Lesser Antilles that have bolstered their economies by selling billions of gallons of freshwater to commercial bottling companies (Pickering 2014, 2015). Sea level rise directly impacts near-shore fisheries and coral reefs, causes shore erosion, and multiplies the effects of storm-related surges and king tides (Darsan, Asmath, and Jehu 2013; Durand, Vernet, and Augris 1997). It is common for fishing infrastructure to be vulnerable to the impact of hurricanes, whether in the Caribbean or the continental US. In 2017, Hurricanes Irma and Maria severely impacted fishing infrastructure in both the US and throughout the Caribbean with their high winds and extreme storm surge. In Red Hook, St. Thomas and Salt River, St. Croix both places experienced massive damage to their fishing facilities such as docks and storage facility as well as to the boats that were unable to be hauled out and were left tied off to the docks.

Methods: Storm Impact Data Collection

In 2018 a preliminary impact assessment was conducted by the USVI Hurricane Recovery and Resilience Task Force (USVI Task Force 2018). This initial assessment was derived from a Task Force composed of 21 principal partners and 36 additional contributors. Most were local officials and heads of businesses. They conducted an initial on-site assessment of storm impacts from December 2017 until February 2018 (USVI Task Force 2018). Their findings were presented later in August 2018 and these helped form the foundation of the 2019 NOAA study.

Around the same time, in October and November of 2017, NOAA initiated its 60 day impact assessment relying on local DFW employees to partner in the collection and analysis of NOAA's baseline research (NOAA 2018). Two data collection instruments were used. Implementation of the survey was advertised through several different formats: distributed flyers, social media, radio announcements, and government press conferences. Department of Fish and Wildlife (DFW) staff also spread word of the survey via personal contact with fishers and visits to businesses. No phones were utilized in the process, as phone service

had not yet been restored to the Territory. DFW staff surveyed 92 commercial fishers and 18 charter captains. The latter group includes five charter captains who also commercially fish. For this analysis, respondents who categorized themselves as both charter and commercial fishers were placed into the charter category. Total damages were projected to have been \$7,793,555 and 39 jobs were lost in the short term. An additional \$242,392 in damages were reported by the six tackle and marine supply shops interviewed, with another seven jobs lost and over one million dollars in lost business.

In July 2019, the second NOAA sponsored field-based research effort was designed to provide additional descriptions and assessments of fishing and local life. Like the previous assessment, the primary research goal was to describe the impact of the two storms on the fishing industry and where fishermen were in the recovery process. In addition, the research identified ways in which people utilized their own means for recovery as well as familial and other extended networks. One key aspect of the recovery process was the prevalence of Federal assistance programs and the frequency that fishermen used these programs. The research explored the extent that fishermen were able to access certain types of assistance programs or if they had to rely on other means to rebuild and reengage in fishing.

At this time our research team used Rapid Ethnographic Appraisal Procedures (REAP) to assess the state of the fishery and the fishermen in the USVI. REAP involves a mixed methods approach involving a combination of formal surveys, informal interviews, key informant interviews, and group interviews to triangulate findings and increase confidence levels in the data (Beebe 1995, 2001; Tashakkori and Teddlie 1998). The agreement of both quantitative and qualitative data strengthens the confidence in the findings.

More than 165 people were involved in sharing information for the study, including some tying from the previous 60-day study. There were 113 surveys, 35 informal interviews, 10 people in a group interview, and 7 key informant in-depth interviews. The formal survey was administered utilizing opportunistic and site-intercept sampling strategies. The site sampling was done at the annual commercial fisheries

registration on both St. Thomas and St. Croix and has proven to be an effective strategy for sampling a large number of fishermen in a limited time frame (Crosson and Hibbert 2017). A total of 113 surveys were administered, with 58 completed in St. Thomas and 55 in St. Croix. A group interview composed of 10 people was conducted with experts from the business and fishing sectors in St. Croix. Informal interviews (35) were conducted on both islands with local business owners and other community members regarding their experiences with the storms and how they recovered and "got back to normal." Seven key informant in-depth interviews were conducted in both islands with people who were identified as having years of knowledge and experience in the local fisheries.

The Fishery Advisory Committee (FAC) held its monthly meeting on July 10, 2019, where NOAA researchers were invited to present some initial findings. The FAC is comprised of fishermen, scientists, Government officials (from the Head of the Department of Planning and Natural Resources to Enforcement officers), and local business owners (with fishery or marine-related businesses). They meet monthly to discuss issues of local and territorial marine policies.

These meetings usually result in a position statement on a timely issue. Afterward they deliver a policy statement to the local government or the Caribbean Fisheries Management Council. The FAC is a representative group selected to express the interests of those like them professionally and ensure that these perspectives are publicly shared. Their understanding and approval of the NOAA study was critical for its success.

A Description of the USVI Fishery

The USVI commercial fishing industry is relatively small and artisanal compared to some of the larger US continental fleets, such as the surf clam and ocean quahog fleet in the Northeast, Gulf of Mexico Shrimpers in the Southeast, and Alaskan Crabbers of the Northwest. What makes the USVI fishery special are its many local community ties due to it being an important source of sustenance, income, and employment. In contrast with much of the US mainland fisheries, there is neither an export market nor a processing sector, meaning that seafood landed is consumed locally, and revenue generated primarily benefits the local community (Stoffle et al. 2009; Stoffle et al. 2011).

There is a limited fish-dealer network, however, most commercial fishermen choose to harvest their catch on a single day trip and sell it by the roadside either that same day or the next (Stoffle et al. 2009; Stoffle et al. 2011). This eliminates the "middle man" (dealer), thus keeping prices low while retaining a viable profit. This pattern of selling fresh fish provides an opportunity for other family members and friends to sell the fish at specific locations where they can make a little bit of money for themselves. There is a smaller number of fishermen who have connections that allow them to sell directly to restaurants and resorts (Fleming, Armentrout, and Crosson 2017). As noted by a Fisheries Advisory Committee member, the notion of sea-to-door distribution is becoming an increasingly attractive strategy for efficiently harvesting and selling catch.

The commercial and recreational fleets (including for-hire) are primarily located in St. Thomas and St. Croix, with a few fishermen still working from the much less populated St. John. The islands of the USVI are small and, in a sense, entirely consist of coastal communities where the ocean is never more than a short drive away. There are concentrations of commercial and charter fishing fleets on St. Thomas in the Frenchtown neighborhood on the south coast, Hull Bay on the north coast, and the Red Hook community on the east end of the island. The fleet is less concentrated on St. Croix, but there are many boats near the towns of Christiansted on the northeast coast (Gallows Bay) and

Frederiksted on the west coast. It is more common for the fishermen of St. Croix to trailer their boats rather than mooring them as they do in St. Thomas. This is in large part due to the topography of the island.

The number of licensed commercial fishermen declined 32.1% in the USVI since the recent census; surveys commenced in 2004, with the largest decline between 2004 and 2011. The decline was more evident on St. Croix (-36.8%) than on St. Thomas (-25.6%). There has been a moratorium on the issuance of new fishing licenses since 2001. Only transfers to family members or helpers are currently officially permitted. Mean ages for fishermen were 56.9 (St. Croix) and 55.0 (St. Thomas) years. The mean number of years they had fished as licensed fishermen and helpers was 26.7 and 30.8 years, respectively (Kojis et al. 2017).

