



Journal Publishing House ?

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Late Age of Print by Ted Striphas

From the chapters; Encoding/Decoding-Sort of & A Political Economy of Commodity Codes

Like Cheney, critics both inside and outside the book industry have long complained about its atavistic business practices and lack of coordination. As almost any person in the industry will tell you, there's at least a modicum of truth to these characterizations. Since the early 1970s, however, critics and supporters alike have exaggerated the industry's lack of commercial and organizational savvy. Those who persist in spotlighting the book industry's backwardness or resistance to commercialization overlook the fact that it pioneered the development of highly sophisticated back-office systems, whose aim was to speed distribution and improve inventory tracking and control. Regardless of how some might wish to romanticize books today, they're products. While the book industry might be faulted for the awkward missteps it still occasionally makes with respect to marketing and sales, like the auto parts industry it was among the very first to have agreed on and made use of a universal merchandise-coding system—the International Standard Book Number (ISBN). ISBNs allow each part of the book industry to speak the same language, as it were. In conjunction with the development of computer/database technologies, they've enabled all parts to better coordinate their activities in a manner consistent with Cheney's call for “absolute coordination and integration.”

Far from being a recent invention, publishing firms have engaged in the numerical coding of books at least since the third quarter of the nineteenth century. Most of these early coding systems, however, were unique to individual publishers, who used them mainly to facilitate in-house record keeping rather than industry-wide communications. Consequently coding remained haphazard, idiosyncratic, and was only narrowly applied until the third quarter of the twentieth century. 51

The need for more standardized methods of coding books gained in importance when W. H. Smith & Son, Britain's largest bookselling chain, decided to computerize its new warehouse in 1965.⁵² The publisher's management team had determined that, given the exceedingly specific criteria according to which books were—and continue to be—classified (e.g., author, title, edition, publisher, binding, publication date, language, etc.), keeping track of books by hand was too costly, time-consuming, and prone to error. Even a small mistake or omission could result in an erroneous order, leading to inefficiency, increased costs, and the possibility of lost sales. Transferring inventory data and oversight to Smith & Son's new computers, however, posed its own set of challenges. The relatively limited processing power (by today's standards) of computers in the 1960s made long lists of identifying characteristics untenable, a shortcoming compounded by the fact that the company's computers could only handle numerical data. 53

It thus needed to devise a concise, numerically based coding system to identify each and every edition that passed through its high-tech warehouse.

The costs and logistics associated with the design and implementation of such a system exceeded Smith & Son's capabilities. The company subsequently contacted the British Publishers Association (BPA) in early 1966 to pitch its idea for a numerically based coding system that would serve the British book industry as a whole. Smith & Son's representatives argued that assigning a unique, standardized numerical code to all books published in Britain would facilitate better communication industry wide. If the BPA assumed leadership of the project, moreover, no single company would be forced to shoulder all the risks and up-front costs associated with such a cutting-edge distribution system. The BPA concurred and approached F. Gordon Foster, a professor at the London School of Economics, who conducted a pilot study. In May 1966 Professor Foster concluded that "there is a clear need for the introduction of standard numbering, and ... substantial benefits will accrue to all parties therefrom."⁵⁴ Within a year sixteen hundred British publishers agreed to the new coding system, dubbed the Standard Book Number (SBN).⁵⁵ Thoroughly impressed by its simplicity and effectiveness, the International Standards Organization (ISO) adopted the International Standard Book Number in 1970, which relied on the British SBN scheme in most respects. ⁵⁶

Across the Atlantic the implementation of the British SBN generated significant excitement among publishers, wholesalers, booksellers, and librarians. Given the ever-increasing number and volume of printed books in which they trafficked, many in the United States similarly longed for a precise, universally recognized coding system. The Library of Congress Catalog Card Number had served as the industry's informal inventory standard for some time, but it didn't really meet the needs of the book trade as a whole, much less compel adoption among everyone involved. For these reasons, major trade organizations of the U.S. book industry moved to adopt the British SBN in 1967. That September Publishers Weekly optimistically predicted the SBN's "widespread acceptance" in all branches of the book trade.⁵⁷ However, because its use remained voluntary it took at least a decade—by some estimates as long as fifteen years—before the ISBN achieved truly widespread acceptance in the United States. ⁵⁸

It should be emphasized that the ISBN isn't merely a glorified stock number. Rather, it's a carefully conceived, highly significant, and mathematically exact code that contains detailed information about the identity of each book. It also contains something like a built-in fail-safe mechanism to guard against the transmission of erroneous information. All ISBNs consisted (until December 31, 2006) of ten digits broken down into three clusters, or identifiers, and a final check digit (e.g., 0-674-21277-0).

The first cluster, the group identifier, refers to the language, nation, or region in which a given book is published. Here 0 designates the English language. The second cluster identifies the publisher. In this example 674 refers to Harvard University Press; all books produced under its imprimatur will bear that number. The third cluster, or title identifier, designates not only the book's name but also its edition and binding. Here 21277 refers to the paperbound edition of Pierre Bourdieu's *Distinction*. The final check digit, which is derived from a mathematical formula called modulus 11, guards against inaccurately recorded and/or transposed digits. It's computed by multiplying each of the ISBN's first nine digits by a corresponding weight, as illustrated in the accompanying chart. These products are then totaled. The check digit is the number required to bring this sum to the next whole-number multiple of eleven.

Because the sum (198) is divisible by 11, nothing more needs to be added. Thus the check digit is 0. The letter X is used in cases where the check digit works out to be 10.⁵⁹ Computers programmed to track ISBNs basically run this algorithm in reverse when verifying an ISBN's validity. It's an elegant and rather ingenious system since it guards not only against inaccurately recorded digits but also against the apparently more common error of transpositions.

The International ISBN Agency clearly recognized this potential. In 1980 the agency contacted its counterpart, EAN International, and asked the governing body to devise an ISBN-based bar-coding system for books. Their efforts resulted in what came to be known as the "Bookland EAN" bar-coding standard, which derives its name from what may appear to be an unusual reason. "Since the book industry produces so many products," a trade source explains, "it has been designated as a country unto itself and has been assigned its own EAN prefix. That prefix is 978 and it signifies Bookland, that wonderful, fictitious country where all books come from."⁷⁰ As capricious as that may sound, EAN International's decision to designate the book industry a country was calculated and practical, allowing it to preserve the integrity of the ISBN structure within the EAN coding scheme.

Having observed Bookland EAN's successful implementation in Europe, in 1985 the Book Industry Systems Advisory Council endorsed the bar-coding system. Less than a year later it started testing it in the United States.⁷¹ Implementing Bookland EAN presented its own set of challenges, however, given the growing entrenchment of the UPC. Indeed, only in the late 1980s did the U.S. book industry finally arrive at a compromise solution on the intractable matter of machine-readable book codes. All books intended for sale in bookstores would be imprinted exclusively with the Bookland EAN bar code. Mass-market and other books intended for sale at nonbook outlets (e.g., supermarkets, pharmacies, warehouse/price clubs) would be the exception. They would be imprinted with both symbols since in most cases the retailers who sold these books could only decode UPC bar codes, if any (fig. 8).⁷²

Nevertheless, even this compromise solution has proven untenable in the long run. Though the International ISBN Agency had designed the ten-digit code for longevity, more books and book-related items bearing ISBNs have been produced in the past two decades than nearly anyone had anticipated. By the turn of the millennium the book industry had to confront the daunting prospect of running out of ISBNs sooner rather than later. After careful study and deliberation, it decided to move to a thirteen-digit code effective January 2007. The new ISBN numbers formally include the 978 Bookland prefix instead of treating it as an add-on, resulting in the ISBN's absorption into the EAN coding scheme. Once all the 978 ISBNs are exhausted, the book industry will begin using the new prefix 979, which should accommodate its item-numbering needs for the foreseeable future. An upsurge in global commerce has led the Uniform Code Council to phase out the UPC in favor of the EAN (renamed the International Article Number), which means the book industry's coding system is now the same one used for national and global product exchange. 73 (Image) FIGURE 8 UPC and EAN product codes for a book intended for sale in nonbook outlets, printed on the outside back and inside front covers, respectively.

All this encoding, decoding, recording, and cross-referencing is clearly tedious business. It's precisely the kind of tedium that, decades earlier, Cheney had insisted would be integral to the long-term survival of the book industry in a growing capitalist economy. The successful implementation of the ISBN, bar coding, and other measures bear witness to the book trade's unusually high level of integration, this despite both proponents and critics' persistent criticisms of its organizational savvy. Yet these systems don't exist merely to coordinate the ebb and flow of books between publishers, wholesalers, dealers, and others, important as that function may be. They're part and parcel of the process of commodifying books, no more and no less than advertising, book jackets, and other—more manifestly ideological—forms of marketing. The main difference is that for the most part the purpose, significance, and material infrastructure of these distribution systems remain hidden from the public eye.

Without these deceptively understated transformations in the book industry's back office, the emergence of large-scale retail bookselling following the Second World War—especially since the mid-1960s—would have been impractical. Indeed, quantities of books haven't miraculously appeared on bookstore shelves and elsewhere. They've arrived there because the strategies and techniques for distributing and communicating about printed books finally caught up with the extraordinary number of books being produced. The ISBN and Bookland EAN bar codes imprinted on nearly all books are particularly crucial with respect to coordinating and executing all phases of its order-fulfillment operations with the utmost efficiency. Workers at each of Amazon.com's facilities scan the EANs on all printed books upon receipt from suppliers, thus allowing the company to maintain up-to-the-minute inventory records. A second scan upon shelving each volume records its precise bin number/location in the fulfillment center's main computer.

