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Bulletin of the
Peace Studies
Institute

Table of Contents

Letter from the Director	2
Dr. Elton Skendaj Reflection	3
Peace Studies Coordinator Reflection	5
2019-2020 at Glance	8
Alumni and Friends Updates	9
Sustainable Goals of the Peace Studies Department by Kelleen Cullison ('20).....	11
Peacemaking: From the Local to the Global	12
What Peace Studies Gave Me by Delaney McKesson ('19)	13
Peace Posts	15
Homecoming Plaque 2019 Dedication: Celebrating Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan by Chloe Leckrone ('22)	15
Reflections on “Commemorating Violent Conflict and Building Sustainable Peace” Conference by Fatu M. Kaba ('22)	16
Tayna Fogle: Darkest Past, Now Greatest Assest by Virginia Rendler ('20)	17
Reflections on Kroc Institute “Building Sustainable Peace” Conference by Chris Francois ('20).....	18
Reflections on Nourishing Hospitality in North Manchester by Kim Khavayi ('21)..	19
Reflections on Indiana Center for Middle East Peace Annual Gala by Kendall Brown ('22)	20
North Manchester Climate Strike by Virginia Rendler ('20).....	21
Jan Term: New Orleans Zine	23
2019-2020 Photos	40
Counteracting Hispanola’s Crisis: The Rebirth of Antihaitianismo, Nonviolent Processes, and Impacts on Stateless Populations by Chris Francois ('20).....	44

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Letter from the Director



“Will this be on the test?”

It is one of the more demoralizing questions a teacher regularly faces – right up there with

“Did I miss anything important?” That one still gets me, but I’ve reached some peace with the test question. It expresses at once a desire to rise to the challenge of the occasion and a suspicion that one doesn’t quite grasp the full picture of what matters most.

In a time of pandemic, the challenge of being prepared and discerning what is most important has taken on a new sense of urgency. This spring, we became a world looking, if we are fortunate to have them, at our pantries and our savings, wondering if we are ready for whatever comes. When campus closed in mid-March and our classes and university work moved online, the Peace Studies Institute convened to discuss ways to best support students and continue our program’s work. We sent care packages to peace studies students with words of encouragement, tea, microwave popcorn, flower seeds, and Jiffy pots. We immediately purchased a premium account with an online meeting platform that would allow us to conduct longer and larger meetings; we shared this license with other offices at Manchester so that Student Activities, Religious Life, the Office of Alumni Affairs, the

Office of Academic Affairs, and the President’s Office could also conduct remote meetings more effectively. With this platform, we were able to host speakers and hold discussions weekly – including our Monday night Kenapocomoco gatherings – maintaining our connections even as we were apart.

Our work developed new significance after the death of George Floyd. We collected and shared resources on challenging racism and models of restorative justice for those harmed by white supremacy. We discussed protest strategy and practice, reported about collective actions in our local communities, formed reading groups to expand our understandings of racism and anti-racism. Even apart, we encourage each other to participate in this pivotal moment, demanding the justice that genuine peace requires.

The demonstrations’ demand for a national reckoning about racism and accountability for its terrible consequences has inspired many people to contact the Peace Studies Institute, looking for resources and opportunities. Like those questions before a test, each inquiry represents a desire to meet well the challenges we face; each expresses a desire to thoughtfully consider the nature of racism and discern that which is most important. I was forwarded a question from President McFadden from a Manchester graduate who wondered if Martin Luther King screened people to maintain nonviolence during his demonstrations. King’s colleagues (notably Bayard Rustin, Jim Lawson, Dorothy Cotton, and leaders of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee) conducted rigorous trainings to prepare protesters to endure suffering without

responding in violence. As the movement developed, core civil rights activists often signed a “commitment card” written by King and Birmingham leader Fred Shuttlesworth. At the end of the pledge to nonviolence, each demonstrator was asked for specific service: besides demonstrations, what more can you do? Run errands? Drive a car? Fix food for volunteers? Type or – in a clear marker that this was written in 1963 – mimeograph? Distribute leaflets?

These preparations worked well for sustained, strategic campaigns such as the lunch counter sit-ins or freedom rides. At large demonstrations, where anyone could join, King and other leaders relied upon a sort of 'group self-enforcement': if someone from the protest began acting (or reacting) violently, other protesters would intervene to deescalate the confrontation and help each other maintain the commitments they had made.

As we confront violence and injustice, now, in our streets and our policies, we need these very

same provisions. What preparations will stretch and strengthen our resolve for justice and nonviolence? How – in what variety of ways - will we step up to serve? And who will be there with us, to keep us on the path?

Peace,

Katy

Katy Gray Brown

Professor of Philosophy & Peace Studies
Director, Peace Studies Institute

PS: We're very happy to welcome peace studies graduate Celia Cook-Huffman '86 back to Manchester! In March, Celia became the University's Vice President for Academic Affairs. We're grateful for the skilled leadership, perceptiveness, and principled commitments she brings. And it's just a huge bonus that our community gets fellow peace studies grad Dan Cook-Huffman '86 as part of the deal.

Dr. Elton Skendaj Reflections

In the summer of 2020, I led a group of seven Manchester Faculty to create a summer course for incoming Manchester students on *COVID-19: Understanding the Global Pandemic and Its effects*. As I prepared my unit on Peace, Violence and COVID-19, I reflected on how the pandemic exposing systemic weaknesses in US structures.

What makes us safer is a focus on human security, protecting the individual by paying attention to human needs for food, shelter, and health care. Instead, our national focus on safety

has been around the paradigm of national security in which we invest heavily on the military to protect borders through the use of threats, coercion and force. The US has become the epicenter of the pandemic globally, and it is time for US citizens to demand competent government and policies that serve everyone. Such policies are common-place in other democratic and wealthy countries, yet they are missing in the USA. Policy changes could include: universal health care that is not tied to employment, paid sick leave when one are

unwell, and paid family leave policies to take care of children and family members.

The pandemic also highlighted the disparities in access to health care and racism in our country. The largest protests in postwar American occurred during the summer of 2020 around the Black Lives Matter movement. I was proud to participate in a nonviolent protest in North Manchester with local citizens, including peace studies students and faculty. We protested nonviolently, while wearing masks and practicing social distancing. We hope to see changes in policies toward restorative justice system in our communities.

As a young Albanian student in American University in Bulgaria in the 1990s, I was attracted to peace studies in order to make sense of ethnic violence in the Balkans. As nationalistic politicians used violence to divide communities, I worked with local organizations that brought young people in the Balkans together to recognize our common humanity and rebuild relationships. In the midst of polarization, we found that we shared various concerns, fears and hopes for the future. More than two decades later, as a naturalized American citizen and a peace studies professor, I am now using peace studies skills such as dialogue, nonviolent communication, and nonviolent strategy, to address polarization in the U.S. around topics of race, politics, gender discrimination, and gun violence. Recognizing the need to train my students to facilitate such important skill building workshops, I designed and taught an undergraduate course in Fall 2019 on *Facilitating workshops in peace and development* at Manchester University.

As Gladdys Muir chair, I have been working to increase the profile of the peace studies at Manchester through participation in conferences, publications, and outreach. I am active in

national and international peace networks through participation in Alliance for Peacebuilding conference, International Studies Association, and Peace and Justice Studies Association. I also support student research by helping them present in national conferences. My research and publications in the fields of peace studies and comparative politics address the impact of international and local actors on political institutions that sustain peace as well as promote development and rule of law in postwar societies.

As a scholar and practitioner of nonviolent social movements, I am also working on several papers on protests. As nonviolent action is more likely to lead to peaceful and democratic outcomes, we are curious to identify key postwar and socioeconomic issues that lead ordinary people to the streets. In one paper on postwar protests in Kosovo, we analyze the determinants of individual and collective participation. Most research on political protest has been conducted in wealthy, democratic and peaceful societies. We know far less about the drivers of protest in poor, transitional democracies, particularly those that have recently emerged from armed conflict. In another early research project, we explore the global outlook and transnational commitments of students engaged in climate strikes on university campuses in the United States.

In summer of 2019, I have written a collaborative peer-reviewed article titled “Local Ownership and International Oversight: Police Reform in post-Yugoslav States” that was published in the *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding*. The article investigates the role of local leadership in the construction of police forces after wars. If local actors design and participate in the police reform through local ownership, then the new police force is expected to be legitimate, capable and responsive to local needs. We find evidence from post-Yugoslav States that citizens perceive

the police force created and trained by international oversight as more capable and legitimate when compared to police forces that grew under local ownership. The paper contributes to the literatures of peacebuilding, international aid, and corruption.