The average size of fishermen's households is 2.7 people for St. Croix and 2.5 people for St. Thomas (Kojis et al. 2017). St. Thomas and St. Croix differ from one another ethnically, as the majority of the St. Thomas population comes from French descent while the majority of the population in St. Croix is of Hispanic descent (mostly people from Puerto Rico and its neighboring islands of Culebra and Vieques). On both islands, there are people of West Indian heritage and a growing population of people from middle eastern countries. On St. Croix, there is also a sizeable portion of people who have illegally come to the island from the Dominican Republic. These people (called Santos) left the Dominican Republic in search of a better life and opportunity.

Since the first census in 2004 the average age and levels of formal education increased. In 2016, younger fishermen have more years of formal education than older ones. The 2004 census also found that fewer fishermen on St. Thomas (27.5%) derived 100% of their income from fishing compared to St. Croix (38.9%). The concept of occupational multiplicity (Comitas 1964) and environmental multiplicity (Stoffle and Minnis 2008) are common patterns of adaptation found throughout Caribbean communities. It is a strategy used by individuals for creating economic security and stability, and a means of offsetting certain known and unknown crises or hardships (Comitas 1964; Stoffle et al. 2020). This idea focuses on the need to engage in multiple methods for earning money, often straddling both formal and informal economies to ensure that if one method is interrupted or disrupted, the others can either makeup or offset the loss.

The boats used in the USVI are much smaller than those typically used in the larger continental US fisheries. The average size is not much more than 21 feet, and the boats are typically made of fiberglass or fiberglass and wood. Most fishermen have one or two motors that range from 90 to 110 hp. While this makes them more likely to be damaged due to high winds and falling debris, it also means that the fishermen's skill in mechanics and fiberglass allows them to do much of the repairs themselves. The 2016 fishermen's census (Kojis et al. 2017) notes that on average, St. Croix fishermen valued their boat in its present condition (including all on-board gear) and fishing equipment at \$39,000, which is about one-third the value provided by St. Thomas fishermen (\$102,000).

The fisheries of St. Thomas and St. Croix are multi-species, multi-gear fisheries with no exported product (Stoffle et al. 2009; Stoffle et al. 2011). The reef fish fishery continues to be the most important fishery in both St. Thomas and St. Croix. This is largely because it straddles both commercial and recreational fisheries, in addition to being popular in both households and restaurants. Coastal pelagic fish are the second (due to their popularity in restaurants and among recreational fishermen) and spiny lobster the third most important for St. Thomas fishermen. On St. Croix, spiny lobster was the second most important fishery targeted and deep-water pelagic fish (dolphinfish, wahoo) the third.

Kojis et al. (2017) notes that fishing with line fishing gear is the most commonly used gear on both islands. Most fishermen (St. Thomas – 84%, St. Croix - 92%) own handline gear (“yo-yo” gear). Rod and reel ownership was more common on St. Thomas (52% of fishers) than St. Croix (36%), reflecting the more frequent targeting of large pelagic fish on St. Thomas (especially among those who are for-hire fishermen with commercial licenses). Trap gear is more commonly owned by St. Thomas fishermen. Fishermen, particularly those on St. Croix, diversified into other gears such as multi-hook vertical set lines, tuna reel buoy fishing, and vertical set line (single hook for pelagic fish). Also, fishermen on St. Croix more commonly owned scuba gear for spearing fish, hand gathering queen conch, and snaring lobster. Scuba gear was owned by 54% of St. Croix fishermen, but only 14% of St. Thomas fishermen, who primarily used scuba to fish for personal consumption (Kojis et al. 2017).

The USVI fishermen are vulnerable to the loss of both vessel and gear during hurricanes. However, due to their ability to target multiple species utilizing multiple fishing strategies, they can offset the damage and recovery costs. This means they can “get back in the game” more quickly than most because they are not tied to one species or gear type. It provides them with greater flexibility and opportunity to offset various kinds of disruptions in their normal annual round.

Economic data on the USVI is less extensive compared to the economic data available for the mainland United States. As estimated by the Bureau of Economic Analysis (2014), the islands' non-farm employment is approximately 39,000, with the domestic product estimated to be \$3.8 billion in 2013. Commercial fishing is a relatively small contribution, employing a few hundred fishermen and crew between the islands and producing \$5 million worth of landings in the same year. These landings are likely to be low estimates as there has historically been difficulty assessing the total value and size of the annual catch. In addition to the amount landed, sold, and recorded, a significant portion of the catch is given away, shared, and consumed within the fisherman's social networks. The landings generate revenue that stays on the island (Stoffle et al. 2009; Stoffle et al. 2011). Fish

landed is consumed by locals or tourists, and money made tends to be spent locally.

The DFW records listed 104 licensed and currently registered commercial fishermen on St. Thomas and 112 on St. Croix when the hurricanes hit. However, not all of these licensed fishermen were regularly active in commercial fishing. The number of active commercial fishermen was considerably smaller--DFW records indicate that there were 64 active fishers on St. Thomas/St. John and 88 on St. Croix in 2016. We defined “active” as licensed and registered fishers who fished for at least three months out of the year.

The Two-Storms Case Study

The first survey conducted was a 60-day NOAA hurricane impact assessment (2017). This assessment estimated total capital losses of \$3,147,164 and lost revenue of \$485,641, which produces total losses of \$3,632,806 at the time of surveying, for St. Thomas and St. John. An estimated total capital loss of \$1,473,815 combined with an estimate of lost revenue of \$674,850 or total losses of \$2,148,665 by the end of November 2017 was calculated for St. Croix. As the survey indicated in spite of all of the loss insurance (related to fishing) was nearly non-existent and the initial recovery efforts were primarily handled through the fishermen's own ways and means.

Total unemployment in the USVI rose by an estimated 12 percent (4,500 jobs) by November 2017. As of May 2018, only a small portion of those jobs (600) had been recovered (www.libertystreeteconomics.newyorkfed.org 2018). It took months before power was fully restored and transportation could access land and sea destinations. In other economic/industrial sectors, the recovery process was even slower. This was especially evident in the tourism industry, the local commercial businesses and the for-hire fisheries. Employment in the broader leisure and hospitality sector, which includes restaurants and bars that mainly cater to visitors, fell by 2,200 jobs, or 29 percent; in the USVI this represents nearly half of the total job loss experienced across all sectors (libertystreeteconomics.newyorkfed.org 2018). The commercial and for-hire fisheries still had not yet fully recovered at the time of this study (2019), al-