Because Amazon.com adheres to a random stow shelving system in these facilities, this scan is absolutely crucial for the computer to keep tabs on the quantity and whereabouts of every item in stock. From the time a book enters one of Amazon.com's warehouses to the time it leaves, its EAN will have been scanned and its ISBN recorded and checked as many as fifteen different times. 94

Once a shopper places a book order at Amazon.com's Web site, its main computer system determines the appropriate distribution center to which to assign it. Typically it makes the selection on the basis of geographical proximity to the customer and whether or not a particular warehouse has the requested title(s) in stock. Within the next couple of hours, the chosen distribution center's in-house computer breaks down the order into its component items, matching each requested book to the unique address of the bin containing it. The computer subsequently radios the merchandise picker located nearest to each bin, each of whom carries a hand-held scanning gun that receives the transmission. The gun's LCD readout directs the picker to the designated bin number to retrieve the appropriate number of copies of the title. In the case of best sellers, Amazon.com employs a more rapid "pick to light" system. A small red light located on the shelf below each bin is illuminated when the computer receives a request for the item contained therein. Upon retrieving the volume, the picker turns off the light by pressing a small button located nearby.

In either case pickers must once again scan each specific volume's EAN upon removing it from the shelf. The scanning gun then radios this information back to the warehouse's main computer, indicating that the item has been located and that the computer should update its inventory records accordingly. The scan also registers that the book is now in the system, waiting to be joined with whatever remaining items were included in the order. Thereafter pickers distribute their items randomly into plastic tubs on a nearby conveyor belt, which moves along at a precisely calculated 2.9 feet per second.⁹⁵ The whole system reportedly is configured to "minimize the number of steps the pickers must take to gather all of the items needed,"⁹⁶ thus remedying one of the inefficiencies endemic to its earlier fulfillment operations.

Eventually the tubs containing the books wind their way to a receiving area, at which point they've moved to the induction phase. There, orders are reassembled with the help of a twenty-five-million-dollar sorting machine, which can process up to two thousand discrete orders simultaneously. Employees remove books from the tubs upon their arrival at induction, scan their EANs to confirm their arrival, and feed them onto another conveyor system leading to the sorter. The latter then scans each book's EAN and determines to which of the machine's order chutes to route it; the sorter will then route all remaining items in the order to the same chute. Once the order is complete, a flashing light cues personnel waiting nearby to remove the items and box them up.

The packed boxes are subsequently invoiced and sealed by another machine and sent, via conveyor belt, to a loading dock, from which they are shipped. 97 Together with Amazon.com's complex order-fulfillment apparatus, the ISBN and Bookland EAN coding schemes have helped the company move toward a "spectacularly capital-efficient" just-in-time operation.98 Any given volume reportedly remains in one of Amazon.com's warehouses for an average of just eighteen days, in contrast to the typical 161 days the same volume would spend on the shelf of a more traditional retail bookstore.99 This arrangement provides for incredibly fast-paced turnover in its inventory of printed books—as high as 150 times per year in the case of some products. By comparison, most booksellers generally turn theirs over less than four times in a given year.100 Amazon.com's systems also have enabled the company to minimize the percentage of unsold books it returns to publishers. Estimates vary, but typically this figure fluctuates between 30 and 40 percent industry-wide. Amazon.com, on the other hand, has one of the lowest return rates among all retail booksellers in the United States, purportedly around 4 percent, which the company attributes both to its streamlined warehouse operations and the fact that it acquires many titles (those that say "usually ships in 2–3 days" on its Web site) only after a shopper has ordered them.101

Still, there's a potentially more pernicious side to Amazon.com's use of the ISBN and Bookland EAN coding schemes. Not only do they allow the company to coordinate complex operations inside its order-fulfillment centers but they empower management to monitor worker productivity to an astonishing degree. Its implementation of these everyday—often unnoticed—commodity codes has resulted in a workplace increasingly suspicious of and hostile to living labor. 102

In 2001 Amazon.com "upgraded" employee bar-code scanners with new software, allowing management to track the number of times employees shelved or retrieved items erroneously. (In the case of shelving, the device records an error when a scan of a book's EAN doesn't match that of the bin into which it is placed; in the case of retrieval, it records an error when the item scanned doesn't match up with the item requested.) The new software also enables management to monitor and compare each worker's level of productivity on the basis of the number of scans made during a given period of time. To its credit, the company offers remedial programs to retrain underperforming employees, though repeated errors or a consistently low level of productivity will result in an employee's dismissal.

These bar code-based tracking capabilities have resulted in both a practical and psychological speedup in Amazon.com's warehouses, given the ever-present threat that management will know if a worker has slowed down. Indeed, the company boasts that its new monitoring systems have doubled the average productivity of temporary workers,103 and it seems reasonable to assume that they've also increased that of its permanent staff as well.

Amazon.com's management also predicts that other "incremental improvements" in the coming years will double productivity in its distribution centers.¹⁰⁴ One recent "improvement" is the addition of a "flowmeister," who, despite the cheeky-sounding name, acts as a master overseer, monitoring and maintaining the rhythm of operations within each fulfillment center. For this reason the New York Times likened this person to an orchestra conductor.¹⁰⁵ Using a computer linked to the fulfillment center's critical systems—picking, induction, and packaging—the flowmeister measures and compares productivity in each area and anticipates where backlogs are likely to occur. Employees are then reassigned to areas where the tempo has slowed, thus theoretically ensuring that worker productivity never dips below prescribed levels. The result is not only a more intensive but also a denser workday. To use Marx's terminology, the flowmeister concentrates "a greater mass of labour into a given period."¹⁰⁶ In this regard, the image of the flowmeister as conductor could just as easily have been plucked from the pages of *Das Kapital*, or even Jacques Attali's *Noise*, as it could from a mainstream news source such as the New York Times. As Attali observes, "The orchestra leader appears as the image of the legitimate and rational organizer of a production whose size necessitates a coordinator.... He is thus the representation of economic power, presumed capable of setting in motion, without conflict, harmoniously, the program of history traced by the composer"—or capitalist.¹⁰⁷ Amazon.com's efforts at systematizing operations have occurred against the backdrop of its having successfully staved off unionization. In November 2000 the Washington Alliance of Technology Workers initiated a campaign to organize the company's four hundred Seattle-based customer-service employees. Three rather serious concerns had prompted the unionizing effort: low wages; poor working conditions (e.g., unreasonable mandatory overtime); and the substantial devaluation of company stock options, resulting in undercompensation. Despite—or perhaps because of—this agitation, Amazon.com closed its Seattle customer-service facility in January 2001. This action coincided with the shutdown of its McDonough, Georgia, distribution center, resulting in the elimination of an additional 450 jobs. Indeed, in early 2001 Amazon.com seemed to be hemorrhaging employees, dismissing a total of 15 percent of its workforce—about 1,300 jobs companywide—in an intense effort to "streamline" operations and achieve profitability.¹⁰⁸ Though the company has since rebounded, the layoffs surely resulted in an increased pace for those Amazon.com employees trying to keep up at its remaining warehouse and customer-service facilities.



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Old Ways of Knowing, New Ways of Playing: The potential of collaborative game design to empower Indigenous Sámi

by Outi Laiti

From the chapter: 1.4 The researcher's position — Sámi researcher and Indigenous worldview

The concept of participation is central in Indigenous research (Smith 2012; Wilson 2008). In this regard, it is important to address the position of the researcher, as I am a member of an Indigenous community. My study is based on Indigenous methodologies (Kuokkanen 2009; Smith 2012; Wilson 2008), which I refer to with the term Indigenous worldview. An Indigenous worldview is more than just a way of knowing: it is all the ways of knowing, the systems of arranging information, and the relationships between them. It includes, for example, entire cultures, ways of conceptualising the world, languages, history, and the connection of Indigenous peoples to nature (Kuokkanen 2009; Wilson 2008). In this study, the relationship between Indigenous worldview and Sámi worldview is parallel. This is based on two aspects. First, the work of previous Indigenous researchers reflects the world of an Indigenous researcher, as Indigenous experiences are not isolated from each other, or the world for that matter (Bishop 2020). I saw me and my experiences being reflected when reading Indigenous research literature. This leads to the second aspect of Indigenous methodologies; the common practice is a mixture of existing Indigenous methodological approaches, as well as more localized practices (Smith 1999). These aspects make Indigenous worldview what it is: a dialectic process. Therefore, in this research the terms Indigenous and Sámi are seen as parallel.

In the Indigenous worldview, truth is not an external object (Wilson 2008), because the worldview concentrates more on the relationship between the individual and the topic, object, or phenomenon. For example, the Indigenous Australians have adjusted the concept of knowledge of digital databases to better correspond to their conception of knowledge, which relies on the relative manifestation of knowledge rather than the contents of the word as such (Christie 2005a & b; Christie & Verran 2013; Verran & Christie 2007). For Sámi culture knowledge as such is not a goal, but rather its utility value is. The production and distribution of knowledge, then, is the responsibility of all Sámi people (Helander & Kailo 1999, 233). As a result, knowledge and its practical adaptation go hand in hand (Keskitalo 2010). Correspondingly, knowledge is interpreted as useful for the community if, and only if, it is genuinely useful from the Indigenous community's point of view (Wilson 2008).