In the fall of 2019, I presented in these conferences:

Who Protests in Post-Conflict Societies?
Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies (ASEEES), San Francisco, November 2019.

Student Stories: Using Digital Media for Civic Engagement in Peace Studies Courses.

Commemorating Violent Conflicts and Building Sustainable Peace conference, Kent State University, October 2019.

The pandemic interrupted plans to attend the Notre Dame Undergraduate conference in April 2020, where several Manchester students would present their digital conflict maps. During the disruption of the pandemic, I have used the time to update my skills in remote and hybrid teaching, as well as take professional development course on *Trauma, Resilience, and Healing in Times of a Pandemic* from the Summer Peacebuilding Institute at the Eastern Mennonite University. I am planning to include in my peace studies courses a unit where we discuss the dislocation and trauma of the pandemic and healing practices, such as storytelling, mindfulness, and forgiveness. As I have been using more inner peace mindfulness practices in my classes, I also finished an eight-week online program on Mindfulness Based Stress Reduction.

Peace Studies Coordinator Reflection



Caraline Fearheller and Dr. Katy Gray Brown

Community is the living, breathing, difficult question every Peace Studies Coordinator must struggle with. This year was no exception.

Somedays, it felt like an easy question: “What works well and what needs to be changed?” Sometimes, it was the fun question of: “Where should we travel next?” Other days we were asking the unexpected questions of: “In the midst of a global pandemic, how do you adapt?” Or “How can you make it feel like home in a virtual Zoom chat?” Or “In a movement moment that will define movement moments for generations, how do you make sure people are prepared, connected to the right voices, and asking the critical questions?” Community. The living, breathing, difficult question.

It is a living question because it requires constant nurturing and continuous adaptation to who is in the room. It is difficult for it is better felt than

defined, but when it is struggled with it results in the most praise (trust me, look back at the other Coordinator reflections and you will see a reoccurring theme). The environmental activist and poet Wendell Berry said it best when he described community as “the mental and spiritual condition of knowing that a place is shared, and that the people who share the place define and limit the possibilities of each other’s lives. It is the knowledge that people have of each other, their concern for each other, their trust in each other, the freedom with which they come and go among themselves.” I am forever grateful that I got to see this definition in action throughout this year of peace studies coordinating.

Looking back on the Fall semester, we created shared spaces every Monday night at Katy’s house as we passed around popcorn and drank tea and talked about the most pressing news issues of that week. Shared places were found in the Peace Studies Lounge as we hosted stress-reducing activities and drank coffee. Every other Wednesday night we created shared places in the Peace House as we ate pasta and watched Jeopardy. We took full advantage of relationships already cultivated over time and were able to bring VIA speakers back to campus such as John Prendergast and the Reverend Robert B. Jones and Matt Watroba. We went to conferences and hosted community events, all of which are reflected best in our student’s own voices (beginning on page 15).

In January, we found shared places on 14-hour bus rides to New Orleans, on urban farms, and on the beach. Every experience allowed us the opportunity to hear new voices and reflect on what we had seen – from the beautiful nature reserves to the devastations of rising waters as a consequence of climate change (all of which you can read about in the zine beginning on page 23).

The Spring semester, however, looked differently and at the end of March we found ourselves asking the question of how do we create shared spaces virtually? What is Kenapoc without Katy’s house or a Coffee Hour without the Peace Studies Lounge? I want to be honest about how terrifying these questions were to me because I had never felt more unprepared. This was a moment in time where we, as a community, were a people in mourning. Mourning for a world that had become unfamiliar and mourning for a world that had continued to perpetuate an unjust violence against Black bodies. We were mourning in homes that were unsafe for us, mourning in homes not made for the demands of academia, and mourning for the new expectations thrown at us.

This was (and continues to be) a period of grief, in all its ugly, frustrating, and deeply human expressions. In some ways I could speak to how this grief helped us grow as a community. Which is fine and true *but* a little bit romanticized. Instead, I want to speak to how this moment demonstrated the power the Peace Studies program has. It was no accident that weeks of weekly Virtual Coffee Hours always has someone in attendance. This is the trust that Wendell Berry wrote of, a trust in a community that always shows up – despite all the demands of everyday life. It was no accident that Kenapoc speakers such as David Radcliff and Jason Elliott were able to adapt right along with us as we moved from in-person plans to virtual. Those are the results of a program rooted in the lived experiences of everyday lives, where relationships are felt and followed through.

In a pandemic and movement moment where it became easier to isolate and sit alone in your frustrations it was Peace Studies that was able to counter that narrative with its consistent invitations. Consistent and continuous in order to honor the struggle of community building that

began with Gladdys Muir and continues to this day. There is an undeniable power and a deep love that comes from this commitment to community despite how many frustrating questions it asks of us. After four years of Peace Studies and one year as the Peace Studies Coordinator, it is this word community that I hold closest to my bones for I know I can take it with

me wherever I go and, if I ever needed to, I could always come back home.

Thank you for allowing me to be your Peace Studies Coordinator. Thank you for all the ways in which you reminded me of how another world is possible. – Caraline Fearheller



Breakfast at the Peace House



Homecoming Reunion Photo



Picking blueberries

2019-2020 at a Glance

September	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kenapoc Retreat • VIA Marx in Soho • VIA Every War has Two Losers • North Manchester Climate Strike • Mediating Interpersonal Conflict Training
October	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Homecoming Dedication to Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan • VIA Music for Coming Home by Rev. Robert B. Jones and Matt Watroba • Kent State Conference: Commemorating Violent Conflicts and Building Sustainable Peace • Indiana Center for Middle East Peace Annual Gala • VIA John Prendergast: Ten Building Blocks for Making a Difference in the World and in Your Neighborhood
November	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kroc Institute Conference: Building Sustainable Peace: Ideas, Evidence and Strategies Conference • VIA When Conflict Comes to Dinner • VIA When Johnny Got His Gun
December	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kenapoc: Nonviolence and the Pashtun Tahafuz Movement with Dr. Sree Majumder • Kenapoc: Finals Breakfast
January	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • New Orleans Jan Term Trip
February	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • VIA Darkest Past, Now Greatest Asset by Tayna Fogle • Kenapoc: Perspectives on Social Movements in South America – A Young Peacemaker’s Journey by Phil Kiem (’14) • Kenapoc: Mardi Gras Celebration
March	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • VIA Entertaining Peace in Youth Cultures: From Harry Potter to the Hunger Games by Dr. Siobhan McEvoy-Levy • Kenapoc: News Jeopardy • Virtual Kenapoc: Introduction to Microsoft Teams and Zoom • Virtual Kenapoc: On the Front Lines in the Arctic, Amazon, and Dineh Reservation with David Radcliff
April	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Virtual Peace Week • Virtual Kenapoc: Sustainability in Higher Education – What Can Manchester Do? by Jason Elliot (’09) • Virtual Kenapoc: News Kahoot • Virtual Kenapoc: Faith During Quarantine with Campus Interfaith Board
May	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Virtual Kenapoc: Ableism on Campus with Shayla Welch (’23) and Libby Kreps (’23) • Virtual Kenapoc: Finals Breakfast

Alumni and Friends Updates

Phil Kiem ('14)

Since graduating in 2014 and working as Peace Studies Coordinator for two years, I have been all over the place. Between 2016-18, I studied at Western Colorado University and earned my Master of Environmental Management degree; as part of the requirements of that program I completed an internship with Christian Peacemaker Teams Colombia, where I spent six months learning from Colombian human rights defenders and an international team of peacemakers. Following graduation from my master's program I worked on an organic vegetable/chicken farm in Gunnison, Colorado. My desire to return to Latin America led me to a position in 2019 with Beyond English; as Project Coordinator and Community Liaison, I split my time between teaching English and building community between my team of educators and our Chilean colleagues. I decided to return to the US at the end of that job, so that I could settle into a more stable path. So, I moved to North Minneapolis on February 29th, and have been enjoying my time in a new city. As I continue to look for a full-time job and work as a US Census enumerator this fall, I have been learning about my community's relationship with law enforcement and engaging in the social movement here. Protests and rallies have continued since the MPD murdered George Floyd, and my time in Peace Studies at Manchester prepared me to take part and engage with the action all around me. During this COVID-19 pandemic I have spent my time applying to jobs, marching in the street for criminal justice reform, working in my garden, playing music, and doing my best to practice self-care in this unstable present moment.

