

Itiwana Day: notes

The first Itiwana Day was held on July 2nd, 2021, organized by board 28. Notes by Thirza van 't Rood. Mistakes are possible and can be notified to info@itiwana.org. Missing parts and uncertainties are marked yellow.

Activity programme

18:30 opening

18:40 Igor Boog

19:00 Kenny Bowekaty

19:45 Shannon Burke

20:15 discussion

20:30 logo's + more elaborate discussion

Notes on the Itiwana day

Lin opens the meeting. She welcomes Igor Boog, Kenny Bowekaty and Shannon Burke, and the attendees who have joined already. The house rules and the programme are sent in the chat.

Talk by Igor Boog, co-founder of Itiwana

Igor presents himself and his (academic) background.

When Igor was studying, the study was 4 years (no distinction between bachelor and master). In the 4th year, students disappeared on fieldwork. There weren't really places to meet with other students or to have drinks. There was only a mentoraat (mentorship) that occasionally organized parties. There were some active students, such as in the mentoraat, in the ICA which already existed, there was a group of feminist anthropology students (VENA) coming together and the WDO, which was kind of dying. These groups did not cooperate. Nobody really knew who to approach for funding. There was also a problem of continuity – there was not a strong core group of students organizing stuff. Besides, anthropology was just moved to where it currently is – before, they were at a building close to the station (which doesn't exist anymore) which had a hangout room, and the new building didn't. The year of Igor was active, and they wanted to make the introduction more exciting. They for example organized the first survival weekend, in the Ardennes. They also organized a sort of talkshow for students who came back from fieldwork. They also organized what is now called the 'bamboo lounge': this was the first place to hang out. However, the parties etc. that they organized weren't strictly legal so they needed a way to organize events legally to prevent accountability problems. For months, Igor talked to different institutions to get funding and support. Finally, it happened, and the different committees decided to work together. However, older WDO members didn't like this new association taking over so they

stayed separate. The association became a meeting place. Then it happened that they needed a name. This took some time. At the time, many were looking at exotic names – they didn't really think about cultural appropriation. It wasn't discussed or talked about anywhere. Then they found the name 'itiwana': a meeting place, a central place. They didn't really have time to explore other names, so they thought 'if people like it we can keep it'. Igor says that discussion about cultural appropriation is obviously important and interesting – it shows how we try to revise the way we position ourselves in the world. He advises to not make this a debate you have to win, but that instead it is a dialogue. Of course, there are general arguments regarding appropriation that are important. We need to try to understand each other. He wishes the attendees a very fruitful dialogue. Regarding the logo, Igor says: some months after they had formed itiwana, someone said that they needed a logo. They suddenly had a lot of members (150), so there wasn't much time or possibility for discussion or a plan. Then someone came up with a logo and they went with it.

Tino introduces Kenny Bowekaty.

Talk by Kenny Bowekaty, Zuni and tour guide of the Zuni, and ex-archaeologist

Kenny introduces himself. He is part of the Ashiwi tribe, a long time archaeologist and anthropologist. After his studies, he came back to his village and joined the Zuni archaeological programme. (...). He has been an archaeologist for the tribe for 25 years. He then started focusing more on real world formalizations of economic transitions such as transitions with electricity, power lines and infrastructure.

In Kenny's area, there are a lot of traditional properties such as shrines. It is sometimes hard to feel Zuni with these influences mixed (traditional properties and electricity/infrastructure transitions). For many years, Kenny has studied his own people. He says that tourism and public relations go together well (...). Kenny had a big role in creating cultural (...). He is now a teacher, with a goal to bring the Ashiwi to the highest possible level of recognition. Ashiwi have a great and unique history that involves and includes and creates the building of North America. They owned and inhabited the seven cities of gold, which were quested upon by the world. In the 1500s, they were discovered as indigenous community of North America. Kenny is a descendent and resident of the village that was well known as the village of gold. His family comes from here, and he is a current resident of the area. He is currently proposing to continue an archaeological excavation of the area.