When describing the starting point of a research setting, it is important to distinguish between research conducted among and in collaboration with the Indigenous people and communities, and research that uses the Indigenous people as objects (Wilson 2008). Stevenson (1996) presents examples of the values that govern the Western and traditional worldviews (table 2). The table presents examples of these values, which function as the basis for the legalities by which these different worldviews function and form knowledge. Stevenson (1996) maintains that the table is a generalised presentation of its subject matter. For example, a researcher may adhere to an Indigenous worldview while also pursuing other values (Kuokkanen 2009; Stevenson 1996). This categorisation nevertheless helps us interpret the Indigenous researcher's worldview (Kuokkanen 2009).

Table 2. Indigenous worldview (Stevenson 1996)

Indigenous values and orientations	Western values and orientations
individual, extended family, and group concern	individual and immediate family concern
small group size	large group size
cooperation	competition
holistic view of nature	homocentric view of nature
partnership with nature	exploitation of nature
renewable resource economy	non-renewable resource economy
shared, communal treatment of land and resources	private ownership of land and resources
sharing and wealth distribution	saving and wealth accumulation
focus on the present	focus on the future
non-materialistic orientation	materialistic orientation
time measurement in natural cycles, e.g. seasons	time measurement in small, arbitrary units
practical, intuitive thinking	theoretical thinking, prone to abstraction
face-to-face government and politics	representative democracy
egalitarian organisation	hierarchical organisation
age and wisdom are valued	youth and beauty are valued
high group esteem, lower self-esteem	high self-esteem, lower group esteem
modesty and reserve	confidence and noisiness
patience: problems will be resolved in time	impatience: problems will be resolved quickly

My values adhere to the Indigenous worldview with one exception: I define my orientation as history-aware and living in the present, but ultimately future-oriented. Polarisation is not a part of my worldview; instead, I appreciate that different worldviews can support each other. The Indigenous standpoint is not meant to belittle other ways of producing knowledge through juxtaposition (Kuokkanen 2009; Wilson 2008, 35). However, this connection between supporting and juxtaposing needs to be clarified with three aspects. First, this means that in this study my standpoint is to motivate and justify the methods I have used, not to argue why something is left out. Second, I see that the field of game studies is asking for perspectives. As game studies can involve research on a wide range, from players and communities to technology and games (Mäyrä & Sotamaa 2017), the educational aspects of games are mostly addressed by other research fields (Meriläinen 2020). In my opinion, Indigenous worldview has a lot to offer, bringing perspectives on to the table. These perspectives can also have a wide range from Indigenous education to Indigenous game design. However, this cannot be done by highlighting the Western over Indigenous or by seeking bridges between these two worlds. The expectations, and the challenge, of walking two paths is Indigenous reality in our daily lives. In research this can mean that Indigenous research is expected to reach out by uplifting, explaining, and normalizing the Indigenous ways, in relation to the main cultures that often are white (Brown 2010.). As it can be seen in the table presented by Stevenson (1996), walking these two paths at the same time is not possible, as these worldviews are based on different epistemologies and ontologies (Wilson 2008). Thus, the expectation of a walk in two paths can easily turn as a walk on the self-colonization road instead of uplifting Indigenous methodology. Therefore, the third aspect is that in this study I see the other road, and I am curious of it, but I have chosen to walk on the road of my ancestors and other Indigenous researchers.

Indigenous researchers can also be positioned on the optimist–pessimist axis, for example by stating that those with a positive outlook of the future are optimists whereas pessimists would believe that Indigenous peoples will be destroyed (Smith 2012). On this axis, I am an optimist. In this case I see that the optimistic view focuses on the possibilities of games whereas the pessimistic view would concentrate more on the negative impact that digitalization might have upon Indigenous cultures.

An Indigenous identity in and of itself does not define any researcher nor a research project Indigenous. After all, intra-cultural points of view vary, and the Indigenous methodology is not tied to one's identity as an Indigenous person (Porsanger 2004). More importantly, the research should adhere to the Indigenous researcher's guidelines. The Indigenous researcher's guidelines can be summarised by the three Rs: relationality, reciprocity, and respect (Weber-Pillwax 2001; Wilson 2008, 77).

Using these concepts, I can define my position as the researcher conducting this study, for, in addition to the knowledge obtained through my Indigenous worldview, the Indigenous methodology stresses that understanding these core concepts is essential (Porsanger 2004).

As a member of an Indigenous people, I have a great responsibility to not harm my culture through my research. As a member of the community I study, I may not have had to strive to gain the trust of the participants in conducting the research, but I do feel a pressure to live up to their trust. I have a responsibility to honour the relationships I had before, during, and after the research project, and to support the formation of a solid relationship with my study topic and between the participants. Furthermore, I also express relational accountability in this thesis by mentioning the full name of some of the relations built during this research. As a researcher, I recognise the need to follow the principle of reciprocity, and to carefully reflect on the subjects, phenomena, and relationships that I will offer to my community reciprocally, both now and later (Smith 2012). I respect my community, and I need to organise the methods I use in a way that promotes reciprocal sharing, growth, and learning in the framework of this study. It is my aim to produce the results from a perspective that describes and portrays my culture and community in a way its members can identify with rather than to produce a collection of stereotypical representations compiled by a researcher who has observed the community from the outside, depicting the Sámi as an abstract idea (Kuokkanen 2002) and stressing the aspect of otherness (Keskitalo, Määttä & Uusiautti 2013; Smith 2012).

For these reasons, relatedness is an essential component of Indigenous research (Porsanger 2004; Smith 2012; Wilson 2008) and plays in central role in my study. I am a member of the community I study, so I could not have positioned myself outside it. This is also because the people in the Sámi community tend to know each other, and some of the people who participated in my study I considered to be my friends even before the research project. The membership of the community is a strength for the Indigenous researcher: it is important that Indigenous research is managed from within the community (Wilson 2008, 108). Belonging to a community can also facilitate criticism from the inside, where scholar-members of the community are criticised on the basis of the community's Indigenous criteria: lineage, age, family background, political interests, gender, or a supposed hidden agenda. The researchers belonging to an Indigenous people strike a balance between internal and external factors when choosing Indigenous research: the internal challenges related to conducting research from within the community as a member of the community, and the external challenges related to, for example, the Western educational background and its effects on the Indigenous point of view. (Smith 2012.) Fear of critique from within the community may lead to excessive caution or short-sightedness on the part of the researcher. Wilson (2008), for one, has paid attention to the trend among Indigenous researchers to examine their subjects in a positive light (Wilson 2008, 109).

The internal and external challenges related to my research include my relatively extensive Western educational background of computer science engineer and Master of Education, and for that I admittedly can be judged. However, my family history includes many other formally learned people. Consider, for example, Dávvet-Ásllat, or Aslak Laiti, who lived in the 19th century and made his living as a teacher, a translator, and as the first Sámi official in the Finnish government, among other occupations (Hirvonen 2018; Muranen 2009). My experience is that my Western educational background has not forced me to make compromises concerning my values and worldview, but has rather expanded them — computer science, educational sciences, and the Indigenous worldview have given me the kind of multi-perspectivism that are required in this research.

Indigenous women face discrimination based on, for example, age, gender, and ethnicity, but they are also carriers of culture (Hirvonen 1999; UN 2010). Sámi women in particular are more marginalised than Sámi in general, as historically the Sámi community has been studied mainly through the words and activities of its male members. Narrative literature by Sámi women became more common only as late as in the 1970s (Hirvonen 1999). The Sámi identity cannot always be formed painlessly (Hirvonen 1999), and I pay attention to this in the later chapters of my dissertation. However, when it comes to my own identity, the meta-work has already been done. I grew up in a multicultural home, in which my father was Finnish and my mother Sámi. My close relatives are either Finnish or Sámi from either Finland or Norway. Back in his day, my father worked for the Finnish Air Force as a major of a transport squadron, and I have often thought that I inherited his big wings as well as my mother's sturdy Sámi roots. My identity has been affected by the shame of being imperfect, as well as by the ridicule for my ethnicity in my early years, but those factors have never defined or controlled me. I am an Indigenous, relatively young woman in the field of game studies, and the process of ending up in this setting could not possibly have been simple nor pain-free.



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The Right to Be Cold, One Woman's Fight to Protect the Arctic and Save the Planet from Climate Change by Sheila Watt-Cloutier

Above all, then, a right is a protection against the power of others, whether or not that power is wielded maliciously. In the past, Inuit populations had seen their rights trampled. Now, with our world melting around us, we were again experiencing this assault against our rights. Our work with two U.S. environmental groups would help us make that case to the world, and would encourage the global community to recognize that environmental protection is intrinsically linked to the protection of human rights.

...

Indeed, the majority of the world's population now lived in cities, and people in urban areas were often far removed from the land that supported them. A great disconnect had grown between city dwellers and the environment. Too many didn't realize that the cars they drove and the emissions they created by powering their cities were connected to the Inuk hunter falling through the thinning ice, and to the Pacific islander defending his home along the sinking shore. For cities to reflect true ecological integrity, those who lived within them needed to look inward to realize the effects of their decisions on urban populations, but also outward to understand how their decisions affected the entire world. We believed that once city residents realized this profound interconnectedness, they would be able to relate to vulnerable communities around the world, as a shared humanity.