Addie Neher ('18)



In August 2019, I accepted a position with the Presbyterian School in Wabash, IN. At this time, we created a Montessori Children's House (ages 2.5-6). The overall mission of the school is to make good affordable education accessible to all families in the Wabash area! The combined classroom creates a home-like environment that gives children the opportunity to focus on their developmental needs. We have four areas of the classroom: Practical Life, Sensorial, Language, and Math. For more information on the school, please visit our Facebook and Instagram pages!

Amy Weeks ('19)



This year, I have focused my attention on local food systems and the slow food movement. In the summer of 2019, I worked on Hawkins Family Farm in North Manchester, a consumer supported agriculture (CSA) farm that has implemented innovative tools to give community members access to local produce, meat, and cheese using a format similar to online grocery shopping. Through the Fall, I gained experience in food management at a larger scale in the Detroit area as I worked in event sales for local restaurants, showcasing artisan food and wine that brought families and communities together. In January, I travelled with Dr. Katy Gray Brown as her January Term course visited Capstone 118 Community Gardens, a non-profit in New Orleans in the Lower Ninth Ward. The purpose of the course was to study the intersections of race, poverty, and environmental injustice that helped to make Hurricane Katrina one of the most tragic disasters in the United States. Capstone 118 works to provide Ninth Ward

residents with the means to eat well together, reclaiming a space once abandoned and transforming it into a place of growth. Recently, I began working with Gleaners in Livingston County, Michigan. Gleaners is a nonprofit food bank with a large distributing center for nonperishable items. In Livingston County, Gleaners also owns several acres of gardens in which all produce goes into the food banks to give low income individuals access to fresh local vegetables. This summer, I will participate on a work crew to harvest surplus produce from farmer's fields. I will soon begin taking classes at Michigan State University's Extension program to become a certified Master Gardener. I hope this career path will lead me to become a good steward to the developing local food economy in Detroit, Michigan with the aim of decreasing food deserts in the city and creating stronger community ties to the environment.

Zander Willoughby ('18)

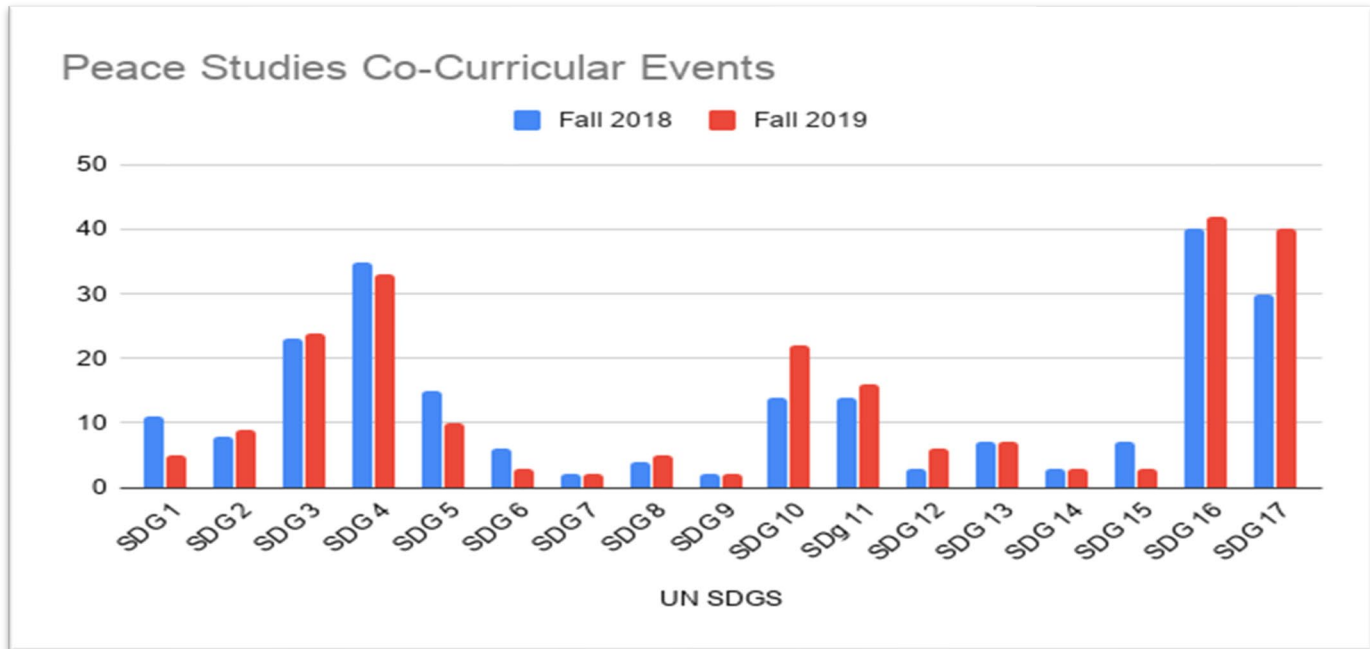


I am currently the +Peace Network & Communications Coordinator at the Alliance for Peacebuilding in Washington, DC. +Peace is a collective action campaign platform of peacebuilding organizations mobilizing people, governments & the private sector to tackle global violence & division. Learn more about +Peace here:

www.peacebuilding.live/

Sustainable Goals of the Peace Studies Department

By Kelleen Cullison ('20)



Manchester University's relationship with the United Nations predates the Peace Studies Institute by a mere three years, and their connection helped to foster the atmosphere and framework necessary for Gladdys Muir to develop the first Peace Studies program in the United States at Manchester.

In fact, Manchester has been connected to the United Nations since its conception, as Andrew Cordier, Manchester graduate of the class of 1922, assisted in drafting the United Nations' charter. He stayed on with the organization as coordinator of the administration, including organizing and directing ground missions for the organization in places such as the Balkans and Palestine. His efforts helped set up some of the very basic foundations of United Nations procedure.

Manchester itself remains connected to the UN as the first university in the United States that holds permanent observer status with them as Non-Governmental Organization, an achievement proudly displayed through the flying of the UN flag outside of the student union. Furthermore, the university maintains a Model United Nations to encourage and prepare future world leaders and has dedicated Peace Poles erected throughout the grounds.

The Peace Studies Department has always strived to align its organized action and goals with that of the United Nations. Since the 2017 publishing of the UN's Global Goals for Sustainable Development, the department has strived to contribute to their goals for a better, more peaceful world by 2030.

There are 17 of these goals tackling poverty, education, health, gender equality, sustainable industry, and ethical co-existing with the environment. Within each goal are steps designed to tackle the root causes of these issues and take long term measures to address them, and

come with a myriad of actions that gives everyone a chance to get involved from the household to the public sphere. In light of our partnership with the United Nations, Manchester University and the Peace Studies Institute are trying to act in accordance with these goals.

Peacemaking: From the Local to the Global



On September 22nd, 2019, the Peace Studies Department facilitated a community event titled *Peacemaking: From the Local to the Global*. The community discussion, facilitated by Manchester students, explored questions such as: What steps would help our community move towards this Sustainable Development Goal? Who would be involved, in what ways? How does this Sustainable Development Goal appear in our community? What would it look like in our community if we focused on this specific goal?

Over the course of the evening, the group decided upon two community priority goals. The first is *Goal One: No Poverty*. To address the issue of poverty, the UN aims to eradicate extreme poverty, reduce poverty by at least 50%, implement social protection systems, equal rights to ownership, basic services, technology and economic resources, build resilience to environmental, economic and social disasters, mobilize resources to implement policies to end poverty, and create pro-poor and gender sensitive

policy frameworks. The UN suggests actions such as donating what you're no longer using to local charities and supporting campaigns fighting for poverty awareness.

The second is *Goal Thirteen: Climate Action*. To combat climate change, the UN is striving to strengthen the resilience and adaptive capacity to climate related disasters, integrate climate

change measures into policies and planning, build knowledge and capacity to meet climate change, implement the UN framework convention on climate change, and promote mechanisms to raise capacity for planning and management. They recommend reducing consumption, using reusable and eco-friendly products, reducing your consumption of meat, and offsetting your carbon emissions.

What Peace Studies Gave Me

By Delaney McKesson ('19)



Delaney McKesson and Katy Gray Brown (my biggest inspiration and the most important part of my Manchester Story).

Today I wish I was in arms reach of my community. I wish we were all fighting together, learning together, and leaning on one another. I wish we were sitting in the peace lounge, my favorite place on campus, and working together. But I know that no matter where we all are, we are standing up and using our voices.