Kenny is lieutenant of one religion, part of one of two groups that run and regulate their religion. He is a priest. For Ashiwi, itiwana is more than a meeting place: it is the name of their village. (...). There is a prophecy that was made millions of years ago, when Mother Earth was born. He has translated a 6-hour long prayer into English into 1,5 hours, but there is no time to tell it all now. He will introduce who the Ashiwi are.

The Ashiwi are the Children of Mother Earth. Their origins lie in Ribbon Falls in the Grand Canyon in Arizona. (...). Father-son created the planets Venus and Earth. Venus was born out of twilight, and is the still-born sister of Mother Earth. Father-son used the same elements to create earth. It was first a ball of fire, growing for millions of years, growing into the brink of womanhood. Father-son used the North Star and Venus to enter the tomb in which we now call Ribbon Falls. He enters Mother Earth's atmosphere to the tomb, surpassing the world of wind, the world of water and a residue of the world of fire. In the

tomb, there are two stars: the ahahi. They are **war gods**. They extract mud and clay from water, and in four days, they created salamander figures which slither away. They give them a prophecy, giving them the heart of their mother: 'you will come out of this one day, place her heart in the centre and call it 'Halona Idivanna'. They will place it in the centre, in its eternal home. This was the quest of not only the Ashiwi but also their secondary and tertiary brothers. To this day, the two stars give people many formulations about the fourth world of Mother Earth: daylight, in which we reside now. But in early times, daylight was still only a blaze. The two stars were twilight: the North Star and the Morning Star. They vacated the tomb, starting the inner migration of the salamander ancestors. Mother Earth becomes a living, breathing planet after millions of years – a woman self. It becomes a young lady that now contains life and water, and dinosaurs roamed her surface of millions of years. (...). Ribbon Falls is home of past (...). The area is restricted for any Ashiwi, and will become their eternal home. Mother Earth would then ask Father-son to help her eliminate the dinosaurs – the great beasts – and he showered her in meteorites. This created the four days of night. In this darkness, the salamander people reached evolution. After the impact of the meteorites and at the end of the dark, gloomy world, the two stars returned to the surface of Mother Earth, bringing aids for the birds to find direction. The North Star aligns the male faction and the Morning Star the female faction. The salamander people stretched into human figures during the four days of night. These humans became the Ashiwi – children of raw clay and Mother Earth. The clay, and sulphurous smell, formulated human figures. The secondary and tertiary brothers were designated. These were people that were left over. Part were Winter people – they were colourful, and went to Colorado – they followed the black crow searching for itiwana). Part were Summer people – they went to San Pedro, and possible the Inca's. They were tertiary people who **went through the everlasting sun**. Those who did not get assigned had to go to (...) to find the middle place of Mother Earth. However, they didn't find it for hundreds of years, seeing the rise and decline of many villages. These people will return to where the two stars will return. This was **the basket maker era**.

(something with insects landing on earth waiting for its return and a spider returning to the surface to designate Halona Idivanna). When this happens, it changes many factors in things – a message will be sent out that if people are still out looking for itiwana, they no longer need to search and they can return to wherever they left their loved ones. These people out there will pack their things and return to their loved ones. The Ashiwi will come there. In the 1400s, they created large villages, even eight stories high: these were the seven cities of gold. It is not because of the Spanish or current Americans that they (...). These villages were (...) because of the prophecy, not due to the Spanish, to conjugate in the Ashiwi village to pass the resolution of the prophecy. They battled with the Spanish and came to a truce. The Ashiwi were farmers and hunters, but mostly traders. They accepted some catholic things that came into the community. After the American **civil war**, they were discovered by the USA. The leaders of that time looked back on the prophecy and said that the prophecy that the Ashiwi would live in Halona Idivanna would come to a conclusion. With this religious orientation, they declared that every Zuni village who has ever been part of the Ashiwi, must come to Halona Idivanna. After (...), the Ashiwi agglomerate there.