But how could we Inuit and the ICC get this important message across? During one of our ICC Canada board meetings, Pita Aatami, president of Makivik, wondered what we needed to do to draw the world's attention to the imminent devastation of the Inuit way of life. He asked, "With our food being poisoned with toxins, our ozone layer being depleted and now climate change affecting our hunting culture, what strong stance do we need to take to be heard? Do we need to launch lawsuits to draw attention to this serious matter?" My mind began to spin as I thought about this proposal; not only would the legal process be extremely expensive but also the world might interpret this action as a pursuit of money. I was vehemently opposed to this becoming an issue of money. I've always felt that whatever action we take, whatever path we decide to follow, we must remain on the moral high ground. I thought we could make a stronger impact through the politics of influence than through the politics of conflict or confrontation. I'm a firm believer that synergy is created when you look for answers that will bring about a change in perspective at a time when people, the world, cultures, or communities are ready for that change.

Luckily for us, the Inuit and Arctic communities weren't the only ones grappling with how to get the world's attention focused on climate change. A number of environmental law institutes in the United States had already been thinking about legal strategies that might put pressure on governments of the world to address environmental issues. Their focus had been on the United States, in particular, as it had been almost completely absent from the UNFCCC process and the efforts to lower greenhouse gas emissions. It had become evident that the world's leading economic power and worst greenhouse gas emitter (back then) was reluctant to lift a finger to do anything about climate change.

One of the environmental institutes looking at legal avenues was Earthjustice, based in San Francisco. Attorney Martin Wagner from Earthjustice and Donald Goldberg from the Center for International Environmental Law (CIEL) in Washington, D.C., had been working together to link the issue of the environment to human rights. It was a brilliant approach. Martin and Donald felt that the human rights discussion was due for an update. They had recognized that in an era of striking environmental damage, people's economic, social, and cultural freedoms were affected not only by their civil or political freedoms, but also by the changing climate and environmental degradation. To secure the already-recognized human rights, populations would also have to be protected from devastating environmental change. Another way of looking at it was that since it was proving difficult to protect the environment, perhaps they would have more success protecting the people in it.

Martin and Donald had heard about my work on the POPs treaty from Dan Magraw, who was heading CIEL at the time, and whom I had met during the negotiations. They invited me to meet with them, hoping that they might find support in the Inuit community for an effort to link Arctic climate change to human rights. Terry Fenge and I were in Washington, D.C., in late 2002 to attend a few events, and we met with Donald for the first time in a hotel lobby in the capital. I put a great deal of weight on first impressions, and I wanted to see if Donald's approach would be compatible with Inuit interests and concerns and whether he was the sort of person we could work with. While our meeting was brief, I left feeling comfortable that Don was knowledgeable, but just as importantly, well intentioned—a man with his heart in the right place.

A few weeks later, we had a conference call with Martin from Earthjustice to further explore this avenue. In our talks, Donald and Martin explained that under the structures of international law, a human rights petition is really the only way for a non-governmental group (or an individual) to directly address the world's governments, and that legal petitions are also a powerful way to convey the human story of an issue to a global public. They suggested that a human rights petition—a lengthy document that would include science, research, witness statements, and legal arguments—would allow Inuit to tell the world what was happening to them, to put what had been a largely scientific debate into human terms.

Given how quickly and unequivocally Inuit culture, health, and economic well-being were being affected by climate change, we were ideally equipped to link climate change to basic human rights—to argue that the protection from climate change was essential in order to secure the social, cultural, and economic rights that were already internationally recognized.

Donald and Martin were planning to focus their petition on the United States. Not only was it the world's largest producer of greenhouse gases but, just as important, it also had not been supporting the international treaties on environmental protection. While other countries, like China, were also producing CO₂s in serious amounts, Donald and Martin felt that the developed countries should be first in line to bring their emissions down. And there was also a powerful and progressive human rights tribunal that had jurisdiction over the United States: the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights. They explained that the European Court of Human Rights was also good, but it did not have jurisdiction over the United States. The IACHR had also, apparently, already started to make links between the environment and human rights in some of their decisions, so it looked as if they might be the most open to hearing a petition like ours.

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Then, in early December, almost a year after we had submitted the petition, one of the lawyers from CIEL in Washington was told by a staff member from the U.S. State Department that the IACHR would not hear our petition. What a way to find out!

Shortly after this, an official letter came from the IACHR stating that it could not process the petition at present. The only explanation given was that the petition didn't enable the commission to determine whether the alleged facts would characterize a violation of rights protected by the American Declaration. The commission's letter did not question the essential facts: that global warming is threatening the lives, culture, and property of Inuit in truly devastating ways. In fact, in the year since the petition was filed, accounts from our people and new scientific studies had confirmed that the Arctic was warming at an unprecedented rate, and that this warming was attributable to anthropogenic emissions of greenhouse gases.

Upon hearing the decision from the IACHR, I immediately wrote to them, saying that we would provide whatever other information they needed in order to make clear the connection between climate change and human rights violations in the Arctic. I also sought a detailed explanation of their concerns. Without such an explanation, we wouldn't have any assurance that the commission had fully considered our petition, nor could we understand how the commission reached its conclusions, or even how we might remedy any shortcomings that the commission had identified. Only a few days after we'd received the letter from the IACHR, the petition team received some sad news.

Brian Tittlemore, a lawyer working for the IACHR, had passed away from cancer on December 12, 2006. Brian had been very supportive of what we were doing, championing our cause from within, informing and educating the nine-man commission on what our petition was all about. Brian recognized what we were trying to do for the cause of humanity. His death was a great loss to our cause, but his passing was a great loss to the world as well.

At the same time that all this bad news was landing on my doorstep, I was also very sick with the flu. It was a low point for me—a time of confusion, anger, and loss of direction. During a phone call with Martin, Donald, Paul, James Anaya, and the rest of the team, I acknowledged that hearing about the decision the way we did made the news even harder for me. I wasn't entirely surprised, given that there seemed to be a less-than-transparent connection between the State Department and the commission. But I felt the commission's response had been evasive and dismissive. "How could we possibly let the commission get away with informing the U.S. administration before informing us?" I asked in one of my emails. "And what kind of hold does the U.S. administration have on the commission?" Frankly, we felt the IACHR had let us down, as so many southern institutions had.

I went on: In our attempt to be polite, respectful, not put the commission in the wrong light in order to keep the door open with them, I feel like I now have compromised something within me and all that I stand for. This process is very much about the journey being the destination, the power being in the attempt and the strength being in the struggle. It isn't only about the final ruling, per se, but how we Inuit portray ourselves and stand tall throughout the process, and how we as Inuit in turn are treated and respected throughout the process by institutions that are put there to protect our rights. I also have looked up the commission website and saw for the first time they are all men from very warm countries. I do wonder if any one of those men [has] ever seen snow and sea ice, much less [has] any inkling as to what the ice, snow and cold represent for an entire people living at the top of the world.

James Anaya responded with compassion and empathy. He noted how hard IACHR lawyer Brian Tittlemore had worked for our cause, and said he didn't know if his illness and passing had anything to do with the response we received. James's mention of Brian hit me hard. I had been focusing so much on how the commission had treated us that Brian's illness had been secondary to me. In fact, my denial had been so strong that when James mentioned that Brian had actually passed away, I was shocked. Brian was a truly good person, and I had always felt his support and encouragement. I remembered his openness and his willingness to help. All barriers gave way and I broke down and wept.

I AM A RATHER PERSISTENT PERSON. Despite the lack of response to my initial letter, I continued to write to the commission. I asked for a face-to-face meeting with them. I felt that it was crucial for them to hear us in person. In my letters, I insisted that they hold, at the very least, a hearing in Washington, D.C., on the legal impacts of climate change. Eventually, they agreed.

Paul Crowley, Martin Wagner, Donald Goldberg, and I took hold of this opportunity with full force, preparing for several days for the hearing. The commission would not hear the petition itself, but they would allow us to expand upon the legal basis for connecting climate change to human rights. They also asked if I would relate the impacts on other vulnerable regions of the world. Because I had always seen this issue in an inclusive way, I agreed to do that. That was what I'd always wanted.

When we got to the hearing in Washington, Paul, Martin, Don, and Dan Magraw from CIEL spoke to the commission about the various legal issues raised in our petition. In my speech, I addressed how climate change was affecting communities around the globe. I was careful not to try to represent the feelings and interests of other peoples, but explained the connections of the melting Arctic to other places in the world, and how rising sea levels were negatively affecting vulnerable regions, along with their Indigenous peoples. The month before I gave my speech, record-breaking winds in Iqaluit and Pannituuq had torn the roofs off buildings and homes. The weather, which we had learned and predicted for centuries, had become *uggianaqtuq*—a Nunavut term for behaving unexpectedly, or in an unfamiliar way.

Our sea ice, which had allowed for safe travel for our hunters and provided a strong habitat for our marine mammals, was, and still is, deteriorating. I described what we had already so carefully documented in the petition: the human fatalities that had been caused by thinning ice, the animals that may face extinction, the crumbling coastlines, the communities that were having to relocate—in other words, the many ways that our rights to life, health, property, and a means of subsistence were being violated by a dramatically changing climate. I also reminded them that global warming, which causes additional runoff from watersheds that empty into the Arctic, speeds the process by which POPs find their way into our marine mammals. And I reiterated that hunting for Inuit was so much more than a way of providing our communities with food. “Hunting,” I said, “is, in reality, a powerful process where we prepare our young for the challenges and opportunities not only for survival on the land and ice but also for life itself. The character skills learned on the hunt, of patience, boldness, tenacity, focus, courage, sound judgment and wisdom, are very transferable to the modern world that has come so quickly to the Arctic world. We are seeing this powerful training ground on the land and ice being destroyed before our very eyes. Not only are our livelihoods being threatened but also we are losing lives as a result of these dramatic changes as the sea ice depletes and creates precarious situations for our hunters and their families.”