Manchester gave me so much, but most importantly it gave me peace studies. This gave me the tools, the knowledge, and the experiences to be able to spot injustice and work for change. I have visited sites of civil rights movements, I

have walked in protests, and I have learned to listen and understand.

I got a lot of questions about studying peace studies. "What does that even mean?" "What will you ever do with that?" "That's just an easy 'snowflake' major." I didn't let them bother me. I knew that I had found something I was passionate about. I knew it was important and the skills I was gaining were immeasurably important.

These past few weeks have shown me time and time again how right I was about believing in this. I have felt prepared. I am able to have hard conversations with facts to back me up. I know how to peacefully protest. I am aware of my place in society and know how to use it to help those that need it. I have been able to teach my family, especially my siblings, what they can do to help.

And although I am far from my community, I have a group of people to lean on when I don't know what to do next. When I don't have the answers, I know who to ask.

Along with peace studies I have social work too. My profession has values of social justice, dignity and worth of every individual, integrity, and so many others that prove to me I am on the right side. If I was not supporting this movement, I could not consider myself a social worker. I am so thankful for the education I have learned and the skills I know possess.

The most important thing you can do during this time is to educate yourself. Start from the beginning if you have to- this is not new. Then, decide what you are going to do. Go to protests, spread awareness, donate to organizations, and don't back down if people tell you that you are wrong.

Black lives matter. So, support them and fight for them until everyone agrees.



A pile of peace people in St. Louis

(I've included some pictures of these people that mean so much to me, but I'm sure there are still so many more not pictured from trips I was too busy living to document.)



2017 Women's March in Washington DC



Social Work in Chicago



2019 Peace Studies Alumni Trip in Montgomery Alabama

Peace Posts

Homecoming Plaque 2019 Dedication: Celebrating Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan by Chloe Leckrone ('22)

On Saturday, October 12, students, faculty, alumni, and community members gathered in the Peace Garden to dedicate this year's plaque to Khan Abdul Ghaffar Kahn.

Before the dedication itself, students spoke about their experience in the Peace Studies program. Kendall Brown, a sophomore Peace Studies and Spanish major, talked to the crowd about the things we have been doing and the discussions we have been having at Kenapoc this semester, including news talks, cupcake decorating, and community building activities. She also talked about her time in Richmond, Virginia over the summer with her internship through SHECP, the Shepherd Higher Education Consortium on Poverty. According to Kendall, both Kenapoc and SHECP have helped her break out of her shell and find a home away from home in Peace Studies.

Chris Francois, a senior Peace Studies major, spoke next. They talked about student activism, including the recent climate strike held on September 20. Chris went on to discuss their introduction to the Sunrise Movement, a movement of young people fighting against the threat of climate change, while in New York for their SHECP internship. Francois has started a Sunrise chapter at Manchester after being inspired by those activists they met this summer.

Then, Professor Sree Majumder spoke about the life and achievements of Abdul Ghaffar Khan. Khan lived from 1890 to 1988 and used



Professor Sree Majumder speaking at the Plaque Dedication

nonviolent activism to end the rule of the British Raj in India. Today, his message of nonviolence lives on in the work of the Pashtun Tahafuz Movement (PTM) or the Pashtun Protection Movement. PTM was started by a group of young students, and their dedication to nonviolence should inspire us as Peace Studies students to follow their lead and stand up for the challenges and injustices facing our lives today.

The plaque dedication is a wonderful Homecoming tradition that allows Peace Studies students, faculty, and alumni to come together to

celebrate and learn more about peacemakers who we can all look to improve ourselves and the world around us. Everyone associated with

Manchester University should take advantage of this educational and inspirational tradition.

Reflections on “Commemorating Violent Conflict and Building Sustainable Peace” Conference by Fatu M. Kaba ('22)



From Left to Right: Zakaria Bulus, Fatu M. Kaba, Chris Francois, Shayla Rigsbee, Caraline Fearheller, Virginia Rendler, Dr. Katy Gray Brown, and Dr. Elton Skendaj at the Kent State Conference

It was once said by Edward James Olmos that “education is a vaccine for violence”, but what happens when those seeking education are being destroyed by the hands of violence?

Between the 24- 26 of October 2019, I joined a few students, professors, and the Peace Studies Coordinator of the Manchester University to attend a peace conference at the Kent State University. The conference theme was reflected in its title of “Commemorating Violent Conflict and Building Sustainable Peace.” It was adopted from the historical shooting that took place on the 4th of May 1970, after students of Kent State University protested against the US war in Vietnam and Cambodia. During the protest, the United States National Guard shot and killed four students, making it one of the very first campus shootings in the history of the United States.

Based on this event, the conference was held to bring together researchers (dominantly masters and Ph.D. students) from around the globe to present on interconnected disciplines as relating to commemorating violent conflicts and building sustainable peace. Some topics of the conference included Peace in Action-Engaging Students in Activism in and Beyond the Classroom, Religious Perspective on Conflict, War, & Non Violence, Responses to Vietnam and May 4th: Assessing the Consequences, The Aftermath: Grief and Reconciliation, and so on. Interestingly, an amazing presentation was given by our own Peace Studies Professor Elton Skendaj on Students Stories: Using Digital Media for Civic Engagement in Peace Studies Courses”. Each presentation lasted for about fifteen minutes, followed by questions and answers between the presenters and the audience. The research presentations gave participants the

opportunity to explore a broader range of topics and skills within the field of peace, education, and nonviolent resistance.

Personally, it gave me a deeper understanding of things I had never truly thought of and how impactful they can be in terms of peacebuilding. I also learned about both primary and secondary research methods along with some common analyses as to how research in the field of peace can be conducted. I also got to meet and interact with people from all over the world, including Nepal, Ghana, and Nigeria. I built a connection with these people through the sharing of social media and email addresses. The presentations reaffirmed my belief and values of peace and

why it matters to all of us. In addition, we had the opportunity to tour the May 4 Visitors Center - containing documents and videos of the May 4th event, as well as the May 4 Walking Tour.

Lastly, the conference finished out with an amazing play called “May 4 Voices: Kent State.” It was one of the most emotional and well-planned plays I have seen. The banquet gave me the opportunity to meet, interact, and network with other amazing writers and that felt so accomplishing to me based on the increasing passion for writing. I did not just learn about but also experienced and appreciated the value of peace and why the voices of students matter in critical national issues.

Tayna Fogle: Darkest Past, Greatest Asset by Virginia Rendler ('20)



On February 1st, 1968, the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. spoke to an audience at Manchester College, his last public speaking appearance before his assassination on April 4th, 1968. In honor of this legacy, each year we invite a speaker to campus that personifies his mission

in the current day. This year, Tayna Fogle shared her story with an audience at Manchester University. Fogle is a mother, grandmother, and leader in her community, as well as an impacted person. She is a Democracy Fellow with Kentuckians for the Commonwealth, and tri-

chair of the Kentucky Poor People's Campaign: A National Call for Moral Revival, an organization that is a direct extension of the original Poor People's Campaign that Dr. Martin Luther King began.

In 1991, Fogle was convicted of a felony and sentenced to 10 years in the Kentucky Correctional Institute for Women. She told the audience that the choices she made in her youth led her to the darkest time in her life, which has now become her greatest asset. She used her experience as an impacted person to transform the hearts and minds of the public and of policymakers, especially surrounding issues of voting rights. In Kentucky, individuals with a felony conviction are not permitted to vote, and Fogle works to mobilize formerly incarcerated women of color to become involved with the Poor People's Campaign to fight against voter suppression. "If voting was not so important," she said, "they would not try so hard to keep us from the ballot."

Fogle is calling young people to invade Washington D.C. with the values that Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. stood for, especially on June 20, 2020, the date of Mass Poor People's Assembly & Moral March on Washington. The Poor People's Campaign is heading to DC to dramatize the pain and demonstrate the collective power of poor and low-wage people. The campaign is demanding that major political

parties and politicians take seriously the devastating impact of interlocking injustices of racism, militarism, poverty, ecological devastation and the distorted moral narrative of religious nationalism on this nation.

Poverty and voter suppression are violence, and the hurt and injustice expressed in Kentucky is a national hurt. Injustice surrounding healthcare, poverty, militarization, and felonization all constitute violence against citizens of this country. Fogle reminded us that the individuals who hold public office work for *us* – we are their bosses and we decide who stays and who goes. The only way we can express these opinions, however, is through voting. Not simply voting in the presidential elections but becoming involved on a more local level as well.