Figure 5 : Business Impacts

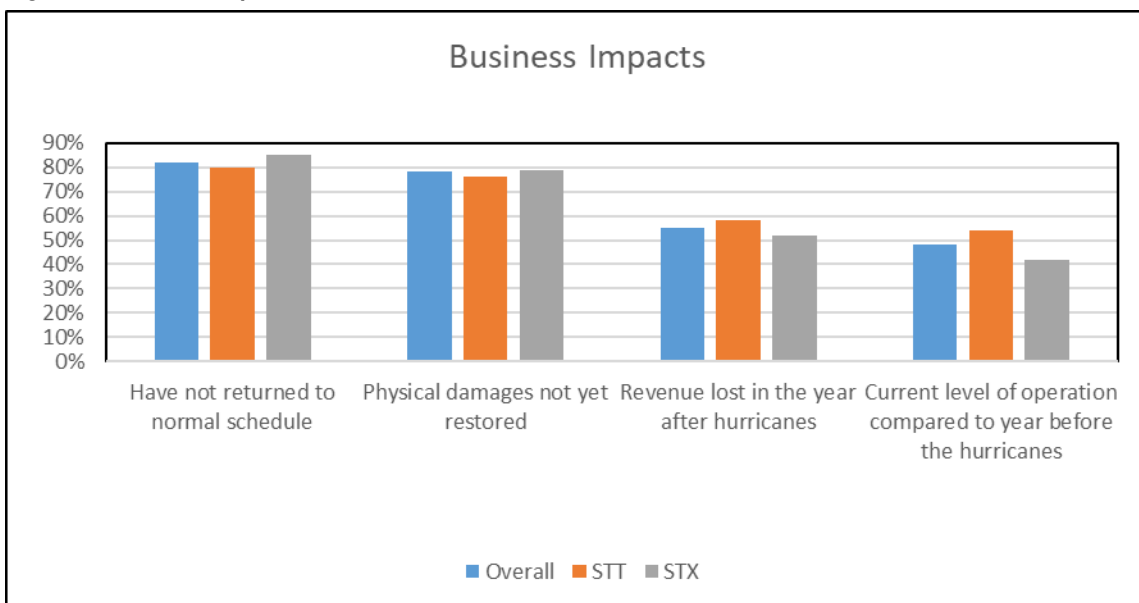
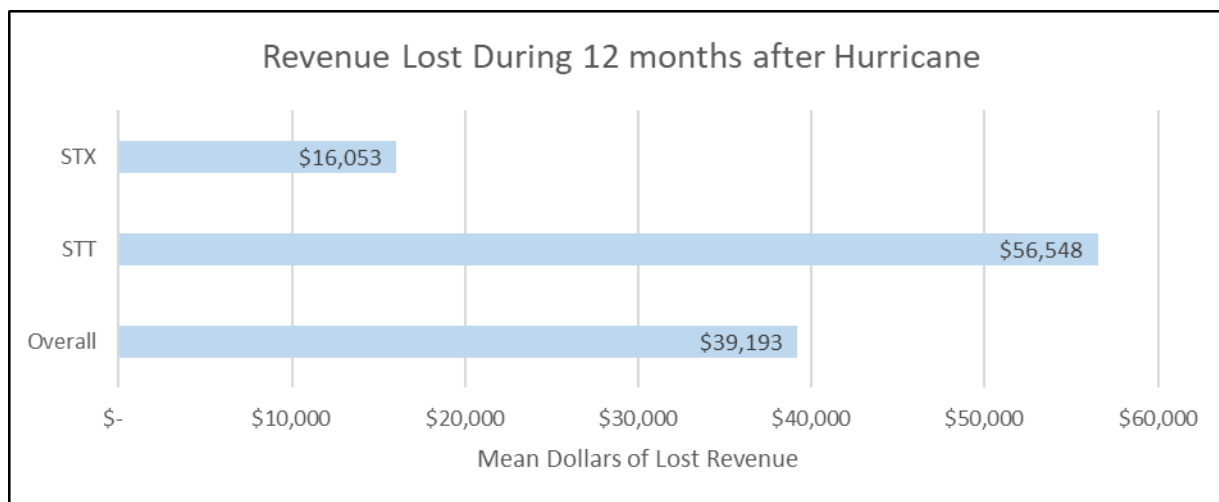


Figure 6: Fishermen's Revenue Loss by Island



most twenty-two months after the impact of the two hurricanes, with some fishermen unable to either rebuild or recover at all.

2019 Research Findings

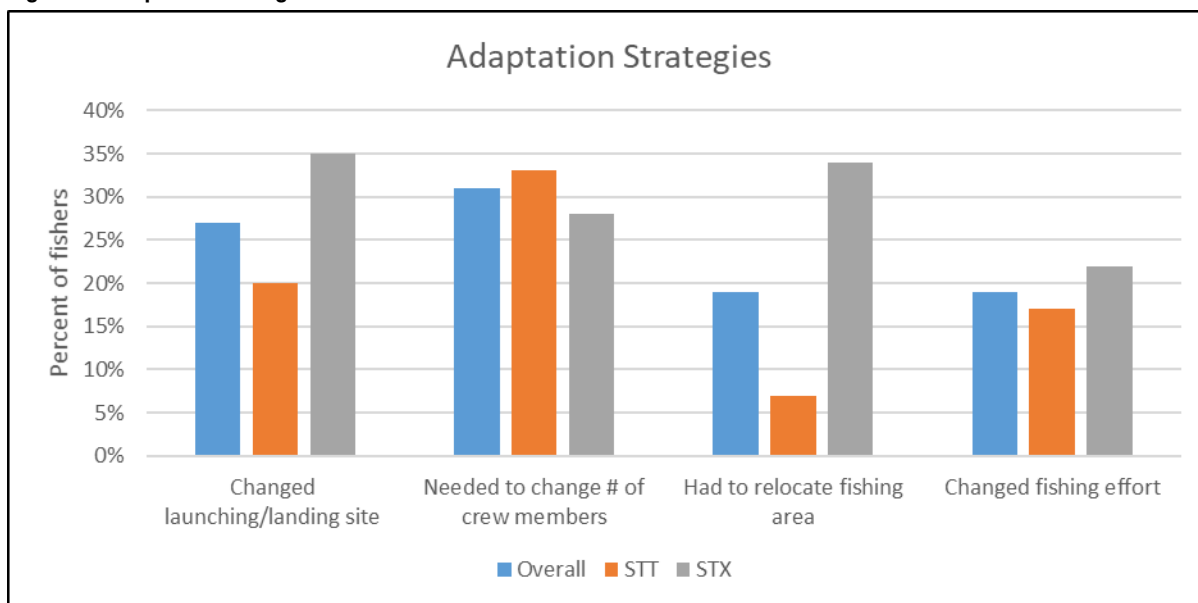
Due to the fact that the 60 day assessments take place in the recent wake of a storm, NOAA typically engages in a second more detailed assessment a year or more after the event when the full extent to the damages can be better understood. For this reason, the July 2019 research developed a more complete assessment of impacts to fishermen 22 months after the storms' passing and how these impacts were manifested in the fishery and the larger community. It was recognized that the initial impact 60 day analysis and the report from the USVI Task Force (2018) were useful for providing a quick assessment of the losses experienced in the fishery and community, this research ad-

ressed the need to more fully document the magnitude of the impacts and the progress and process of recovery over time.

Impacts on Commercial Fishery Permit Holders

Even though there are three culturally distinct islands with distinct fisheries, the fishermen's fishing enterprises were similarly impacted (Figure 5). It should be noted that it is common for members of the for-hire industry to purchase commercial licenses in order to sell their catch and on days when they have no booking are able to commercially fish. By 2019, 80% of the fishermen still had not returned to their normal schedule since before the storms and almost 80% had not yet recovered from the physical damages to their fishing businesses. Because of this, fishermen experienced more than a 50% decrease in revenue from the year before the hurricanes and operated at about 50% of capaci-

Figure 7: Adaptation Strategies



ty compared to the previous year. St. John has a small fishing community and is not directly included in analysis but as a sister island, informal reports indicate that the impacts were generally similar.

For many fishermen what happened on land was what prevented them from getting back to the water. In St. Croix there was so much damage to roadways and homes that people spent months fixing their houses and cleaning their yards and neighborhoods. Massive trees were knocked down all over the island, preventing travel along some of the most commonly used thoroughfares. For the first three months, there was very little fishing on St. Croix and St. Thomas due to the fact that fishermen could not trailer their boats to launching sites and for many even if they could have their boats were in no condition to be fishing. Fishermen experienced terrible damage to their boats even though for many they had taken measures to secure them, some even filling them with water to combat the winds blowing them over. Even in these instances the amount of debris and the strength of the winds caused many boats to be unseaworthy after the two storms passing.