This is a very short interpretation of the history of the Ashiwi. They were the last indigenous tribe to be discovered in the USA. They were not extracted from their communities, but rather the USA came to Ashiwi and brought formalities and educations. The Ashiwi became a sovereign community with their own leadership. Kenny is the only archaeologist, together

with his assistant, to excavate 75 feet into the highest point of the village in which he still resides. The village has houses on top of other houses – now even fourteen levels of houses, although some are caving in now. Halona Idivanna is the real reason why the Ashiwi continue their religion as it was practiced thousands of years ago. Kenny is part of the high religious society, and it is his job to keep the religion the way it runs. He thanks the attendees and hopes that he has brought something to us. He recognizes that searching for a name for the association was difficult, and he is honoured that we have chosen itiwana. There is however a misconception of what it means. There is much more to the name than a ‘middle place’. We consider it a meeting place, a gathering place, but it is not the same as itiwana. Halona Idivanna is the name of their village: this is different. Halona Idivanna signifies where Ashiwi live nowadays. He has, however, no objection to the name as it is out of his hands to change. Regarding the logo, it is not really Zuni.

Tino thanks Kenny, and announces a small break and time for questions.

Kenny says that he is on his own personal crusade. He does not consider himself American, but Ashiwi. He does not want to offend anybody, but says that his religion is far older than any other religion. They do not have sacred scrolls or plaques – everything is verbal and revolves around real life interaction. In the past, the Zuni had a choice: to move towards the ‘white man’s way’ or stick to their roots. Many of them stuck to their roots. Kenny’s upbringing was primitive, on a farm without electricity or running water. They lived off the land, with sheep. They farmed all kinds of plants and hunted. Kenny got an education and was lucky to make the mistake of enrolling into an anthropology/archaeology high school elective. He thought it had to do with space. He had to stay in school till the end of his graduation, so he just picked this course. He was introduced into a past he knew very well, which got him started in this field. He did a field school and got into university studying anthropology and archaeology. He then came back to the Zuni, bringing in many orientations. (reverse osmosis?). He wanted to excavate the village. He is also an entrepreneur with various Zuni businesses: he has a car mechanics business and a jewellery one. 85% of the Zuni community is in the art industry. This is a way to keep bringing folks in: tourism and arts go hand in hand. When he brings people in on tours, they learn about their history and art.

Tino introduces Shannon Burke.

Talk by Shannon Burke, expert on cultural appropriation and middle school teacher

Shannon is passionate about issues of appropriation. She is a middle school teacher, aiming to reform the curriculum to focus more on indigenous studies. Her past research contains four years of research appropriation of images in the native South-West of the USA. She has researched the complexities of appropriation, and its harms and impacts. She is also a trained racial justice discussion facilitator. She does not identify as native herself, but has spent a lot of time researching. She has noticed appropriation on a global scale.

She defines appropriation as: a privileged group or individual taking an aspect of a marginalized culture as their own and for their own gain, without valuing the people themselves or compensating/recognizing them in a positive way. We need to consider the power relations at play (e.g. colonizer/colonized), possible ongoing marginalization and whether there is an even playing field amongst the involved.

Shannon shows multiple images that contain cultural appropriation, such as mascots of sports teams. Native American people are the only people we still allow to be appropriated, in for example brand logos. They are symbols that are meant to portray all Native cultures but are actually only used by a few. It is generalizing, and neglects to consider differences within Native cultures. Using these symbols conflates Native Americans to a stereotype without aiming to actually understand the cultures. There is robust research into appropriation that has a lot of input of indigenous people. There have been protests such as 'my culture is not your costume' (in regards to Halloween costumes), and protests to drop certain logos. There is a direct harm in using appropriated images. People who use these images are more likely to be racist against Native Americans. This directly correlates with low self esteem, school dropout and high suicide rates amongst Native Americans. These images are propagated by media presentation, for example, within film, Native Americans are presented as the way they 'were' a hundred years ago, and as if they are a vanishing group. This skews the perspective people have towards Native people.