The Poor People's Campaign is not simply an organization, but a movement to bring justice to the subjugated people in America. After her talk, Fogle invited us to sing these words with her: "Somebody's hurting my people and it's gone on far too long, and we won't be silenced anymore." A change *must* come in this country, and no one can bring it about but young people. Tayna Fogle brought us a message of hope, of inspiration, encouraging us to stand up against structural violence, against oppression and suppression. We must recognize the economic war that is raging in this supposed nation of plenty and do our part to end it.

Reflections on the Kroc Institute "Building Sustainable Peace" Conference by Chris Francois ('20)

Between the 8-10th of November, I was fortunate enough to attend the *Building Sustainable Peace* conference, which was hosted by the Kroc Institute at the University of Notre Dame. Through this opportunity, as I was joined by several students from Manchester, as well as

faculty and staff, I had the chance to learn more about the state of the field of peace studies, as well as advances in the implementation of the transitional justice process in Colombia. The various panels at the conference were dotted by scholars and practitioners from all over the

world, while various keynote addresses peppered our lunch and dinner time slots.

The conference was mostly geared towards graduate students, as well as academics and practitioners within the field. However, even though I was one of the few undergraduate students at the conference, I was able to stand my ground, understand the content that was being discussed in the panels, as well as ask meaningful questions to the panelists concerning their research or work in the field. Some examples of the panels at the conference include: The Role of Youth in Peacebuilding; The Theory and Practice of Intersectional Peacebuilding in Northeastern India; Social Media Technology in Conflict, Protest and Peacebuilding, and many others. My favorite panel at the conference was titled "Thinking Peacebuilding Otherwise: Religion, Spirituality, and Social Change in Post-Accord Colombia," as the panelists touched on subjects that I directly study in my research at Manchester, such as Afro-descendant populations in Latin America. Each panel lasted about an hour and fifteen minutes, and each keynote session lasted about an hour and thirty minutes, followed for both formats with a question and answer session (Q&A).

On a personal level, the conversations I had at the conference, as well as the scholarship I was able

to engage with during the panels, all contributed to helping me better frame my honors thesis project; these conversations also served as a springboard for me to learn about current research in the field, sometimes directly from the researchers themselves that I find myself quoting in many papers. As I look back on the conference, I am thankful for the guidance provided by academics in the field, as well as the quality of education I am receiving at the Peace Studies Institute: being able to have direct conversations about the field with far more advanced academics is a blessing in disguise, as it will help me be better prepared for the tenuous work associated with graduate school.

Lastly, the keynotes were some of the most refreshing aspects of the conference. My favorite keynote address was delivered by sujatha baliga (sic), who talked about restorative justice approaches in California, as well as the use of her law background to help people avoid having to pass through the court system, in coordination with willing prosecutors. On a personal level, I was stunned by how friendly many people at the conference were towards me: several graduate students I encountered quickly offered the top tips for identifying an advisor within a program, as well as gauging the quality of the program as it relates to one's research topic. This experience reinforced why I chose to study and practice conflict resolution and peace: the people

Reflections on Nourishing Hospitality in North Manchester by Kim Khavayi ('22)

On Sunday October 6th, members of the North Manchester community gathered at the Toyota Round, located in the Jean Childs Young Intercultural Center on the Manchester University campus, to discuss their experiences of welcoming in the North Manchester community as well as what can be done to improve hospitality overall. During this

conversation, the participants consisted of Manchester University students, faculty, and staff as well as local community and Wabash county residents. The participants reflected on how they were received and explored questions such as "what are the characteristics of a welcoming space as opposed to the characteristics of an unwelcoming space?"

Community participants also brainstormed ideas on how to create a more welcoming North Manchester, such as hosting monthly progressive meals.

Personally, I enjoyed this discussion because as a student facilitator I could contribute to the discussion from the perspective of an International student. Many of us agreed that the community is welcoming to a certain extent. For example, there is a smiling culture in North Manchester. However, other elements such as hanging confederate flags in campus dorms as

well as around the town has made many students feel unsafe. Some of the best ways to foster hospitality would be to plan more events downtown so that the townspeople and the students get to interact more and bridge the gap between Manchester as an institution and the town. Manchester could also build relationships between International students and host families who could host international students during school breaks. The purpose of this discussion was to enlighten the community on the issues people face coming into a new community and get people thinking on how to improve on this.

Reflections on the Indiana Center for Middle East Peace Annual Gala by Kendall Brown ('22)

On Saturday, November 2nd Peace Studies students, staff, and faculty traveled to Fort Wayne, Indiana for the Indiana Center for Middle East Peace Annual Gala. The Gala consisted of a silent auction fundraiser and a presentation given by Susan Abulhawa. Susan Abulhawa is a Palestinian author and activist. Her presentation was about Israel and what countries and types of

activities the Israeli government is supporting. The presentation was very interesting, insightful, and I am glad I attended the event. It was nice to see that there is a large group of people in Fort Wayne that care about the issue in the Middle East. The event is annual and I would encourage everyone to attend next year if they are able too!



Protest signs from Washington DC – Photo provided by Zander Willoughby ('18)

North Manchester Climate Strike

By Virginia Rendler ('20)



On Friday, September 21, students walked out of their classes at 11:00 am to meet in front of Funderburg Library as part of the International Climate Strike. This event, organized by Peace Studies in conjunction with the Sunrise Movement, allowed students to make their voices heard by striking for something they believe in. In this case, that belief is in the immediate need to make drastic changes to our systems and lifestyles in order to stop the environmental degradation taking place. This event was not simply for students, but encouraged the participation of staff, faculty, community members, and even folks from out of town! A group came to our campus from Fort Wayne because they were interested in participating in a climate strike and learned about ours online.

As the event began, participants were asked to draw on the sidewalk with chalk what they pictured as a visual representation of the outcome that would be inevitable if no action were taken

on reversing climate change. Some drawings included the earth in flames, other depicted loss of wildlife and animals, others simply had messages such as 'no more humans'. It was a visual representation of the fear and severity that this issue represents to all of us. The bulk of the strike was spent listening to students speaking about their experiences or concerns with climate change, and their calls to action. Caraline Fearheller, Jesse Langdon, Arpan Paul, Fatu M. Kaba, Jade Gourley, Chris Francois, and Karly Eichenhauer all spoke to the audience, and demonstrated their obvious intelligence, passion, and experience surrounding the issue. We are privileged, as students at Manchester, to be able to hear diverse perspectives on issues like climate justice, some experiences very real and life threatening.

It is so important to note how far this conversation has come. Just in the beginning of my lifetime, groups were interested in decreasing

pollution, but it was not in the forefront of social-political issues. Then, the conversation moved to slowing global warming, which was what most of my early science and environmental education was centered around. Now, we see a more holistic view of the results of environmental degradation, which is climate change in general, and it has a multitude of negative effects. We have even moved beyond this to questions of sustainability and climate justice, and the intersections of pollution, race, class, and health. I believe that the core reason that this issue has

moved to its rightful place in the forefront of our social outreach and political interest is due to the passions and dedication of young people, who are using their voices to express real and legitimate concern for their own survival. Events such as the climate strike on our campus and around the world should be uplifted and celebrated as an expression of commitment and passion for change. This is an issue that no one is exempt from and taking the time and space out of our daily lives to recognize it, to find solutions, and to gather together is infinitely valuable.



Emily Lynn draws a response to the prompt



Fatou M. Kaba speaks on her personal experiences with Climate Change



Sunrise Movement Hub Coordinator Chris Francois speaks to the crowd

Jan Term: New Orleans Zine

Capstone Reflection by Libby Kreps ('23)

After spending time as a volunteer working in New Orleans after Katrina, David Young, a former North Manchester resident, started Capstone. Capstone is a non-profit that develops vacant lots of land, as well as land offered by those in the community, into gardens that provide fresh vegetables to those in need. Through his vast knowledge, David uses other projects such as his beekeeping and aquaponic system to teach how to grow and harvest their own food. While there, we spent our time building a large garden of mulch, banana trees, and cardboard for blueberry plants, harvested old honeycombs and power washed beehive compartments, installed a sewage system, and worked on many other projects around the property! While the work was done yet a challenge at times, and maybe just a little dirty, it was clear that the projects David has are important to the community. David's hard work and mission towards this community is truly an inspiration. We learned that David's



knowledge, patience, and personal drive to understand the people around him have been critical for making connections with a community in need. Capstone is clearly revitalizing the lower 9th ward in its own unique ways.