Revenue Loss by Island: For Commercial Licensed Fishermen

The average revenue lost by fishermen in the first year after the two hurricanes highlights a little bit about the differences in the two island fisheries and between the fishing sectors (Figure 6). There are more for-hire fishermen in St. Thomas than St. Croix, which means a higher percentage of larger vessels are directly reliant on the fishery tourism industry. Tourism was shut down for months and then slow to recover. In St. Croix, the fishing boats and amount of fishing are smaller and, thus, better represent the impact on the small-scale commercial fishery.

Anecdotal information from fishermen regarding impacts associated with the loss of tourism industry suggests that the slow recovery of tourism had a tremendous economic impact on each island and fishery. Each island is different in its level of dependence and engagement in tourism. For example, St. Thomas is more dependent on the cruise ship industry than St. Croix. In a "normal" year, the total number of visitors that come by cruise ships to St. Thomas can be over 1,750,000; this in comparison to a total of 2.5 million visitors from all types of travel in total to all of USVI (www.usviber.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/Tourism-Indicator-Annual-2016-December-9-6-17.pdf). Cruise ship tourists are likely to frequent high-end restaurants during their day-long stay on the island and increase demand for fresh high-end pelagic species, lobsters and conch. The cruise ship tourists are also commonly engaging in half and full-day charter trips as a part of their vacation experience.

The east coast businesses of St. Thomas (especially Red Hook) tend to cater to weekly and longer-term condo rentals with individuals and families who tend to purchase higher valued fish species, including snappers and pelagic species, along with lobsters. There are also high-end hotels and resorts on the island that purchase large amounts of high-end species for their fresh catch menu items for their clientele. Specific fishermen cater to these markets, and because of damage to boats and equipment in conjunction with the loss of the tourism-related markets, these fishermen experienced a most significant reduction in revenue from the two-storms.

An example of the relationship between tourism and fishing industries is highlighted in the story of a St. Thomas fisherman. This fisherman has one of the larger lobster enterprises in St. Thomas, which has a special relationship with some of the larger hotels and resorts on the island. The hurricanes had a tremendous impact on his fishing business, initially with the loss of one of his two main lobster boats, and then in effect a closure of the tourism industry because of the time needed to rebuild and recover. For this fisherman, not only was the loss of the

boat a tremendous impact that changed his fishing business but so too was the loss of the high-end tourism industry where he specifically marketed his catch. This is a clear example of how these types of natural perturbations cause negative impacts throughout the fishing industry. People at the economic top end of the commercial fishery were as impacted as those on the industry's lower economic level.

Adaptation Strategies

Many fishermen have a social responsibility that is as important as the economic opportunity to fish in the aftermath of hurricanes (Figure 7). These fishermen often changed where they fish, the method that they use, and the fish they target in order to get back out on the water as soon as they are able to provide for families in their social networks.

A Cruzan fisherman said,

Gas was available, my trailer and truck were OK and the boat and motor could run. It seemed to me that I could do the things I need to do on shore in the afternoons and after curfew. During the early morning I could go out and try and catch some fish to eat. It is so much better than the other options. Fresh fish is always better.

It makes sense that more than a third of the St. Croix fishermen changed their launching and landing sites. This was both to offset the loss of fishing infrastructure and the damage to essential fish habitat preferred by local fishermen. On land, certain areas were severely impacted by the storms forcing some to alter where they launched, landed, and marketed their catch. In many cases, this was temporary but for some it became a permanent change. In the ocean there were fishing areas said to be impacted by the storms due to run-off and destruction to the inshore reefs. Wind, rain, and wave activity during these massive storms was said to have caused a great deal of pollution with various types of land-based materials carried out to sea and deposited on fishing grounds. For St. Croix, this caused over 30% of the fishermen to relocate where they fish. And this may also be a factor as to why over 20% of the St. Croix fishermen changed their fishing effort, either based on new locations, targeting different species, or utilizing different gear strategies. For trap fishermen, whether on land or at sea, they experienced trap loss and destruction, equating to a time and labor cost to rebuild.

For St. Thomas, one of the hardest-hit areas was Red Hook and its marina. Many of the docks where commercial fishermen stayed were completely destroyed, forcing them to relocate if possible. In that area, there are many commercial, for hire and recreational boats. These tend to be on the higher end of the fisheries, ones that target pelagic species and big game fish.

There was little change in terms of boat crew. Overall, fishermen kept the same crew they had prior to the storms. In other cases, fishermen had not returned to fishing activities and thus had not rehired crew. This explains why over 25% responded that there was a change in crew. There were a number of reasons, both positive and negative, that explain the loss of crew. One positive example is that the captain or owner also engaged in shore-based employment or labor. Certain types of jobs such as mechanic, landscaper, and construction worker led to enough land-based opportunities to create a situation where there was no immediate need or even perhaps time to return to fishing. This meant that they either did not fix up their broken gear and vessel or the gear and vessel were operational but the fishermen did not have time to reengage in fishing. This means employment opportunities for crew as well, where they may engage in a variety of other land-based employment opportunities, potentially even more lucrative than fishing.

In other cases, some fishing crews have been temporarily or permanently eliminated from the fishery due to a lack of resources to re-

Table 1: Identified Resources Used for Rebuilding After Storms by Island

Resources	St. Thomas		St. Croix		Totals	
Personal Savings	36	75%	26	76%	62	75%
Personal Savings and Loans from Family/Friends	8	16%	7	21%	15	18%
Personal Savings and SBA/FEMA	4	9%	1	3%	5	6%
Totals	48	100%	34	100%	82	100%

build and restart. Usually, these are the small-scale fishers who operated with one or no crew members. Because there is a moratorium on new licenses, there is the hope that one day these commercial licenses will equate to currency in that they can be sold to another individual who wishes to enter the fishery. For that reason people will continue to sign up for their commercial license even if there is no desire or opportunity to fish. There are examples of individuals who desire to engage in fishing but are waiting until they retire from their land-based employment to transition to fishing. Their perspective is that they will keep the license up until that time and utilize it in retirement to provide additional money to the household through fishing.

Adaptations to Rebuild

There are similarities between the rebuilding patterns of the fishermen of St. Croix and St. Thomas (Table 1). Most of them relied on their savings as the primary means of recovery (St. Thomas 75% and St. Croix 76%). The second most common adaptation was to use their own savings and borrow from friends and family (St. Thomas 16% and St. Croix 21%). A small number of fishermen used local bank loans and unemployment benefits. Many people did not respond to the question (St. Thomas 14% and St. Croix 35%). When these non-responding fishermen were asked, most replied that (1) they were not actively fishing before the hurricanes, (2) they may have stopped fishing in the interim, and (3) they may have been in the midst of rebuilding process at the time of the survey.

The majority of fishermen chose not to use the FEMA or Small Business Loans made available to them. The few that did tended to be larger enterprises that experienced greater financial loss.