I concluded by saying, “The individual rights of many are at stake. The collective rights of many peoples to their culture are also at stake. I encourage the commission to continue its work in protecting human rights. In so doing, you will protect the sentinels of climate change—the Indigenous peoples. By protecting the rights of those living sustainably in the Amazon basin or the rights of the Inuk hunter on the snow and ice, this commission will also be preserving the world’s environmental early-warning system.” In response to my testimony, the president of the IACHR told me, through an interpreter, that they wanted to move forward with the petition. In fact, he told me that they had asked my legal team for some of the documentation, which was required for them to assess this further. He said that they would get back to us in two weeks. Martin, Don, Paul, Dan, and I headed home.

Those two weeks came and went without any of us hearing from the commission. In fact, as far as I knew, they never got back to us. It was a time of great frustration for me. After my return to Iqaluit, I tried to find out if Earthjustice, CIEL, or any other environmental organization was working on some of the questions they had asked us to report back to them to assess the petition further. It was very difficult to get accurate answers. I wondered if the disconnect was because none of the legal team was attached to me in any official capacity now that I was no longer ICC chair. Yet I felt a great sense of responsibility to see the human rights work through, not only for myself but for my fellow petitioners. After the hearing, I sent a letter to each member of that group, updating them on the situation. But preparing sixty-two letters and having them translated into two languages proved to be a financial burden now that I didn’t have any institutional support.

While our petition didn’t get the reception we were hoping for, I believe it did play an important role in moving the climate change discussion forward. It wasn’t evident immediately, but the petition was an important step in paving the way for other efforts to recognize climate change as a human rights issue. In fact, also in 2007, the Small Island Developing States met in Malé in the Maldives and, in partnership with CIEL, issued the Malé Declaration on the Human Dimension of Global Climate Change, which called on the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights to conduct a study about how climate change affected the abilities of populations, like those in the sinking island states, to fully exercise their human rights. It also asked the United Nations Human Rights Council to convene a debate on climate change and human rights. Indeed, the following year, the council did adopt a resolution (7/23), referring to the United Nations’ own charter and covenants on human rights, that acknowledged that climate change had “implications for the full enjoyment of human rights” for many peoples and communities around the globe.

They reaffirmed this position in subsequent resolutions in 2009 and 2011. And in 2009 the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights did indeed release a study that looked at populations around the world whose economies, safety, and lives, as well as other human rights, were put at risk by climate disruptions. The United Nations continued to maintain its focus on the human rights angle at their COP 16 in Cancún. Along with calling for the establishment of a Green Climate Fund and a Climate Technology Centre and Network, the report produced by the conference echoed the earlier UN resolutions, demanding that climate change actions always take into account human rights.

NGOs outside of the environmental agencies have also brought the issue of climate change to their discussions of social, economic, and political struggles. In 2008 Oxfam International submitted to the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights a report entitled *Climate Wrongs and Human Rights*. In it Oxfam stated, “Climate change was first seen as a scientific problem, then an economic one. Now we must also see it as a matter of international justice. Human rights principles give an alternative to the view that everything from carbon to malnutrition can be priced, compared and traded.”

And some communities have continued our legal pursuit of human rights, in a slightly different way. Kivalina, a small Inupiat community of Alaska, launched a lawsuit for damages caused by climate change against Exxon Mobil Corporation, eight other oil companies, fourteen power companies, and one coal company. Although the suit was thrown out in court, it helped to draw attention to the devastation caused by melting ice.

And another legal action connecting climate change to human rights has been brought to the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights. Four years after our legal impacts hearings, in March 2011, the IACHR heard testimony from Alivio Aruquipa, a farmer from the Bolivian Andes; Kevin E. Trenberth, head of the Climate Analysis Section of the National Center for Atmospheric Research; and Martin Wagner from Earthjustice, claiming that climate change was a human rights issue for Indigenous peoples in the Americas, specifically concerning water resources. The speakers stated that global warming had caused changing precipitation in the Americas and rapid melting of glaciers, changes that were threatening the peoples’ ability to access the freshwater resources they needed for consumption, sanitation, and irrigation. As a result, livelihoods and the cultural survival of various ethnic groups in the regions were at risk.

The issue of access to water was presented to the Spanish-speaking IACHR by Spanish-speaking witnesses, and it’s likely that the members of the commission were already familiar with the challenges that many people in warm climates have in accessing water. The hearing resulted in a press release from the IACHR that connected climate change to human rights.

In part, it stated, “The Commission ... received alarming information on the already serious impact of anthropogenic climate change on the enjoyment of human rights, especially in mountain regions where the widespread loss of glaciers and snowpack and rising temperatures are diminishing access to water, harming food production, and introducing new diseases. The Commission urges States to keep human rights at the forefront of climate change negotiations, including in designing and implementing measures of mitigation and adaptation.”

I realize now, with the luxury of hindsight, that there may have been a reason other than outstanding legal questions as to why our petition wasn't revisited, while the later hearing received such an endorsement from the IACHR. The concept of ice as the life force for an entire people at the top of the world was, I believe, too foreign to a commission made up of representatives from warm countries. It was difficult for them to grasp the fact that ice is something that people depend on not just for survival but to thrive. Indeed, the idea of “the right to be cold” is less relatable than “the right to water” for many people. This isn't meant to denigrate the people on the human rights commission and in the warmer countries, but rather to point out that the global connections we need to make in order to consider the world and its people as a whole are sometimes lacking. Because as hard as it is for many people to understand, for us Inuit, ice matters. Ice is life.

(There are two wonderful books that help to make clear the importance of ice to our people. *The Meaning of Ice: People and Sea Ice in Three Arctic Communities* is edited by Shari Fox Gearheard, Lene Kielsen Holm, Henry Huntington, Joe Mello Leavitt, Andrew R. Mahoney, Margaret Opie, Toku Oshima, and Joelle Sanguya and published by the International Polar Institute. *SIKU: Knowing Our Ice*, edited by S. Gearhead, I. Krupnik, G. Laidler, and L. Kielsen Holm [London: Springer], also explores this essential truth in moving detail.)

In the end, however, it's a positive sign that the “right to water” hearing succeeded the way it did. It provides further proof that people will continue to link climate change to human rights. Our Right to Be Cold petition may have been a little ahead of its time, but it seems to have been an important step in raising the world's awareness. Climate change is about people as much as it is about the earth, and the science, economics, and politics of our changing environment must always have a human face.



Journal Publishing House ?

Tuesday: Late Age of Print by Ted Striphas

Wednesday: Old Ways of Knowing, New Ways of Playing: The potential of collaborative game design to empower Indigenous Sámi by Outi Laiti

Thursday: The Right to Be Cold, One Woman's Fight to Protect the Arctic and Save the Planet from Climate Change by Sheila Watt-Cloutier

Friday: On the Im/possibilities of Anti-racist and Decolonial Publishing as Pedagogical Praxis by Amy Verhaeghe, Ela Przybylo and Sharifa Patel

Saturday: Phillipino Tree Communicating Practices Collection shared by Peachie Dioquino-Valera

On the Im/possibilities of Anti-racist and Decolonial Publishing as Pedagogical Praxis by Amy Verhaeghe, Ela Przybylo and Sharifa Patel

Anti-racist pedagogy is grounded in honing the critical exploration of racial inequality and white privilege so as to take direct action against injustice, including the ways it manifests in educational contexts. Beyond being “non-racist,” an anti-racist approach seeks to actively identify and dismantle racism in its multiple and insidious forms toward transformative social change (Dei, “Denial”; Dei, “Anti-Racist”). Decolonial approaches to pedagogy foreground Indigenous knowledges in order to challenge the ongoing presence of settler colonialism, seeking to reframe educational practices so that they spring forth from and in the service of Indigenous people and interests (St. Denis).

Although anti-racism and decolonization have been under development by feminists of color and Indigenous feminists for decades, they have acquired the status of “mainstreamed” and “metaphorical” concepts in recent years, often being mobilized in inauthentic or paper-thin ways (Tuck and Yang). We write this piece to explore the pedagogical possibilities and impossibilities for anti-racist and decolonial praxis in the realm of feminist publishing.