Lower Ninth Ward Living Museum by Libby Kreps ('23)

Located in the heart of the lower ninth ward, the Lower Ninth Ward Living Museum was created to celebrate the lives and culture of the neighborhood that was most affected by the events of hurricane Katrina. Composed of vivid photography, personal stories, and exhibits, the museum shows how the voices of the impoverished and discriminated against are often ignored and left to rebuild their own community.

This museum was extremely powerful. While often gut wrenching, this museum gave us an opportunity to gain a clearer comprehension of how the well rooted community is using their rich culture to persistently work towards recovery. The Lower Ninth Ward Living Museum demonstrated that they, and the community, are clearly fulfilling the museum's motto; "Remembering the past, sharing stories of the present, and planning for the future."

My Own Personal Reflection by Libby Kreps ('23)

When I signed up to be a part of this trip, I was excited for a new opportunity to travel and to do it with a program that was very socially and globally aware (as well as the opportunity to take a class without having to be stuck in a classroom for three hours a day). While this was true, it was so much more. Through the museums and conversations with many amazing locals, it was very eye opening to hear about the many misconceptions about Katrina and the blatant racism that is still very much a problem of today. However, while we did learn about many gloomy aspects of the world, we got the unbelievable opportunity to experience how many beautiful cultures can help heal deep wounds. Through the exciting and elaborate carnival events such as Krewe of Joan of Arc parade, the history of Mardi Gras, and museums such as Ronald's

House of Dance and Feathers, it is clear that preservation and celebration of their culture is important to reviving the spirit of New Orleans. Embracing culture truly benefits any community. This was also visible in the Pointe-Au-Chien Tribe. Even in the face of immediate danger, they are continuing to teach the traditional practices of their ancestors to preserve their culture. Two very different communities, but each are taking advantage of their rich cultures to create a hopeful future. I've realized that recognizing the importance of culture is something that every individual, and community, should arrive to do. I am so grateful for the opportunity to eat Walt's amazing food, to spend too much money on Beignets, to dig ridiculous holes, to visit so many beautiful places, and to meet incredible people, and I'm so ready to go back to New Orleans.

Mississippi Civil Rights Museum by Kayla Anderson ('23)

The Mississippi Civil Rights Museum is located in Jackson, Mississippi and on our way to New Orleans we got the opportunity to stop by and pay it a visit. The reality of slavery in Mississippi differs and has a separate tone than other southern states. The tone is more frightening and unnerving. After all their state flag holds on tightly to the southern heritage of the confederate south. This museum has two separate sides, the Civil Rights museum and the History of Mississippi museum. I think having two different sides is important because they are highlighting their states ill association to slavery. What happened during slavery and the injustice that came after is far to prolonged to be jammed in together with their state history. And what's admirable about the history of Mississippi museum is that it intertwines slavery within that exhibit as well. It acknowledges that slavery was



apart of their past and slavery built what their state is today. The civil rights museum starts with the sea journey undertaken by slave ships from African countries to the West Indies and North America. It then follow out to different exhibits



that consist of different events such as lynchings, freedom riders, education, war, etc. As you walk through the exhibits the sound of powerful gospel music moves you. It rattles you and makes you emotional. The exhibits all meet at this circular point where there are chairs for you to sit down and listen to the music playing. At this point you can also see all the different exhibits to walk through. Over at the Mississippi History Museum their story starts with the Native Americans. They introduce tribes such as the Choctaw and their culture. The elaborate clothing they wear, their homes, the tools they use, what they eat, etc. The exhibit then follows the story of colonization and slavery. This is followed by industrialism, natural disasters, political figures, music, and culture. For me personally this museum was one of my favorites out of all the ones we visited. It

was raw and very authentic. They did a very good job at separating themselves from other civil rights museums. There were loads of information and visual representation.

What made this museum so real for me was the audio that played through different parts of the museum. The audio was triggered by movement, and anytime someone walked passed there would be different things being said. Very hurtful things being said, but that was the reality of being black and living through the time of slavery and the jim crow era. They had different clips and videos playing throughout the museum as well. This wasn't just some museum you walk through and read all of the information or have someone tell you. Both parts made it very interactive. It kept you captivated and busy. You wanted to learn more and there were times where I walked through the same exhibit two to three times because there was so much. I encourage everyone to visit the Mississippi Civil Rights Museum. This museum is captivating, almost to the point where it's overwhelming, but in a good way. This museum takes learning to another level and you will be enriched with so much knowledge and information. So take a trip to the Mississippi Civil Rights Museum.

House of Dance and Feathers by Kayla Anderson ('23)

On our last Tuesday in New Orleans our group went and visited a small museum called the House of Dance and Feathers. The House of Dance and Feathers is owned and based on Ronald W. Lewis and his participation in the culture of Mardi Gras Indians, Social Aid & Pleasure Clubs, and Skull & Bone clubs. The museum is small and personal. It is not a big state museum, but a tiny trailer that sits in the backyard of Ronald's house. As you enter, you're immediately welcomed by a cluster of

collectibles from Mardi Gras and big Mardi Gras costumes. The experience was quite overwhelming. We had to squeeze 13 people in a small area that was filled with valuable things. I was scared that someone would knock something over or that I would bump into shelves that held glass objects. Even though the size of the area was difficult and something we had to work with, the experience and conversations we had with Ronald washed our anxiety away. He was fierce and made sure his time wouldn't be wasted. He

made people engage and ask him questions. I will never forget the words he spoke and how he spoke them. During a conversation about Hurricane Katrina someone asked “How did Katrina affect you?”. Ronald responded with “It didn’t affect me, that’s why I’m sitting here talking to you”. You could tell he was strong and wise. Not just by the way he spoke, but by the intricacy of his craft. Ronald learned how to bead at a young age and that is how he makes most of his costumes. The colors were vibrant and the details with sharp. My favorite part about this museum was the west wing, which was another small trailer with big elaborate costumes. There were pictures hanging up that were taken at Mardi Gras parades, sculptures, and other crafty objects. I did not favor the west wing because of the art, I favored it because it showed us that Ronald had no thought about stopping his craft. After all, this museum was built to preserve the culture of Mardi Gras Indians and to share that culture with the rest of the world. He was expanding and creating more. I wouldn’t change

the size or shape of The House of Dance and Feathers. That intimate conversation we were able to have with Ronald was beautiful. He wanted us to ask questions and learn. He almost called out everyone who didn’t ask a question. Big state museum can seem fake and sometimes they leave out important facts, but museums like the Ninth Ward Living Museum and the House of Dance and Feathers are original and reliable. People who witnessed Hurricane Katrina first hand are creating these museums. They’re telling us about their experience and how they continue to deal with all the effects of the storm. Ronald built his museum by collecting objects washed up by Katrina and taking donations. People like Ronald are working to preserve their culture in order to share it with future generations and visitors like us. We should respect their wishes and take the time to visit and learn about the various cultures surrounding New Orleans. Because even if they aren’t here in the years to come, their museums will still be standing and we can share their stories for them.

The House of Dance and Feathers by Chloe Leckrone ('22)



Our group visited the House of Dance and Feathers on our last day in New Orleans. Before visiting, we had heard a little about Ronald Lewis’ participation in Mardi Gras celebrations as a Mardi Gras Indian in both the Louisiana State Museum and the Living Museum.

However, nothing could have prepared me for the experience we had at Ronald’s museum. The word “museum” here is used flexibly; the House of Dance and Feathers is not necessarily what one might think of when they hear the word. We entered a trailer back behind Ronald’s house and were immediately overwhelmed by his collection. It felt like nearly every inch of the trailer was covered, packed full of Mardi Gras history. From Mardi Gras costumes to beads to swords to banners, the collection Ronald Lewis has curated felt more personal and genuine than any carefully crafted exhibit ever could.

My biggest takeaway from our visit to the House of Dance and Feathers was the thing Ronald



hammered into us from the moment we stepped foot in the museum: every item in his collection has a story. This is, as he put it, his “post-Katrina collection.” These items have come from all over. Some are his,

others have been donated to him, and others he found rummaging through trash bins after the storm to see if people had thrown out or lost any interesting pieces. He made sure to remind us that everything in his collection is significant and tells its own story, and that has stuck with me in the week since we stopped by. What I also realized while listening to Ronald tell us all sorts of



stories about the items in his collection is that we only learned as much as we did because Ronald was there to give us their history. What enhanced the entire experience was that we were able to engage with someone who has actually lived through all this history. It would not have been the same to just stare at an item in a glass case and read a little plaque about it. Instead, we got to hold the items in our hands and hear from a person who Mardi Gras means everything to.