Shannon's research has mostly been focused native symbols. (person images being appropriated something). There is a difference in using images of persons and of symbols. She has researched the Kokopello symbol for three years - this is a symbol you see everywhere in the Southwest, for example in Phoenix. It has become a sort of symbol for the Southwest. She went into the research thinking that this symbol was cultural appropriation, and learned that it has a very complex history. Cultural symbols are not neutral. The way they are imagined and conceived signify power relations. Misunderstanding cultural symbols also signifies a certain power relation. Appropriation typically involves this unequal playing field in which the power relations are not balanced. Regarding the Kokopelli symbol: people interpreted this symbol as the Kokopelli symbol, even though it wasn't, and then used it everywhere. Nakai, a Native American, has used this symbol too, and through doing this taking the symbol back into their own hands.

Tino thanks Shannon.

Tino: why is (...) harmful?

Shannon: It is about the intention. If you look at that, (...)

Igor: Yes, for example, if you look up 'itiwana' all you can find is information on the study association. He disagrees with Shannon about intention (...). When is a playing field level?

Shannon: Yes, it doesn't well down to only intention. She gets a lot of questions like this from her students, and wishes there was a clear answer. She is mostly on the side of caution: if you are unsure about the playing field, she prefers to be cautious.

Kenny: it is a pleasure to discuss appropriation. He offers a different perspective: the Washington football team, who bears a Native American name, visited Zuni because of their name. The Zuni never really lost a lot of their traditions, it was never extracted from them. Their brothers suffered the most: in these days, we have to look at their history. Zuni history is not the same as the rest of the history of indigenous America. Their location isolated the Ashiwi. Regarding the images of 'redskin' Americans: some Native Americans used red ocher as a type of sunscreen. If you were a foreigner and saw red-painted people, you understand where the term comes from. Many Native Americans only look at their history of

oppression, but not at their own rich history. Some are trying to hold on to as much as they can. The playing field has to be negotiated. You also need to understand your own history. This is why the Ashiwi feel a bit different about all this - they have more control over their community. A lot of other communities have given up their sovereign right to the USA by gambling. He recognizes that there are a lot of different opinions on this, and that he is only speaking for his tribe.

Tino: Kenny, we are thinking of potentially changing the name 'itiwana'. Do you think we should keep the name or change it?

Kenny: Itiwana is a simple word. If you say itiwana, you say 'the middle of whatever'. However, if you say Halona Iidiwana, it is like copyright: you have to ask permission. But itiwana is only 'the middle'. There is a different definition through the word Halona. There is no offense to using the word itiwana, because it just means centre.

Tino: thank you. We are now moving on to the next part about the logo change.

Amber: many people sent in logos.

Roxanne: why are we changing the logo? A couple of months ago we got emails from members that we should change the logo. This has been a point of discussion for a few years already, so after discussing it thoroughly in the board, we decided to change the logo. Everyone who has designed a potential logo now has the chance to present it shortly.

Presentations of the logos

Alia: my logo is inspired by the phrase: 'the world is your oyster'. It is representative of the study, how we study the world. It also represents the Dutch seaside.

Charlotte: (explanation)

Kim: look through eye of someone else (poller).

Loes: itiwana is a place where everyone is welcome, where we embrace differences. This circle symbolizes this concept. It has the colours of the previous itiwana logo. Arrows: pointing to each other, meeting point. Light blue: arrows that point to each other and is also two maps. Eye: also centre.

Marthe:

Nèri:

Roxanne:

Samoa:

Selina:

Thirza:

Veronie:

Wouter:

Discussion about the logo change

Jorn: why is changing the logo the only/best course?

Thirza: Referring to what Shannon said earlier about levelling the playing field, I feel like the only way to have an equal power balance is by changing the logo altogether, as we would otherwise still be using something we took without consent.

Kenny: I feel like I cannot have an opinion because it is not Zuni. You can try to find out its origins to ask for consent - this is your choice to make.

Iza: we don't know its origin very well. What do you think we should do then?

Kenny: I understand. When you don't know the origin, it is up to you to change it. He wishes us good luck.