Online and open access feminist journals have mushroomed in recent years. Constituting a public space, online feminist journals provide unprecedented opportunities for community involvement, for the making of knowledge in various mediums, and for the making of public space itself. As part of this paradigm in feminist publishing, Feral Feminisms (FF) (www.feral-feminisms.com) is an independent, online, peer-reviewed, intermedia, open access feminist journal started in 2012 by Ela Przybylo, Sara Rodrigues, and Danielle Cooper. Each issue of Feral Feminisms builds around a particular thematic and includes academic articles, creative pieces, cultural commentaries, poems, photo-essays, short films, and visual and sound art. It utilizes the advantages of online publication, such as a flexibility of mediums, in seeking to subvert structures of knowledge production, to create alternative or “feral” publishing strategies, and to foreground topics elided by other feminist publications. Yet there are limitations on the disruptive potential of online feminist publishing. For example, “open access” can itself rely on Western colonial understandings of knowledge-sharing that thief Indigenous and Traditional Knowledge (Christen); the everyday operation of feminist publications overly relies on unpaid feminized labor (McLaughlin); and online publishing replicates and advances the power imbalances of traditional publishing models (with the ownership of the majority of journals in the hands of five commercial publishers, for example) (Larivière, Haustein, and Mongeon).

av afferal Feminisms, along with other feminist online publications, thus must ask: what are the pedagogical purposes, as well as the decolonial and anti-racist possibilities, of publishing online? As three managing editors of Feral Feminisms, we are interested and invested in exploring the possibilities and impossibilities of undertaking online journal work as a form of anti-racist and decolonial pedagogical practice. In this piece, as well as in our editing praxis, we reflect on the following questions: - In what ways are feminist journals active in creating pedagogies of anti-racism, decolonization, and a commitment to free, open, and accessible readership? - What work can journals undertake to not only theoretically, but also practically, dismantle settler colonialism and racist structures? - How are publishing models invested in settler ways of knowing and creating knowledge? - How are publishing models invested in precarious and free labor that mines and undercuts feminist subjects? - In what ways do feminist publishing models suffer when they are bound to academia and its systems of worth and value allocation? - How do models of feminist publishing need to change in order to be truly transformative, empowering, and capable of remaking the worlds we live and work in?

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A few cases

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A Short History of Racism and Anti-Racism in Feminist Publishing

Analyzing the histories and present conditions of feminist publishing and the contexts through which feminist knowledge is made and disseminated is a productive pedagogical practice as it opens up space to question and critique the processes of feminist knowledge production. Such an analysis can be mobilized pedagogically in both feminist classrooms and academic writing toward attempting to hone publishing as an anti-racist and decolonial practice. The conditions in which feminist publications are produced are demonstrative of contemporary trajectories and tensions of feminist organizing, both within and outside the academy. Disputes within feminist publishing since the 1970s reflect broader tensions in feminisms and have shaped the production and dissemination of feminist knowledge. In this section we discuss how racism and anti-racist organizing have shaped feminist knowledge production and consider the ways in which studying feminist publishing can be an anti-racist feminist pedagogical practice.

In 1988, the Women's Press, Canada's largest and best-known feminist press, split into two separate publishing houses, the Women's Press and Second Story Press, to quell resistance to the Women's Press's structural integration of anti-racist policies (Stasiulis 35). followed for all future publications (Stasiulis 36).

In these guidelines, the press stated that they would “avoid manuscripts . . . in which the protagonist’s experience in the world, by virtue of race or ethnicity, is substantially removed from that of the writer [and] . . . manuscripts in which a writer appropriates the forms and substance of a culture which is oppressed by her own” (qtd. in Stasiulis 39). This move by the press was met with fierce resistance from other feminist publishers, The Writers Union, and broader writing and publishing communities, with critiques of the Women’s Press’s anti-racist guidelines centered around the predictable arguments that these guidelines infringed on freedom of speech and “freedom of the imagination” (Stasiulis 39). We understand analyzing the resistance to the Women’s Press’s anti-racist guidelines as a pedagogical practice that can be engaged in through reading or listening to writing that outlines such resistance. We also see these debates as an important component of feminist histories that can be incorporated into feminist classrooms.

During the production of a recent issue of *Feral Feminisms*, we were met with almost identical arguments to those the Women’s Press received when we informed a creative writer that we would not publish her piece unless she followed a peer reviewer’s recommendation to remove the appropriative use of settler constructions of North American Indigenous cultures. In our communications, this writer informed us that she would not remove these appropriative references as doing so would infringe upon her right to creativity and because it would be too limiting to write from her own positionality as a white woman. Because such disputes are typically hidden from view, the publicized debates that arose from the Women’s Press’s anti-racist guidelines are particularly useful sites for learning about the complexity of feminist knowledge production. While the Women’s Press’s anti-racist guidelines were issued thirty years ago, their contents remain relevant and useful, and, evidently, the implementation of such anti-racist publishing practices continues to be met with the freedom of speech argument that seems to be issued anytime white people are asked to stop being racist. Using these debates as feminist teaching tools, both to inform our own publishing collaborations and as material in gender studies or feminist classrooms, not only presents the opportunity to learn about how racism has informed feminist organizing, but also creates the opportunity to think through and develop our own anti-racist practices.

Scholars who theorize the role of capitalism within feminist publishing have taken up the implications of feminist publications managed by white women profiting from the work of BIPOC writers. Alexis Pauline Gumbs asserts that “the white feminist effort to tokenistically incorporate the labor of women of color led to an environment in which black women’s writing was increasingly marketable” and argues that there has been “a practice in the post-civil rights era through which the literary practices of black women we[re] reincorporated into a capitalist and imperialist framework where black women’s lives were ‘new subject matter’ to be consumed and ‘new territory’ to be discovered by an expanded market, which is similar to the way black bodies were prepared for resale in the post-reconstruction moment. . . The reconstitution of the black family as a consumer unit and the reconfiguration of black women as marketable tokens were parts of the same process” (41).

Simone Murray takes up a related issue in posing the question: “what are the ideological ramifications of a press run entirely by white women marketing itself as an outlet for the voices of women from racial minorities?” (“Books of Integrity” 173). These issues—the tokenistic use of Black women’s writing by white publishers and white-run publications marketing themselves as the voice for or of racialized women—remain relevant to contemporary publishing and are generative sites of analysis for students of feminism. While, unlike traditional book publishers, open access journals like *Feral Feminisms* do not profit financially from publishing work by Black people, Indigenous people, and people of color, our journal does benefit from publishing such work. Our emphasis on publishing work by BIPOC contributors helps to produce *Feral Feminisms*’ reputation as a progressive, social justice-oriented journal, which makes the journal appealing to potential donors and contributors who share our political positions. The collaborative thinking processes that led us to prioritize the work of BIPOC contributors have also provided us with opportunities to present on decolonial and anti-racist feminist publishing at academic conferences and write peer-reviewed journal articles, such as this one, on the topic.

This work directly benefits us as graduate students and early career scholars by adding to our academic CVs. As a result, while the benefits for feminist journals to celebrate BIPOC work are mostly immaterial, journals nonetheless have to examine their desires and potential benefits from publishing work by scholars, artists, poets, and creators who have been historically marginalized within colonial systems of knowledge-making. Even more apparently, mainstream presses that feature feminist, BIPOC, as well as queer and trans work, can benefit materially from the labor of these marginalized communities and authors. Murray discusses tensions that arose between the Women’s Press in the UK (not to be confused with the previously discussed Toronto-based Women’s Press) and Virago, the first feminist press in the UK, established in 1972 (“Books of Integrity” 174).

The UK-based Women's Press profited significantly by buying the UK rights to Alice Walker's *The Color Purple*, as well as the work of other popular racialized women writers such as Tsitsi Dangarembga (*Nervous Conditions*) and Pauline Melville (*Shape-Shifter*), and dedicated "a significant portion of its list—and a commensurate portion of its advertising—to promoting writing by women from those minority groups marginalized by early second-wave feminism: black women, women from ethnic minorities, working-class women and lesbians" (Murray, "Books of Integrity" 174). Murray asserts that, in addition to adhering to a policy of publishing work by women who were not white, middle- or upper-class, and straight, by positioning itself as an outlet for the voices of marginalized women, the Women's Press was able to successfully market its books to "previously underexploited markets among book buyers from minority groups," white feminists who were invested in staying up-to-date with developments in feminism, and international markets ("Books of Integrity" 176). The Women's Press also marketed itself as the outlet for the voices of marginalized women in an attempt to differentiate itself from Virago, which the Women's Press attempted to position as a publisher focused on the first-wave feminist voices of white, upper-class women from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Murray, "Books of Integrity" 176). In reality, Virago was significantly financed by winning the UK rights to Maya Angelou's *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings*, similarly to the Women's Press's financial reliance on Walker's *The Color Purple*, and published many books written by BIPOC, working-class, and lesbian women (Murray, "Books of Integrity" 177). Despite the comparable composition of the publishers' lists, the Women's Press was able to use the writing of BIPOC, working-class, and lesbian women to market itself as the more politically radical and inclusive publishing house. While publishing the writing of BIPOC, working-class, and lesbian women is vital to undermining the white, middle- and upper-class, and straight dominance of much feminist publishing, doing so without changing the power structures in which white, middle- and upper-class, and straight women make the decisions about what work by BIPOC, working-class, and lesbian women is worthy of being published and marketed is insufficient to shift power imbalances within feminist publishing houses. Thinking about the material and immaterial benefits that are derived for white publishers, even if feminist, from publishing work previously ousted from literary canons, is key to developing a publishing praxis that is invested in decolonial and anti-racist practices.

Decolonization and Academic Publishing

In our work at *Feral Feminisms*, we aim to employ anti-racist, decolonial, and anti-colonial publishing practices, but the material conditions in which we do our work limit our ability to do so. Being part of a settler colonial state and the beneficiaries of that state makes us unable to comprehensively divorce ourselves from settler colonialism, which makes resistance to settler colonialism a complex endeavor. So we engage in our work by asking ourselves: How do we, as people who are complicit in the colonial project, begin to disrupt this project?