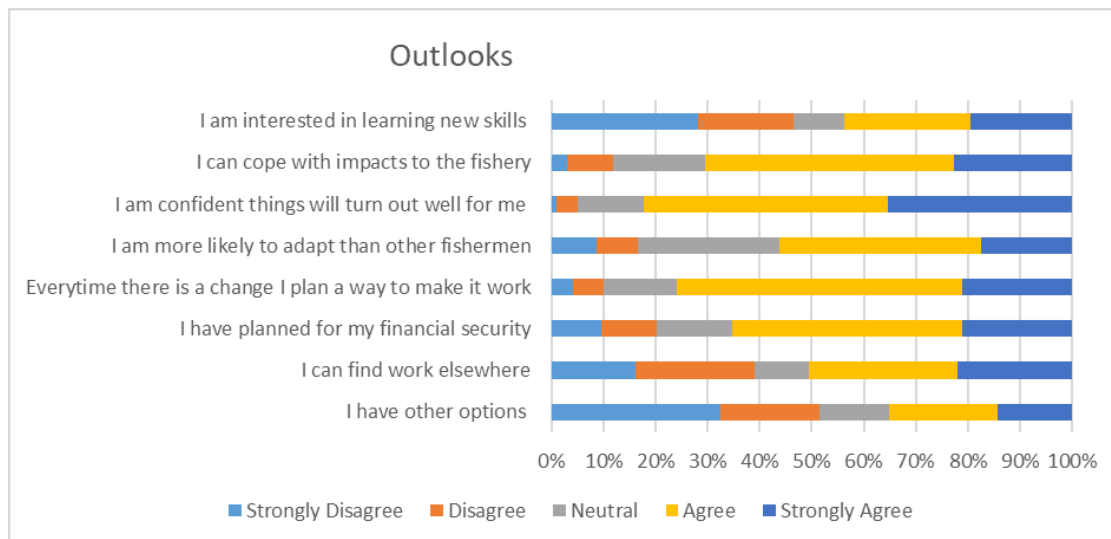
When one St. Croix commercial fisherman was asked why he did not take advantage of these loans, his response was:

The problem with using loans and borrowing money from banks is that you have to have collateral and go through a lot of time and search into your life; showing you have collateral and that you will be able to pay it back. We can't predict the future. We have just suffered massive losses and borrowing money to fix things only puts me in a bad spot. You see if we put up our trucks and our house as collateral what happens if we can't pay the loan back. It is better to just do it on our own. So you make sure you have some money put away for the boat. Then do your own repairs or have someone you know help you. If you have to borrow money do it from someone close who knows that you can pay them back but may need a little more time. Sometimes you can also do something for them to pay them back like help them fix something or go fishing and make sure that they have fish for their family.

In 2018, the USVI government requested that a fisheries disaster be declared, resulting in the declaration of a catastrophic regional fishery disaster by the Secretary of Congress, ultimately resulting in approximately 10 million dollars for disaster relief. By the time this study was conducted in July 2019, the disaster relief money for the USVI fisheries had been approved but had not been distributed to USVI fishermen. As of July 2020, the distribution of relief money was still in process with fishermen having to come into the government office to apply for funds (2020 Personal Communications with local fishermen and Government officials).

It is important to note that Federal Fishery Disaster Relief money is tied to a specific natural disaster. Still, the process of getting "relief" is difficult to understand because the process from (1) disaster, to (2) declaration, to (3) determining funding level, and eventually to (4) disbursement can be long and arduous. These relief steps involve multiple levels of assessment by multiple government actors including the US Federal and Territorial Governments, the US Congress, the USVI Department of Planning and Natural Resource, and the USVI Division of Fish and Wildlife. Therefore, almost three years elapsed from when the two storms occurred in September 2017, money has not been distributed to local fishermen.

Figure 8: Fishermen's Perception of Future Outlook



Future Outlook

Fishermen were asked a series of questions to determine their vision for the future and their ability to cope with current and future impacts of hurricanes. Their answers were coded using the Likert scale method for analysis (Figure 8). These questions were adapted from Marshall & Marshall 2007 and they were first used as adapted in Seara et al. 2016 (see <https://www.ecologyandsociety.org/vol12/iss1/art1/> and <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/abs/pii/S0959378016300085?via%3Dihub> for more on this).

When fishermen were asked if they were willing to learn new skills, there was an almost even split between those that would and would not. A reason for this is the fact that for many of the fishermen that would not be willing to learn a new skill relates to their perception that their life is in fishing and that there is no need to learn a new skill. When asked about their ability to cope with impacts on the fishery and their confidence that all will be well, fishermen's responses indicate that they are secure regarding their future in fishing. For many the idea is to rebuild and start anew. Fishing as an occupation or as a source of retirement is seen as a viable economic option, even in the face of having to deal with disruptions from hurricanes.

Fishermen's responses suggest they are confident in their ability to adapt that they can find a way to cope with changes. This may be based on their belief in their work ethic and their ability to overcome problems. It also may relate to the fact that more than 60% of the fishermen perceive that they have planned for their financial security. They have their own measures for recovery and responding to impacts that may allow them even on the face of a major crisis the ability to overcome.

As a local Cruzan fisherman stated,

I don't need to learn new skills like car mechanic or something. I already know the things I need to run and fix my boat and motor when things break. So when the Hurricanes hit us, and they hit us hard, I knew that I would soon be back up fishing and going because the things that needed to be fixed were things that I could handle.

The previous questions focused on perceptions of what would happen to fishermen in the future. Even though some of their responses express concern about remaining in the fishery and their ability to cope with another crisis such as this, overall fishermen are positive about recovery from the two storms and their future in fishing. However, it should not be overlooked that there are those that will not be able to return to fishing be it an issue of age, ability or desire. For some the idea of fishing any longer may be too much for them to conceive. And, this is easily understood for not everyone is at the same station in life as the fleet seems to be on average getting older.

Discussion

There are five Key Findings from the NOAA 2019 research. Some may have policy implications and others highlight how USVI fishermen respond to natural disasters.

Reduction in Effort: Some fishermen are not able or willing to remain fishermen in either the short term or at all. Thus fishing effort may decline in the wake of the storms. This can be related to as a lack of financial resources or the fact that for some they are reaching a point that it is not a viable activity. This does not take away from the notion that fishermen are resilient but it addresses a smaller portion of the fishing population that aged out or in the interim went to other activities to rebuild and reengage at a later date.

Fishery Impacts: Fishermen reported significant losses in revenue and damage to boats and equipment. Coupled with the loss

of tourism and infrastructure, USVI fishermen on average reported a 55% loss with 17 individual USVI fishermen experiencing a 100% loss in revenue. This was especially apparent in the for hire/charter fisheries who carry commercial licenses with numbers potentially being even higher if the non-licensed for-hire fishermen were included.

Aid and Assistance: Fishermen chose to rely on their savings and social networks for immediate recovery rather than Federal Assistance Programs, such as Small Business Loans and FEMA loans. In addition, it is clear that Disaster Relief funding is not intended to be used in the immediate aftermath of storms. This money is to offset costs incurred in the rebuilding process. Because of this fishermen strategically rebuild and reengage in fishing, sometimes sharing vessels, gear and labor until the time comes that they can return to a fully operational status. This may take some time but by working together they assist one another in the recovery process.

Network Food Security: Fishermen take responsibility to provide food for their own families, friends, and neighbors. Fishermen are among the most important individuals at a local level for providing food within their social networks. By providing support it strengthens bonds between individuals and assists in the process of immediate recovery. Their ability to provide food for island residents is a primary reason for the Governor to call the essential workers when the majority of the island was closed. There is the continued perception that fishing and being a fisherman is an integral part of their identity.