Igor: I have two points. One: you can write a bachelor thesis on changing the logo. He can help us find out more about the current logo by contacting the designer of it. Two: there is a difference between using a religious symbol and a non-religious symbol. Suppose you are connected to this religion, and this symbol means something to you. It is used on merchandise and other things. You might feel insulted if you see it used this carelessly. A symbol like that requires more care. The new logo does not have to be about anthropology, but can also be about studying, or nothing at all. We can use something that is not connected to anything else. (wooden bird story that Igor and friends bought in a gift shop). Igor likes Wouter's drawing because of its reflection, and link to cultural relativism.

Wouter: Yes, um, it was not the intention but it links to cultural relativism.

Igor: I am not a huge fan of using skin colour in logos, as it draws away the attention from what you want. He likes symbolic things.

Kenny: I see a lot of art, and want to share a symbol: a swirl. The swirl is a prehistoric symbol, that can be found all over the world. (migrational swirl). (meaning of hand in background). This is his nomination for the logo contest. (something with re-excavation with the history channel?)

Veronie: Kwakiutl, the anthropology study association in Amsterdam, has just an eye. I noticed that there were a lot of eyes in the logos. She has another idea: to have a logo that is not connected to anything. It could be a banana. People can give their own meaning to the logo then, and there are no issues of appropriation or something else. It can really become 'our' logo.

Wouter: will Kenny's logo also be available to vote on?

Amber and Thirza: yes.

Veronie: What will happen between the end of the voting and the General Assembly?

Amber: Iris will make a logo out of the chosen logos.

Veronie: maybe we can vote on a top three at the General Assembly?

Wouter: I agree, even if one logo gets 80% of the votes it would feel skewed. It feels better to vote on the General Assembly.

Veronie: we can even vote 'in' the logo at the General Assembly.

Laure: I understand that you are a bit in a hurry, but it is important to take time to choose a good logo. She doesn't want to delay the process but it is good to take time for these decisions.

Veronie: I think the board is trying to figure it out now because for the upcoming first years it might be confused to step into half of this logo discussion.

Simone: when I looked up the swirl hand logo, it brought up connections with Native American symbolism. We should probably look into this.

Tino: I wouldn't be too scared of it.

Igor: I don't think it matters to postpone the decision of choosing a logo, you can even go without a logo for a while. Besides: you might question if you are making the right choice. This questioning will not change. In an organization he worked at, they spent a lot of money for another company to come up with a better logo, but in the end many people still disliked it. He does not think we can solve the issue of 'making the right choice'.

Iza: we have been discussing changing the logo for a while already, so we just want to make a change.

Tino: to summarize: there are a lot of options. Join the General Assembly on June 16th to decide on more.

Rémi's notes

Igor Boog started with talking about the set-up of Itiwana. Where did the idea come from etc. They set up a study associations: convince active student groups to cooperate and **come together**. Institute was okay and agreed with the funding. WDO still wanted to be independent. The study association should be a meeting place for students. Share experiences, combining committees. Hang out place for students and can study. Then: we need a name. Took some time to find a name. Many people involved in anthropology looked for certain exotic names, but back then the thought of cultural appropriation was not something that was talked about. Then, they stumbled upon the Zuni and the name Itiwana, meaning 'Meeting Place'. So that's where they went with the name.

Try not to make it into a debate you must win but try to understand and agree. Think of specific situations and contexts: not everything is the same.

Try to have an interesting dialogue!

The logo: working on bringing people together. There were so many members, that they became quite overwhelmed. 'Oh, we need a name, let's just pick something.' Months later someone came with a logo, and they just choose it. They were young, 19-20, and just had to choose. It all went very quick, not very planned.