Before addressing this question, we believe there is a need to differentiate between claiming to be a decolonizing force and aligning ourselves with and disseminating work that critiques and resists the intertwined structures of settler colonialism and colonialism more broadly. In their article “Decolonization Is Not a Metaphor,” Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang stress the importance of retaining the connection between the term “decolonization” and work that “brings about the repatriation of Indigenous land and life” (1). Tuck and Yang argue that when the term “decolonization” is used as a metaphor to describe any social justice-oriented work, “it kills the very possibility of decolonization; it recenters whiteness, it resettles theory, it extends innocence to the settler, it entertains a settler future” (3). We share Tuck and Yang’s concern with the way decolonization is taken up in both academic and community spaces as a way to describe work that is critical or anti-normative, but that is not engaged in the work of decolonization, that is, the work of dismantling settler colonialism and “repatriat[ing] Indigenous land and life” (Tuck and Yang 1).

We are disturbed by the ways in which settlers claim decolonization as their own. These moves to innocence allow settlers to accrue progressive legitimacy through tangential references to the stolen land on which we live, by adding Indigenous to a long list of categories of people subjected to oppression, or by describing Canada as a settler colonial state without shifting the theoretical perspectives to make space for a systematic study or critique of settler colonialism in Canada. Therefore, this discussion is not aimed at securing the progressiveness of our journal by claiming to be undertaking the work of decolonization, but rather it is oriented toward highlighting the impossibility of transforming an academic journal organized by settlers into a decolonizing project. While feminist online journals can provide a space where normative education, ideas, and learning styles are disrupted, it is also important to consider how the journal itself facilitates the reproduction of normative education and learning styles.

Razack argues that “[t]he challenge in radical education becomes how to build critical consciousness about how we, as subjects, position ourselves as innocent through the use of such markers of identity as the good activist” (18). *Feral Feminisms* is written in English and follows the formatting regulations of academic writing, for the most part, even while it includes work from multiple genres and media, and occasionally, other languages. Such use of academic language and writing necessarily reproduces the colonial project, even if the claim (and the attempt) to “untame” feminism is part of the journal’s mandate. We are not only referring to the language that many of the papers use (academic language that is often illegible and incomprehensible to many outside academia), but also to the ways in which the writing is formatted, structured, and ordered on a page, such as through grammar and particular margins, headers, and footers. These demarcations literally create rigid lines between a space for writing (which comes to occupy the space of legitimate knowledge production) and the blank spaces in margins, headers, and footers.

These processes are inherently part of a system that constructs rigid regulations around writing and publishing that can only alienate those who do not have a normative command of the English language and of writing. There are journals and writers that attempt to defy the rigid boundaries of institutionalized writing and language. One such example is the Sistren Collective in Jamaica who wrote *Lionheart Gal*, a compilation of short stories written completely in what Kamau Brathwaite refers to as Jamaica's "nation language."

Feral Feminisms creates a space for various voices to contribute to dynamic conversations that seek to unsettle the foundations of our own privilege, but we still encounter the issue of being a journal that, though open access and encouraging of nonacademic submissions, finds much of its readership and contributors in academic circles. Though various people can contribute, the people that have the means to do so, the know-how, the time, and the ability, are a very small and relatively privileged group. Open access journals can include art and creative pieces that disrupt normative knowledge production, but disseminating these texts to broader audiences is challenging. The concern here, too, is that when this knowledge is (re)produced in feminist spaces, particularly through an online presence, it can remain in echochambers. While these online presences surely include knowledges and information that are unknown to many of those who frequent these journals, and the conversations and critical thinking that they evoke are certainly invaluable, they often do not reach those outside feminist communities and university institutions. How, then, can knowledge produced by online feminist journals move beyond these online outlets to become incorporated in and beyond educational institutions? What is lost when we seek for anti-racist and decolonial knowledge to be recognized as "legitimate" by postsecondary institutions? How can knowledge move from feminist online journals into spaces that can reach more people?

Our concerns with feminist journals as a mode of world-making, knowledge-making, and feminist pedagogy are the ways in which they remain an elitist space that can often alienate more than they include. Even if more people did have the willingness and ability to contribute, we are far from convinced that an academic journal can be an effective forum for dismantling the systems of oppression with which we live. Although *Feral Feminisms* retains its institutional independence in that it is not officially affiliated with or funded by a university, the journal remains deeply dependent on academia to survive. All of the work of publishing the journal, from soliciting guest editors, to copyediting and peer reviewing articles, to formatting and uploading the final work, is done on a volunteer basis, almost entirely by graduate students, very few of whom, we assume, would do this work if it were not helping them collect academic credentials or acting as a form of "hope labor" (Kuehn and Corrigan). Moreover, the people who guest edit issues of the journal and those who contribute to the journal, with the occasional exception of some of our artistic contributors, would likely seek out other journals if ours was not academic and peer-reviewed. So, despite the relative freedom we have to publish work that is unconventional, radical, and critical, *Feral Feminisms* is dependent on the academic industrial complex for its very existence.



Journal Publishing House ?

Tuesday: Late Age of Print by Ted Striphas

Wednesday: Old Ways of Knowing, New Ways of Playing: The potential of collaborative game design to empower Indigenous Sámi by Outi Laiti

Thursday: The Right to Be Cold, One Woman's Fight to Protect the Arctic and Save the Planet from Climate Change by Sheila Watt-Cloutier

Friday: On the Im/possibilities of Anti-racist and Decolonial Publishing as Pedagogical Praxis by Amy Verhaeghe, Ela Przybylo and Sharifa Patel

Saturday: Phillipino Tree Communicating Practices Collection shared by Peachie Dioquino-Valera

From Peachie Dioquino-Valera, Manilla, The Philippines

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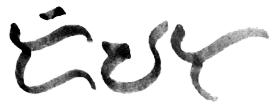
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Resource/Keynote Speaker

Writer

CONTRACTUAL TALENT: VO/Host|Print|TV



(<https://www.jandiwata.com/>)

from: <https://www.jandiwata.com/2020/04/29/decolonizing-the-cacao-ceremony/>



DECOLONIZING THE CACAO CEREMONY

You may have heard of Cacao Ceremonies offered at festivals and places where a lot of spiritual communities gather. I find Cacao to be a beautiful plant teacher that connects you to the earth, heart, and voice.

The first time I shared a Cacao Ceremony was at Bahay Kalipay in Palawan, Philippines. There, I experienced that steps must be taken to give up hold more reverence to the Spirit of the Cacao and protect it from Neo-colonization. This is how I held space to decolonize the Cacao Ceremony.

Holding Space for Cacao in Palawan

The request to hold space for a Cacao Ceremony came from guests at Bahay Kalipay when I was volunteering there as a yoga teacher and innerdance facilitator. It was going to be full moon on the night when innerdance was already on the regular schedule and the guests wanted to celebrate the Hunter Moon with cacao.

Although I never lead a Cacao Ceremony before, I agreed to their request with one day notice and informed the staff at Bahay Kalipay that we would do the ceremony that evening.

Even though Bahay Kalipay is a raw food retreat, we didn't have enough time to buy raw cacao nibs for the ceremony. So Beny (<http://www.bijasphere.com/>) and I offered to use our stash of pure *Tablea de Palawan Cacao*.



Xocoalt PH | Facebook (<https://www.facebook.com/326094278088738/photos/a.326119248086241/457353611629470/?type=3&theater>)

Pure Tablea de Palawan Cacao by Xocoalt PH

Tablea is a way that cacao is prepared in the Philippines. The cacao is roasted and pressed into discs of about two inches. Sometimes *muscobado* (coconut sugar) is mixed into it, but it can also be pure cacao. This disc, or tablet (hence the name Tablea) can be melted into a hot drink, used for baking, or even melted over hot sticky rice.

I researched about the Maya on the internet to prepare for the ceremony. I didn't feel it was right merely to offer a blessing to spirits and energies I was unfamiliar with and share the cacao in a generic ritual. I felt strongly that the Spirit needed to be honoured through stories of its origin.

On the eve of the Full Hunter Moon Cacao Ceremony, I made a sacred space for the cacao. Presented it on a banana leaf with candles around it. And, very importantly for me, set aside a wooden bowl with rice and one of the Cacao Tablea in it.

This bowl was the evening's offering to the Diwata and no one was allowed to eat the Cacao or rice from here.

(Later on, I learned from our Babaylan friend that I had intuitively prepared a ceremony called a *Handog* which gives thanks for the abundance and blessings given by the Diwata.)

When the guests came to sit in the circle, I shared the story of Cacao. How this sacred Teacher came from the Mayans on the other side of the world and how it came to the Philippines via the Spanish who colonized us for 300 years.

After the story was shared, we partook of the Cacao. I couldn't help but notice that the Tablea looked like the communion "bread" we eat at the end of Catholic Mass which we were taught was the Body of Christ.

The parallel of this Resurrection story with that of the story of Cacao was too significant for me not to use in the Ritual. So rather than melting the Tablea and making a drink like a conventional Cacao Ceremony, I invited the guests to come forward to take their share of the ceremonial dose of Cacao from the banana leaf like we were sharing a meal together.

The innerdance that evening was heart-opening and musical. Celebratory purging happened with ecstatic screaming, bodily shaking that connected with the earth, and releasing of what needed to be released with the full moon. I had to formally close the circle on schedule but many of the guests stayed in the space and I was told the next day that they stayed up to dance and sing until 3am the next day.