Future Projection: Most fishermen maintain a positive outlook for their future in fishing. The for-hire sector experienced major impacts due to the loss of tourism as did those commercial fishermen providing high-end species to hotels and restaurants. Many found ways to offset losses by switching to selling to local residents and changing the species they normally targeted. Even so the revenue they generated was a small percentage of their normal yearly income. They did this in order to continue to operate until the time they could return to their style of fishing and market to a certain population that called for specific high end species.

The USVI fisheries are not yet back to where they were before the 2017 hurricanes Irma and Maria. Most are still in some part of the recovery process. There is little doubt that recovery is tied to the tourism industry, especially in the for-hire sector. Other fishermen are doing well because there was less fishing effort after the two storms. Fish stocks are perceived as more plentiful because of fewer active fishermen. Recovery is still in process and essentially is a function of the fisherman's personal savings and ability to fix the damage incurred to key parts of their fishing enterprise. While the future is uncertain, fishermen feel their place is a certainty.

Conclusion

The NOAA 2019 study documented the pattern of mutual self-help, as illustrated by fishermen's post storm behavior. While the data suggests that some fishermen have left fishing as an occupation, future studies are likely to show many of them getting back into fishing, which is both a component of their Occupational Multiplicity and their commitment to preparing for the next crisis event. One St Croix fisherman expressed his commitment to providing fish in a crisis:

Listen, all the stores were closed and people were living on canned food and hurricane food brought on island. This is not the way to live. Lucky we could get

The Applied Anthropologist

STOFFLE, ET AL.

In the Wake of Two Storms...

gas and we didn't have too much damage to one of the boats. We were able to find a spot to put in and went out to dive and handline a bit. The traps were all over the water so we tried to mark those for people to come get later. We had to go all over the place to find good fishing. There was trash everywhere and the reefs were mashed up. We could fish a bit, but it was dangerous. Each day got a little better and we were able to bring fish home for our family and friends. It was a total effort. We got fish and people who stayed on land helped do what they could. It was bad but we have been through this before.

Clearly, the two storms damaged the people and infrastructure of three islands in the USVI, but the storms and the reconstruction after-math reaffirm an adaptive pattern that has served these and many other peoples of the Caribbean and West Indies for hundreds of years.

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COMMENTARY

MONUMENTS AND STATUES: THE U.S. CONUNDRUM WITH SYSTEMIC RACISM

EDITH W. KING

The removal of Civil War heritage monuments, statues, symbols, and flags, mostly in the South of the United States, remains controversial. Constructing and placing these memorials of the Confederacy began as early as the 1890s. As the years progressed hundreds of monuments and statues were erected across the South honoring the defeated Confederacy. In recent times there have been several national and local efforts to eliminate these structures and sculptures from public spaces. Polls and surveys indicate many Americans concede the complicated and compromising conditions involved yet agree with the need for their removal (Wilentz, 2020).

For example, none of the edifices are as vast as "Stone Mountain" in Georgia bearing the images of Confederate leaders. Its sheer size poses a hurdle to removal. In various situations and for many reasons these Civil War memorials remain where originally placed.

The Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) recently completed extensive research on these issues. Publication of this research is titled *Whose Heritage? Public Symbols of the Confederacy* (2nd edition, 2019):

The SPLC forthrightly emphasizes: It is difficult to live in the South without being reminded that its states once comprised a renegade nation known as the Confederate States of America. Schools, parks, streets, dams, and other public works are named for its generals. Courthouses, capitols, and public squares are adorned with resplendent statues of its heroes and towering memorials to the soldiers who died. US military bases bear the names of its leaders. And speckling the Southern landscape are thousands of Civil War markers and plaques (p.11).

Recent commentators acknowledge that the controversial statues of Robert E. Lee in New Orleans, as well as in other cities, escalated the debate and added fuel to the forceful protests and demonstrations in 2020. The historian, Sean Wilentz (2020), vigorously asserts that these statues of revered heroes of the Civil War are tributes to slavery, secession, and racial domination, built for precisely those reasons. Phillip Magness, the economist, extensively researched the role of these protests on the destruction of Civil Rights monuments. He notes that the disapproval of Confederate monuments and symbolism may have influenced the rage over renewed police brutality against men of color (Magness, 2020). The SPLC study, *Whose Heritage?* discloses that there exist nearly 800 Confederate monuments and statues on public properties throughout this country with the vast majority in the South. Further, SPLC found that there are over 1700 displayed symbols of the Confederacy across the U.S., while 10 major military bases are named in honor of Confederate military leaders. The study notes that thousands of historical markers can be seen along the roadways and in other public spaces to commemorate some aspect of the Confederacy or its soldiers and leaders.

However, at least 60 Confederate statues, monuments or markers have been removed since the first half of 2020 (Wilentz, 2020).

For instance, state officials in Arizona were pleased when a monument to Confederate troops standing outside the state's capitol building was quietly removed and returned to the United Daughters of the Confederacy who proudly gave it to the state government in the 1960s. However, there remain thousands more offensive relics on public land across the United States. Laws in Southern states protect these monuments and statues, slowing the efforts to take them away (SPLC, 2019). Moreover, some states have recently appointed "renaming" committees charged with evaluating controversial landmarks labeled "squaw" or "redskin." Hopefully, this group can suggest something more acceptable for the contested designations and then refer their findings to the United States Board on Geographical Names. There are many publicized examples of the problem over renaming as well as taking down monuments that persist because of our society's systemic racism and sexism.

Analyzing the term "squaw," in cities of the Southwest, such as Phoenix and Denver, the use of this for local areas, streets, or roads, as well as statues, is insulting. The reason given is because "squaw" was historically used in a demeaning and degrading context when referring to women of American Indian birth. Now again in 2020, renewed attention to this demeaning label, is created by the wave of protests and rallies across the U.S.

In the preceding paragraphs I have attempted to offer a glimpse at some of the complex and entangled issues around commemorations of the Civil War and other memorable events. This commentary continues with a rationale for examining the current wave of defacing and demolishing problematic monuments and statues. Many of these public showpieces had been targeted well before the present systemic racism protests and Black Lives Matter movement. Furthermore, these monuments and statues have also been cited by the women's rights movement and other anti-sexism efforts. Social scientists and educators are among those who persistently sought for removal. Among the scholars who participated in this effort was the late professor, Elise Boulding. She was a highly regarded sociologist, eminent international educator, celebrated woman's studies scholar, and notable futurist. She traveled across the United States and around the world researching, writing, and lecturing for the betterment of humankind. Inspired and mentored by Margaret Mead and Alva Myrdal, this remarkable woman graciously attributed much of her career in social science to the support and guidance of her life-long partner, Kenneth Boulding, the world-known economist and social thinker. Her writings offer resources and advice on education for a worldwide culture, the empowerment of women and men, of the young and the old for a global society abounding with diversity.

An important contribution to understanding the controversy and turmoil over monument and statue memorials is found in Elise Boulding's writings. In her last book, *Cultures of Peace* (2000), she points out it is often women's efforts that make for successful resolution of disputes between men and women. Boulding perceptively tells us:

The image of the mounted warrior that has always captured the imagination of historians needs to be exorcised. Public parks are still filled with equestrian statuary testifying to our fondness for this im-

age.... We have never, since those early times, been able to let go of our attachment to that idea of the power that derived from being mounted, from looking down on others from on high.... The great humane nurturer-leaders of the past have always come walking. They do not sit either on thrones or on horse-back but engage in dialogue at eye level (pp. 137-138).