The floor to Kenny Bowekaty, ashuu tribe from Mexico. Has been a anthropologist and archaeologist. Joined the Zuni program. Archeologist for the tribe. Engaging the tribe in formalities in an enhanced form of environment. Studied his own people and their history/future for a very long time, is now a tour guide. Creating the Zuni cultural resource: a group of men from many religious groups put together to make changes in the Zuni population. Now a teacher, goal to bring the archery up to the highest most level of recognition, since it has a great and unique history. The ashuu are a ptoject of the Seven Cities of Saboa: many countries come together, eventually in the 1500 the Ashuu was discovered as the prime community. Descendant and resident of the village that was well known for the villages of gold.

Part of the lupenant society of the religion. Priest shaman.

Itiwana is not just a middle and meeting place.

Haluwana: sort of respect

Haluwa Itiwana was basically a prophecy that was built millions of years ago as mother eath was born.

For Zuni, the ashuvi are known as the chidren of modern earth. The middle place of mother earth. Father son as all time creator of life. The heart of mother earth: incorporating life and handing them to the made children. Find the center and place the heart of the mother in the right place, which will then be called Haluna Itiwana. This would be the quest of not just he Ashuu. But many of brothers.

The fourth world -> the daylight world.

A prophecy.

Salamander and reptilic ancestors.

Evolution. Four days of night. Fourth world. Four children.
Assembled of people on the fourth day; the children of mother earth.
Ashuu: children of the raw clay. The designation of secondary brotherhoods.

Looking for Haluwa Itiwana. Bring the heart of mother earth mentioned to where you come called Haluw. Settle here and locate and find what is the middle place of mother earth. However, the middle place will not be founded by the people.

In search of the middle place.

Designate Haluwa Itiwana.

Prophecy!!

In unison: Haluwa Itiwana. Every Zuni member who is a member of the ashu must now come to Haluwa Itiwana and be part of the prophecy.

Haluwa Itiwana -> RELIGION

High religious society and job of member as a society to keep the religion the way it runs.

Misconception of how we view our organization's name. It is much deeper and has a much more dialogue to who the Ashuu are. In respect to the name; honored that the name is used, but it is not exactly a meeting place/center. Itiwana just means the center of whatever. Haluwa Itiwana is the name of the village which is slightly different and has to do with Mother Earth's chest. No objection to the name. The logo is not per se connected to the Zuni: thunderbird and eagle (Kenny Bowekaty's clan. The face inside the eagle is an Aztec symbol). The name is the orientation what the village's name is (Haluwa Itiwana designates where the Ashuu resides in present day!!).

Floor to Shannon Burke. Very passionate about issues on appropriation. Social studies teacher for middle school. Geography first, but now social studies and appropriation, etc. Indigenous studies. Four years researching appropriation on the focus of the Southwest of the US. Any tourist shop has heavy native influence. Harms and impacts on appropriation of native people.

Appropriation : a privileged group or individual taking an aspect of a marginalized culture as their own and for their own gain, without valuing the people themselves, or compensating/recognizing them in a positive way.

Considerations: power dynamics: colonizer/colonized; ongoing marginalization; is it an 'even playing field'.

Native groups are the only marginalized groups we allow to be made into logos.

Representation of headdresses and tepee!

Awful representations.

"My culture is not a costume."

Various degrees of appropriation.

Different types and scales of appropriations.

- Exposure to Native head images: more likely to hold negative stereotypes against Native people.
- Correlated with low self-esteem in Native youth, how

A difference between using a head and symbols.

Did research on the Kokopelli, which was a symbol that was used everywhere in the South-West of the US. Was this equal to appropriation of native images.

Cultural symbols are not neutral. It reveals important power dynamics. The difference between cultural appropriation and cultural change: [...]

“we’re honouring or celebrating this group”.

People thought that a specific symbol was the Kokopelli symbol, which was actually not true.

Appropriation: agency and power of those who have been appropriated.

Why is appropriation harmful:

- Intention. It is a complicated issue. Not is really wrong or right/black or white. There’s a huge distinction between how we use the logo and other logos. Do right by it and honour the logo is already a very good step.

Itiwana on google maps = university leiden. A bit embarrassing.

Two remarks by Igor Boog.

- Inintentional appropriation can be harmful as well.
- When is a playing field level.