Media Coverage of Hurricane Katrina by Chloe Leckrone ('22)

As someone who is very interested in journalism, I made sure to look and listen for any information about the media coverage of Hurricane Katrina in the various museums we visited. While there was not much to go off of, something I found in the Living Museum did strike me. There was one card that talked about how, during the storm, the coverage of the Superdome often portrayed the largely black population staying there as messy and loud, their behavior chaotic. There is no doubt in my mind that the way the news portrayed those waiting out the hurricane had an affect on the general public’s view of the citizens of New Orleans. The choice to turn attention to

the goings on in the Superdome when there was no need feels like a racist tactic used to make people forget about the fact that little was being done to aid the community, or perhaps to even justify to the rest of the country why little was being done. What I learned about the media coverage of Katrina has allowed me to think more critically about my own reporting. As an aspiring journalist, my top concern is remaining empathetic while still reporting the facts in times of tragedy. I do not ever want to fall victim to this lazy and inadequate reporting that creates an insufficient response to communities in need.

Disaster Capitalism by Virginia Rendler ('20)

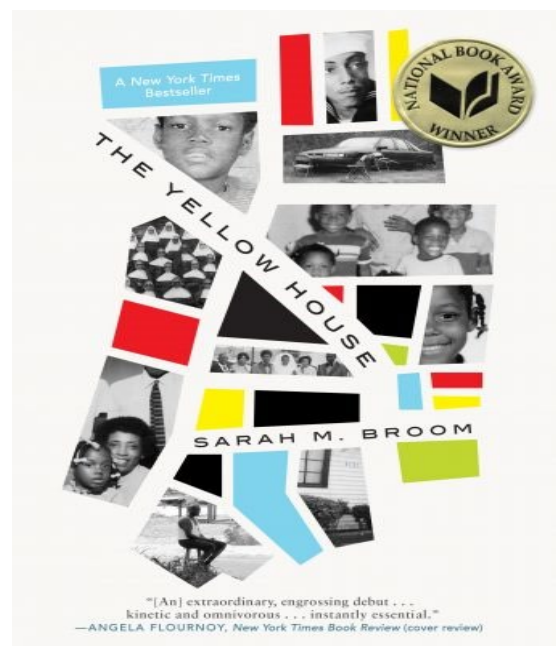


Disaster Capitalism was a term I stumbled upon in the 9th Ward Living History Museum. I was thinking of what exactly the phenomenon was that was occurring here in New Orleans, with these big museums proclaiming injustices as if they were of the past instead of occurring every day only a few miles away. I wanted to know more about this term and if it fit what I saw. Disaster capitalism seems to address some of these injustices, discussed in one 2007 book by Naomi Klein - The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism. After a disaster such as hurricane Katrina, authorities

or governments may exploit victims for profit in a multitude of ways. One such way that we heard about was the way in which the government of New Orleans took advantage of people who needed housing in the wake of Katrina, forcing them to jump through hoops for years so it was simpler to just leave. This property would then be used by the government for profit, the displacement of communities facilitating creation of more profitable housing developments. We came across other examples on our trip, such as the privatization of education in the wake of Katrina, and disaster tourism based on the hurricane. Katrina presented not a tragedy, but an opportunity to the greedy and racist systems in power, and in New Orleans the evidence that they took that opportunity is overwhelming.

The Yellow House by Sarah Broom Reflection by Virginia Rendler ('20)

Our required text for this course was a memoir by author Sarah Broom, who grew up in New Orleans East. In the memoir, she details the family history her house in this neighborhood has seen pass through its walls. Broom touches on many themes we were experiencing for ourselves out in New Orleans - a sense of place, resilience, culture, tradition, family, racism, fear, loss, and home. We were able to visit some of the locations that Broom mentions in her memoir, and ground ourselves there to better understand her story. She tells of a neighborhood intentionally left - left off the map, left out of people's minds, left behind after Katrina. To be able to go to New Orleans East allowed us to understand Broom's perspective: this is not a place people go if they



are not looking for it. But Broom also tells us a story not too dissimilar from each of our own. We all have a history, stories that make us who we are, even if they are not the stories that are lifted up as most important. It is indeed those stories that shape a community, create a culture, and can so easily be lost when they are systematically and intentionally deprioritized by individuals with the most power. Broom points out the injustices

in the system (sometimes overtly, sometimes subtly) by highlighting the ways they affected her family throughout their time in the yellow house, making the theoretical concepts we have studied (such as disaster capitalism) come to life. We understand the real impacts of these damaging phenomenon through the eyes of the Broom family.

In Defense of Voodoo: A Critique of the New Orleans Historic Voodoo Museum by Chris Francois ('20)



As a teenager, I always hated the movie *The Serpent and the Rainbow*. In my opinion, the film displays a sensationalist take that centers the white American gaze on a religion that is explicitly afro-centric in its various traditions. That is why, when we arrived at the Voodoo museum in Louisiana, I was surprised to see that the nonfiction book on which the movie is based was being cited as a reliable source, despite the fact that author Wade Davis was heavily criticized by the scientific community due to his book being riddled with inaccuracies. When I walked into the museum, I expected to see a detailed history of Voodoo and its practices, along with a profound exploration of what is essentially a religion centered on healing, community, and veneration of the dead. However, the museum was contributing to the vilification of Voodoo by perpetuating the racist

stereotypes found in popular media, as well as the scientific inaccuracies contained in several books about Voodoo from the 20th century. To quote Zora Hurston's *Tell My Horse*:

...If you are friendly to Haiti as you say you are, you must speak the truth to the world. Many white writers who have passed a short time here have heard these things mentioned, and knowing nothing of the Voodoo religion except the Congo dances, they conclude that the two things are the same. That gives a wrong impression to the world and makes Haiti a subject for slander. (p 183-4).

The portrayal of Voodoo at the museum is toxic in the sense that it promotes harmful stereotypes about the religion that have historically been used to demonize its practitioners and the faith's associated rites, and justify violence perpetrated against Voodoo adherents. I still vividly remember my great-grandmother telling me about the destruction of Voodoo temples and sacred objects during the Second American occupation of Haiti, as an influx of evangelical Protestants brought with them the racist perspectives of Voodoo that were portrayed in U.S. popular culture. Therefore, the harm that comes from depictions such as those offered by the Voodoo museum is still very present in the lives of Voodoo practitioners, as they have been blamed for many calamities, such as the 2010

earthquake in Haiti. Therefore, I would encourage anyone who wants to learn more about the practice of Voodoo to directly ask questions to a practitioner that would feel comfortable

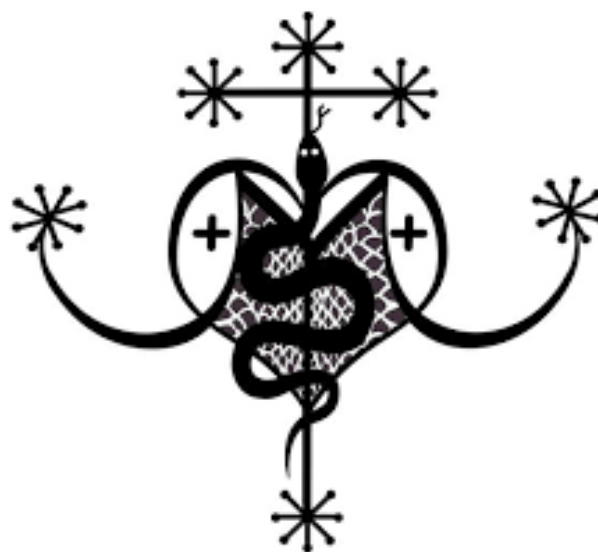
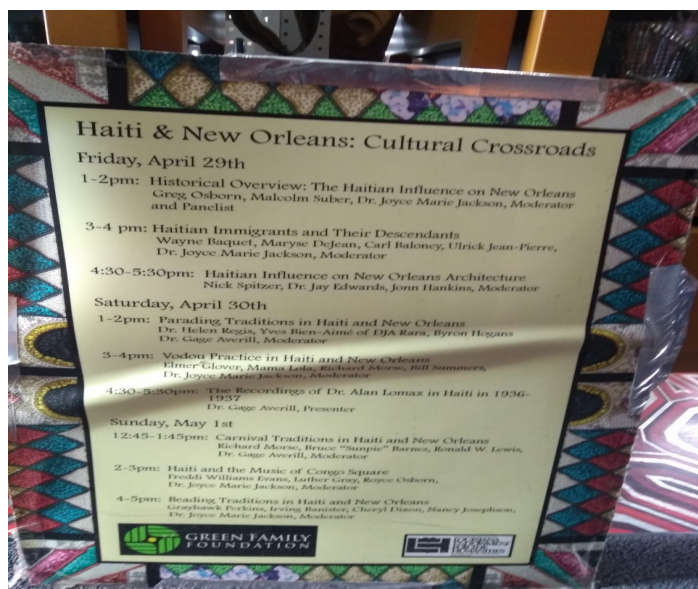
answering questions. I hope one day there will be a museum dedicated to Voodoo that does not bask in ludicrous descriptions of the faith tradition to attract visitors.