The Need to Decolonize Cacao

The feedback given about the Cacao Ceremony was positive. There was one sharing that stuck with me and it boosted my resolve to continue holding space in the way that is intuitive and feels authentic to me – in a way that decolonizes and brings back the sacredness to Spirit and the Diwata.

One of the volunteers at Bahay Kalipay from Germany who lived in Asia for some time shared that he had been to Cacao Ceremonies before but never heard the Maya story of Cacao before. He said that the way I held the space was different because for him, the opening circle didn't feel like a party but more like a lecture.

I accept that I can definitely tweak my story telling ability – I believe that it takes skill to tell a good story and through stories we can share our greatest gifts and lessons. But I know that it was right for me not to hold a superficial ceremony that would feel more like a party just to experience "bliss" without meaning or value to our interconnectedness through time.

The fact that he, a white man living in the East, joined Cacao Ceremonies before and never heard of the story of Cacao, felt to me that he and perhaps others like him, were benefiting from the gifts of Cacao, without honouring the millennia of culture and even bloodshed that occurred to bring Cacao and its Spirit all over the world.

So I will continue this way of decolonizing the Cacao Ceremony through story. And this is the story I share with you now.

The Story of Cacao

Cacao is a plant indigenous to Central and South America. The Mayans knew of the Spirit of Cacao and used it in ceremony, sometimes even mixed it with psilocybin (<http://www.dosetherapy.com/>), to connect with that Spirit and other Plant Teachers.

The mythology of the Cacao plant is a heroic tale of brothers who entered the Underworld to avenge their father. And through that story, the method for processing cacao was passed down through generations.

The story begins with the Mountain of Sustenance prior to the creation of humankind. Cacao was one of the food items to emerge along with maize to nourish the earth.

These are the two most important crops in Mayan economy. A ceremonial drink was made from them prepared only by the eldest female elder of the village. This is representative of the drinks made from the Mountain of Sustenance that is the source of strength, vigor, and life for the newly created humans.

Hun Hunahpu is a Mayan deity who is linked with maize and the agrarian cycle. He was decapitated by Xibalbá, Lord of the Underworld, when he and his brother were defeated there. His head regrew as a cacao pod (other theories say a calabaza).



Ángel M. Felicísimo | Flickr (<https://www.flickr.com/photos/elgolem/46786462015/in/photolist-2ehmR9c>)

The story of Hun Hunahpu's Resurrection

Traditionally, cacao was drunk from cups made from calabash gourds – a symbolic drink from the skull of Hun Hunahpu.

It is said that wherever the head of Hun Hunahpu was planted – even on barren land – trees will start to bear strange fruit. The Lords of Death marked this fruit as forbidden – but rumors of their sweetness began to spread.

The maiden Xkik', or Lady Blood, was the daughter of Kuchuma kik', an underworld lord who was the primary foe of Hun Hunahpu. She approached the tree and its fruit in secret.

The head of Hun Hunahpu began to speak to her and she told him of her desire to pick the forbidden sweet fruit. As she raised her hand to take the pod, Hun Hunahpu spat on her and thus was able to plant his seed in her.

He told her that she will bear his twin sons and that she must leave the Underworld. Owls helped her escape because once it was discovered that she was pregnant, the enraged lords of the underworld wanted to sacrifice her.

She gave birth to the twins Hunahpu and Xbalanque on earth.

They became known as the Hero Twins.

When the Twins came of age, they discovered the ball game of their deceased father and uncle. And, mirroring their fate, angered the Lords of Death because they were playing so loudly.

Wanting to fool the Twins, the Lords of Death invited them to play a game in underworld. But the boys were smart and fearless because they were endowed with magical powers. The Lords put them through many tests but they could not defeat the Hero Twins.

Since the Lords of Death could not defeat them through games, they plotted to kill them by inviting them to a drinking celebration. Their plan was to burn the Twins in an oven disguised as a vat used to prepare a fermented, sweet, intoxicating drink called ki'.

The Lords of Death told the Twins to jump over the drink, with the intention of pushing them into the fire. But the Twins, seeing through their plan, sacrificed themselves instead and jumped straight into the flames.

So, just like their father, the Hero Twins were burned and their bones were ground into a powder.

Their powdered bones were spilled into a river where they resurrected into fish-men. (The Mayan glyph for cacao resembles a cat-fish.)

This story actually tells how to process cacao pods for consumption. First, the flesh of the fruit is removed and may be turned into a sweet wine, then the seeds are thrown into the fire to roast and ground into a powder.

Across the Oceans From Maya to Ma-i

The story of the Hero Twins, now fish-men, goes on. But this is where I diverged from the traditional Mayan tale and continued to share how Cacao came to the Philippines.

One of the pre-colonial names of the Philippines was Ma-i. The space in Bahay Kalipay where innerdance is held is named after this ancient name for the islands.

When the Spaniards colonized us for 300 years, they renamed the land in honour of King Philip II, then still a prince (hence, the name Philippines), and brought with them Christianity. Many of the ancient traditional spiritual systems of the kingdoms and tribes were lost or masked into pseudo-Catholic ritual.

Spanish friars who held much power at that time entertained Spanish elite who would visit the Philippines with cacao drinks – then enjoyed by wealthy Europeans as an aphrodisiac.

So, Cacao came across the ocean via Mexico through the Manila Galleon Trade. Our direct link to the Maya through oceans and millenia.

I like to think of this as the Hero Twins, as fish, swimming across the ocean, and reaching the Philippines.

In time, the cacao plant also became significant to Filipinos (*indios* as we were called then because the word "Filipino" was reserved for those of Spanish blood born in the Philippines) and a Diwata was even associated with it. She was named **Maria Cacao**.

Many Diwata were given the name Maria after Spanish colonization since the Virgin Mary was a figure that could be associated in many cultures as a representation of the Divine Feminine.

It is said that Maria Cacao is constantly trying to reach the river. She brings floods when she passes and rejoices once she reunites with the sea.

I see this as a metaphor of the Spirit of Cacao wanting to return to the ocean in order to return to the land where it came from. Somehow, through some sort of divine connectedness, Filipinos knew the link of the Diwata of the Cacao Plant with fish and water.

Bridging this with Hun Hunahpu and his Hero Twins being deities of agriculture for the Mayans, Diwata Maria Cacao, who brings floods, also helps plants grow in the Philippines which are abundant after the monsoon season.

Re-membering as a Path to Decolonization and Purification from the Past

The Mayan civilization was lost long before Latin America was invaded by colonizers from Spain, Portugal, and other European Nations. But fragments of this ancient culture still survive. The history of colonizers and conquistadors ravaging the land and its people and robbing them of their culture, language, and stories must never be forgotten.

As a colonized nation, the people of the Philippines also share this culture of internalized shame and is healing from the wounds that mark us consciously and unconsciously.

At the same time, colonizing cultures with their internalized guilt, should also share and remember these and their own stories and histories, to begin their healing process too.

I believe this is and should be an important part of the ceremonies and rituals we share, especially in mixed cultural settings. No spiritual bypassing or continuation of shame and guilt through neo-colonization. Just acknowledgement and reverence of the past and therefore "healing" to finally release our karmic bonds from it.

Cacao Ceremony as a Celebration of the Diwata

By partaking in a Cacao Ceremony, we must honour the death and resurrection stories of Hun Hunahpu and his Hero Twins, and how their Spirits came to Ma-i – the Philippines – and transformed into Maria Cacao, who yearns to return to the river and oceans to go back home.

Yes, Cacao has many blessings to give – physical health benefits, heart openings, connections and activations, etc.. – but to truly understand the enormity of these gifts, we need to remember and honour our ancestors (by blood and by Spirit) who gave us these stories and the lessons they contain.

There are many space holders who honour the history, culture, origin, and sacredness of Cacao. They hold beautiful Cacao Ceremonies that reflect that integrity.



Jason Barles | Flickr (<https://www.flickr.com/photos/jasonbarles/34771128501/in/photolist-UYB86x>)

Traditional Cacao Ceremony in Mexico

Unfortunately, there are also many who do not. We must discern and use our own intelligence and wisdom to surround ourselves with those who give Cacao and other Plant Medicine and Earth Teachers the respect and reverence they deserve.

Cacao Ceremonies are not just parties to drink spiced hot chocolate and play rainbow songs all night. They are rituals to connect to Spirit and indeed, the Mountain of Sustenance described by the Mayans, that was a gift from the gods – the Diwata – to nourish all humanity.

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The story of Hun Hunahpu, the Hero Twins, is described in the paper: *The Recipe for Rebirth: Cacao as Fish in the Mythology and Symbolism of the Ancient Maya*

(https://www.academia.edu/3906244/The_Recipe_for_Rebirth_Cacao_as_Fish_in_the_Mythology_and_Symbolism_of_the_Ancient_Maya)

by Michael J. Grofe, Ph.D. September 23, 2007

For Tablea de Cacao in Palawan, I highly recommend the home made Tablea made by our friend Davi at Tayuksidi Garden in Puerto Princessa City. Find him on Facebook: Xocoalt PH (<https://www.facebook.com/Xocoalt-ph-326094278088738/>)

Please EMAIL ME (<mailto:jddizon@gmail.com>) for bookings to hold space through story and intuitive process like innerdance (<https://www.jandiwata.com/offerings/innerdance>) to decolonize spirituality and use sharing circles to heal and purify from the shame and guilt stories of our ancestors through ritual and re-membering.

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