Photograph in public domain

In *Cultures of Peace* Boulding goes on to urge for partnerships of youths and adults. Such collaborations could advocate for movements addressing issues of environmental regeneration and the enhancement of human rights. This social scientist offered new thinking and resources for lessons in diversity, egalitarianism, and empowerment of the young and the old in a global society. It appears that in 2020 we are again witnessing demonstrations and protests directed toward these goals.

In democratic societies it seems there is always opportunity for disapproval and disagreements. I return to the "Confederacy conundrum" to examine another controversy, the issues around the Confederate flag. For many white Southerners, this flag is an emblem of regional heritage and pride, as noted by the Southern Poverty Law Center. However, the SPLC found flying the Confederate flag can have a starkly different meaning for some citizens. It can represent racism, slavery, and the long history of oppression of African Americans. According to the SPLC it is difficult to make the case that the Confederate flag is not a racist symbol. This controversial flag has been displayed above state capitols and city halls across the region. As well, emblems and designs from the Confederate flag are found incorporated into some Southern state flags (SPLC, 2019). Recently two of these states, Texas and Mississippi, have made efforts to amend their flags and replace contested symbols.

Besides the displays of the Confederate flag, we can consider words and expressions in familiar and well-known folk songs such as Steven Foster's lyrics for "My Old Kentucky Home": "The sun shines bright in the old Kentucky home. 'Tis summer the darkies are gay." The words of this Steven Foster ode have been vocalized in choral music classes for decades, as well as found in the music for films and television episodes. Students and their music teachers are fond of singing renditions commemorating locations and traditions unaware of the embedded racism voiced in the words. Hence, showing Confederate flags and singing folk songs (with obvious racial references) are a part of our cultural heritage in need of re-examination.

Here I have tried to provide an exploration into the issues and controversies that surround the display and removal of the many contentious monuments and statues located across the United States. Statues of Robert E. Lee and other leaders of the Confederacy during the

Civil War have been denounced as tributes to slavery, secession, and racial domination by scholars of U.S. history. Note this opinion of historian Wilentz (2020):

They were built for precisely those reasons. They have no other possible meaning, apart from transparent euphemisms about state rights and federal tyranny. But the same is not true of the (Thomas) Jefferson Memorial in Washington, D.C. with its paeans to universal enlightenment, equality, and religious freedom. It is not true of the Lincoln Memorial, a living monument that for decades has been a touchstone for the nation's freedom struggles. A majority of Americans sympathize with removing monuments to slavery and racism.

However, oral accounts and published articles remain about disagreements over the removal of the much-loved and physically enormous Robert E. Lee monument in Richmond, Virginia. Local protests persist.

Furthermore, the turmoil over public monuments and statues raises the issue of enduring systemic racism in American society. As well, sexism and chauvinism are still widespread in our culture. Earlier I noted the many statues of men mounted on high that are evident in our public parks, cities, and towns. But the absence of women so honored is notable. However, in August 2020, on the 100th anniversary of the ratification of women's right to vote, a splendid monument to women was installed in Central Park, New York City. The monument honors three pioneers of women's right to vote – Sojourner Truth, Elizabeth C. Stanton, and Susan B. Anthony. The female sculptor of this memorial, Meredith Bergman, voiced her enthusiasm by remarking that the park has a collection of statues of great men but no statues of women. She stressed that accomplishments of women had been considered meaningless and that this monument to famous females was long overdue.

In September, 2020, the Trump administration added another effort, prying into the monuments' controversy. The President issued a directive that those training sessions for government workers emphasizing "critical race theory" and "white privilege" must cease. The news media reported Trump had spent efforts during the year defending the display of the Confederate flag and monuments of the Civil War. Further, Trump criticized those who assert there is systemic racism in American society and strongly denied that "white people contribute to the discrimination of people of color" (Miller, 2020). In October, 2020, *The Denver Post* featured a large photo of the statue of a Civil War soldier removed from the front of the Colorado state capitol building. It had been toppled during the recent protests over racial injustice. The caption went on to state that the statue held various meanings (for various people), hinting at the systemic racism in our society.

Racism has been defined as the oppression of socially stigmatized groups, backed by theories that attribute the status of these groups to inherited inferior traits rather than to the lack of opportunities and economic mobility in the society (Cuzzort and King, 2002). It is generally accepted that if individuals recognize racism and sexism as embedded in the culture, this aids in rejecting their prejudice and discrimination towards people of color. The current advocacy for racial equity asks Whites to acknowledge their advantages of being born white. In the United States today, a re-examination continues of the past 200 years of cultural development and traditions of white supremacy. This effort also reveals, as is widely documented, that White males maintain power in business, industry, education, and social life. Yet these conditions can be altered as more and more groups in American society peacefully protest and actualize change.

To conclude, in this commentary I drew upon the research and publications of the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) and the work of

knowledgeable social scientists in probing institutional racism. This led to describing the formation of boards tasked with renaming locations and landmarks that had sustained racism and sexism, and had fostered discrimination. As I have suggested, systemic racism is subtly inherent in the flags of our states and even in familiar folk songs. We can be assured that anthropologists and sociologists will carry on teaching about the discrimination inherent in White privilege. Social scientists will keep researching critical race theory and the systemic racism embedded in American culture as widespread protests and demonstrations continue. So, I close with this most timely photo of the statue of Martin Luther King Jr. located in Washington, D. C. It symbolizes the hopes and promises for racial and gender equality now and in our country's future.



Author provided photograph

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COMMENTARY

THE NEW YORK OUTBREAK OF MEASLES IN HASIDIC JEWISH COMMUNITIES: ISSUES OF SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND BIOMEDICAL AUTONOMY

DAVID J. ROZEN

Origins of the Outbreak

The U.S. Centers for Disease Control reported that the U.S. experienced the highest number of measles cases in 25 years in 2019 (New York Times, 2019). The outbreak was linked to ultraorthodox Jewish communities in the metro New York City area. The New York State Health Department reported that a resident of the Hasidic Village of New Square was the first person to contract the illness. He was a 14-year old boy who got the infection while in Israel. His contact was an Israeli who had traveled to Ukraine on a pilgrimage to a Hasidic rabbi burial site. Israel and Ukraine also had measles outbreaks (Paumgarten, 2019; New York Times, Jan./Mar./June, 2019).

Public Health Response

As public health authorities decided that the measles outbreak among Hasidic Jews was due to low vaccination rates, ultraorthodox communities became the object of a campaign to decrease vaccination resistance (New York Times, Jan. 2019). Measles is among the diseases which experts in international health recognize as a main cause of diseases in children; worldwide most are easily preventable by well-informed parents (Lane and Rubenstein, 1996).

In March, 2019, the Rockland County Department of Public Health, the county where New Square is located, put 59 schools, mostly for ultraorthodox Jews, under exclusion orders. This forbade unvaccinated children from attending, even if they had a valid religious or medical exception. The authorities banned children under 18 who were not vaccinated from public places such as houses of worship and shopping centers (New York Times, Mar. 2019). The metro NYC area had numerous ultraorthodox Jewish schools where vaccination rates were as low as 60%, well below the 95% threshold which some experts say is necessary for herd immunity (New York Times, Mar. 2019). Similar exclusion orders were issued by the NYC Department of Health for the ultraorthodox Jewish neighborhoods of Williamsburgh, Crown Heights, and Boro Park in Brooklyn (New York Times, Jan. 2019). Vaccination rates did improve and in September Rockland County health authorities rescinded the mandatory exclusion order.

Ethnographic Context

I conducted ethnographic research at New Square when I was graduate student, at different times from 1971 through 1980, through the University of Oklahoma Department of Anthropology and College of Public Health, Department of Social Sciences and Health Behavior (Rozen, 2003). New Square was created in 1955 by a group of Holocaust survivors who were the followers of the Skiver Rebbe. They purchased 200 acres of idle farm land and, despite intense local opposition and financial difficulties, have managed today to have a thriving community of about 8000 persons who are uncompromising idealists in how they practice ultraorthodox Judaism (cf. Mintz, 1992). The average family size is about eight; half the village are children. Men work in low-wage jobs or small-owner operated businesses. Few women work outside their homes. New Square per capita income, as calculated several years ago,

was among the lowest in the country (Mintz, 1992; Rozen, 2003).

My research focused on health care behavior. I was interested in the interaction between Hasidic residents and biomedical professionals. Hasidism is a revitalization movement that originated in 18th century Europe among orthodox Jews. A Hasidic community is led by a religious/political leader, a Rebbe, a person believed to have supernatural power, unlike a rabbi, who is a scholar and interpreter of the Torah, Talmud, and Codes of Jewish law that regulate Jewish personal and social life. Among most Hasidim (the plural form of Hasid), the Rebbe is consulted in a medical crisis (Mintz, 1992; Rozen, 2003).

I interviewed almost all the primary care MDs that served New Square. They were mostly male and Jewish, yet for whom Jewish identity was minimal. Nonetheless, most had a sense of Jewish solidarity. One man commented, if there were ever a Holocaust in the U.S., "the Hasidim will be the first in the ovens, then they will come for me." As New Square has a high proportion of children, most of their patients were children. The MDs felt that parents were usually compliant and followed medical advice. However, there was one exception of religious law that interfered with good care. The Sabbath has a number of prohibitions, e.g. travel by auto, which prevent parents from seeking medical care until the day is over, unless there is an emergency.

Hasidic Jews use biomedical services through a network of rabbis and Rebbes that parallels the professional networks of MDs. The Rebbe is always consulted by the patient or parent for a serious medical issue. If the doctor wants the person to see a specialist, they will consult with the Rebbe. He will ask that the doctor use his referral. In addition, the Rebbe practices an ethnomedicine where he uses what Hasidim call "holiness power" to intervene with God and heal the patient (Rozen, 2003). Most of the time the Rebbe offers only reassuring comments that all will be well. Nonetheless, an encounter with the Rebbe can have a positive psychological effect in times of existential crisis and most MDs were supportive of the Rebbe.

Patriarchal Social Control

An important structural feature of Hasidic social life is patriarchal control of women by men. All-important religious institutions are staffed by men. The Rebbe is a man, as is the Rosh Ha Yeshiva, the head of the yeshiva, the school for boys. The important Kolel, where young men spend the first years of their marriage learning the Talmud, is run by men. There is a girls' school, but it does not use the same religious curriculum as the yeshiva and nothing from the Talmud; children are provided a practical education. Orthodox Judaism reflects the doctrine that the laws of Torah and Talmud are eternal and to be obeyed, and women must submit to men for proper conduct (Mintz, 1992). Male discourses operate on many levels of personal and social behavior. Thus, when the public health authorities implemented a campaign to reduce vaccination resistance, they recruited male rabbis to give their support. The public health officials opted to accept the male discourse that women were overwhelmed

with roles as mothers and, if properly motivated, would comply with vaccination requests (Paumgarten, 2019).

Patriarchal control discourses flow from the codes created by rabbis over many years. Women submit to the dictates of community discourses of male dominance as intimate as social contacts and norms of modesty in clothing (Mintz, 1992). Medical doctors and hospital nurses report that Hasidic normative rules of patriarchal control are often interjected into women's medical care (Rozen, 2003, field notes).

Medical Doctor and Rabbi Alliance

Therefore, I was not surprised that public health officers started the campaign to reduce vaccination resistance with rabbis. The biomedical autonomy made an ally of patriarchal discourse. Patriarchal dominance also explains why some Hasidic women were receptive to the anti-vax movement, as it was not a challenge to male dominance. This was communicated to the public health authorities by rabbis who insisted they were there to help them reduce vaccine resistance among mother caretakers. Biomedical autonomy and patriarchy discourses worked together to get mothers to decrease vaccination resistance for their children. Mt. Sinai Hospital convened a meeting of MDs and rabbis to discuss the best methods of motivating Hasidic mothers to vaccinate their children, stressing that vaccination is part of routine child care (Paumgarten, 2019). Thus, medical doctors and rabbis became allies in the campaign to decrease vaccination resistance.

The Outer Social Context

The measles outbreak allowed a discussion of the common good by health professionals to get individuals and groups to embrace practices such as vaccination in order to decrease the threat of outbreaks of infectious disease. There are linkages of power and stigma. Vaccination resistance has occurred for years among a demographic of higher educated, upper-income whites.

Efforts to shame and stigmatize groups from the larger society have not been effective because they are invisible inside the larger, educated, upper-income group. Yet, for a community that is already easy to identify, there is always a risk that brokers of formal authority such as doctors, can intentionally or unintentionally further marginalize the entire community (Jordan, 2020). The doctors in this case played an important role in defusing the stigma created by scapegoating Hasidic Jews perceived as flaunting public health authorities. As Freidson (1988, pp. 235-236) noted, "the sick role implies a generic imputation of social imputations and expectation and requires a specific social reaction, or blame is imposed," i.e., stigma.

Unfortunately, social scientists have romanticized a mindset, which I try to puncture, by focusing on the Hasidic community of the past and a restrictive set of practices that define them as a group conspicuously/authentically representing certain anthropological or sociological assumptions, rather than a group dynamically living in the world with the ability to negotiate needs, values, and desires that – in this case – center around choice of care for their children (cf. Rozen, 2003; Jordan, 2020). The dominant public health measles discourse blamed the outbreak on ultraorthodox Jewish culture, reflected political power, and restrictive ethnic boundaries, a situation that most likely also would become manifest in the current COVID pandemic. What is missing in contemporary news accounts is the extent Hasidic people have adapted to intersectional interests in encounters with medical authority.

This mindset was clearly punctured with the willingness of the doctors to look for creative solutions, rather than letting the Hasidim be judged simply as backward, ignorant, or resistant to aiding efforts to protect populations across the area. It was possible because of a willingness to look for a way forward and insights into existing power

dynamics. By way of doctors, as high status individuals reaching out to the local patriarchy, the rabbis have the opportunity to demonstrate their intra-group authority, by being formally recognized as essential intermediaries (Rozen, 2003; Jordan, 2020).

Conclusions

Today, anthropologists who study disease and illness largely assume "that all knowledge of society and sickness is socially determined." What is needed is "a critical understanding of how medical facts are predetermined by the process through which they are conventionally produced in clinics and research settings. Thus the task at hand is not to demystify knowledge, but to critically examine the social conditions of knowledge production" (Lindenbaum and Locke, 1993, p. xi).

In this commentary I have used a lens of socially produced knowledge to reflect on how those affected by a measles outbreak reached a positive outcome whereby it was controlled. It is important to also recognize the embeddedness of biomedical categories in social life. As Foucault suggests, "this kind of situated knowledge, arising out of practice at the local level, forms the basis for a potential resistant biomedical subjugation" (cited by Rhodes, 1996, p. 175). I did not discuss the larger social framework within which Hasidic enclaves are located, the polyethnic society of metropolitan area. A future paper will provide an analysis of the effects of boundary maintenance and competition for political and economic power, related to ethnic lifestyle choices that impacted the measles outbreak.

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