The Haitian Connection in New Orleans by Chris Francois ('20)

During my stay in New Orleans and other parts of Louisiana, I was surprised by the level of connectedness between the state and Haiti. While in Haiti, I'd always heard about the role our country played in facilitating the Louisiana purchase, and the subsequent Haitian migration to Louisiana after the revolution, my knowledge did not go any further. Our tour guide Libby, however, was a resource that helped enlighten me on the subject. According to her, a longstanding theory is that shotgun houses are based on Haitian influences on architecture in New Orleans, which I was delighted to hear, as the author of our book for the class, Sarah Broom, lived in a shotgun house. As someone of Haitian descent who has been continually exposed to negative portrayals of the country within mass media in the United States, it was refreshing to see that many people were proud of the historical and cultural connections that exist between

Louisiana and Haiti. While I was walking through the streets of New Orleans, I felt like I was back home, as the gingerbread houses that lined the French Quarter were reminiscent of the same houses that line the streets of Cap-Haitien in Northern Haiti, a city which recently signed a twinning agreement with New Orleans.

There were also some very well-known examples of Haitian influences on Louisiana culture, such as in the practice of Hoodoo/Voodoo. The vèvè comes from Haitian Vodou, and is thought by many to have originated from the indigenous Tainos of Ayiti, but there are challenges to that theory. However, New Orleanians who practice Voodoo have incorporated the tradition of vèvè into their own practices and now even have a vevè dedicated to Marie Laveau, the Voodoo Queen of the city. But to top it off, almost every museum I went to during our trip, whether they were state or community-sponsored museums,



had references to the Haitian Revolution and the impact of having a Black Empire with former slaves at the helm of the nation in the Americas at a time when the international slave trade was still active in the United States.

Finally, this trip cemented for me the fact that Haitian history is intertwined with American history in subtle and not-so-subtle ways. For example, seeing Ronald of the House of Dance and Feathers keeping a miniature version of the

Nèg Mawon statue, which is in front of the Haitian National Palace, was very pleasing to me, as the Nèg Mawon is a symbol of resilience in the face of oppression, and a source of national pride. He also had very detailed knowledge of the vèvè sigils, which demonstrated the cultural staying power of Voodoo, even as the religion remains vilified in many parts of the Americas. I would recommend visiting New Orleans and learning about the Haitian connection to anyone interested in Pan-Africanism.

Whitney Plantation: Tour Guide Ali by Joshua Troup ('21)

We were first informed by Ali that this property has been working towards becoming the best museum it can be since it was bought and renovated by John Cummings, a retired lawyer, putting up over \$8 million of his own money. The Whitney Plantation is now a non-profit organization and that makes his contributions that much more valuable.

One of the first things we came across during our tour was the Wall of Honor in which over 350 names of formerly enslaved people and their children/families were etched into slabs. An abstract interpretation of this exhibit was the fact that some of these individuals were stripped of their character by being succumbed to a name change and disillusion regarding their origin.

We then had the opportunity to tour an actual home that was the Slave Quarters. The home was almost symmetrical and was divided by one wall separating the two rooms from each other. It couldn't have been bigger, both rooms, than your typical studio apartment. However, Ali informed us that it wasn't surprising to see 5-10 people occupying the space in each room at a time. The

slaves were forced to live in severely small areas packed with as many people as possible. The Slave Quarters on this property were home to sharecroppers up until 1965!

One thing that stuck out to us during our tour was the amount of figures and statues scattered in and around the property. If you looked closely, these figures and statues resembled the children that were living there on the plantation but one noticeable feature was missing from them. Their eyes. This was supposed to symbolize the hopelessness of being a slave and living on the plantation.

Going off of the theme of hopelessness, slaves and indentured servants on this property were allowed to buy their freedom, but it hardly ever came. One person would buy their freedom and that one success story was used to sell others on the opportunity that they could buy their freedom, even if it was never going to happen.

The workers in the kitchen, which were typically women, and blacksmiths were the most valuable people on the property. The kitchen was detached from the main house but was able to efficiently cook the food in order to serve it to the slaves and workers directly in the field so they can quickly



eat and get back to work. So, they weren't doing this to be nice, but just get more out of the workers they had.

Ali was an amazing tour guide that gave us a thoughtful lesson into

the dynamic of the slave trade that goes beyond the typical history lesson. To be there in that moment was absolutely mesmerizing and extremely emotional. Ali said that the main way to destabilize the people on the plantation, and beyond in the world, was to always attack family structure and deny education. We see that today

with systemic racism targeting African-Americans in disproportionate numbers in our criminal justice system as well as the poor quality and lack thereof education in inner cities where African-Americans inhibit. What got me, emotionally, was the fact that Ali enlightened us to that Politics, Greed, and Economics are the only driving factors in society to where those in power are driven by. If it doesn't grant them more power, more money in their pockets and less in yours, they don't want anything to do with it. Those in power also use deception to those who are under them in order to confuse their human compassion for the betterment of their business. The example that was given to us that was used to illustrate the tiniest thread of hope was the Powerball Effect. In the sense that because one person was able to buy their freedom and fool the masses into continuing to work for the chance of being free, millions of people spend their money for the sliver of hope of winning the Powerball. The chances are so slim and you are better off keeping your money.

Barataria Preserve and Jean Lafitte National Park: Tour Guide Earl Higgins by Joshua Troup ('21)

Barataria Preserve is just one of SIX locations that make up the Jean Lafitte National Park service. Jean Lafitte was a pirate and by 1805 he was operating a warehouse in New Orleans to help disperse the goods smuggled by his brother. They were in on the operation together but after the US government passed the Embargo Act of 1807, they moved their operation to an island in Barataria Bay, given the name of the preserve. Lafitte was a very good smuggler and pirate because his services were even needed by Andrew Jackson to defeat the British in the Battle of New Orleans! He was granted clemency and even pardoned for his crimes in exchange for the



goods and services he provided to Jackson during this tumultuous time in our history.

During our tour of the wetlands, Earl Higgins, enlightened us on the history of bayous, swamps, marshes, and forests we encountered. That is when we learned the importance of Live Oak and Cypress trees, especially the Bald Cypress. We walked around on a boardwalk trail and a selection of dirt trails in order to learn about the animals, and invasive species (Nutria), that we would encounter in this area. We had the

opportunity to see Alligators, but luck wasn't on our side during that time of the tour. Barataria Preserve is also home to over 200 species of birds and plants in the region.

During our tour of Bayou Coquille, with Bayou simply meaning "River", we also looked at the deterioration of land/water resources that has happened as a result of ecological changes and climate change. The water supply is drying up because of the construction and maintenance of canals in the area.

Pointe Au Chien Tribe by Mikaya Auerbach ('23)

While in Louisiana, we visited the Pointe-Au-Chien tribal community. This tribe of roughly 700 members is located right on the bayou of Lake Chien. Surrounded by



water, this tribe is no stranger to natural and man-made disasters. Our hosts, Donald and Theresa Dardar were excited to take all of us out on their shrimping boat to not only experience what a day in their life consists of, but also to get an up-close look of the damage caused by climate change. While on the boat we learned how the BP oil spill forced fishermen, like Donald, to stop shrimping and work for BP's clean up efforts instead. Hurricane Katrina caused notable wind damage to the tribal community, but it was Hurricane Rita

that was responsible for major flooding. There are no protective levees and the barrier islands surrounding the community are being eroded away from rising water levels. So, when

a 9-foot storm surge swept across the community, the damage was severe. The effects of climate change could also be seen while out on Lake Chien. Significant rising water levels have caused Lake Chien and the neighboring Lake Felicity to become one massive body of water. Homes and roads built between the lakes on what used to be land, have long been swallowed by the water. The only sign that there ever used to be land there were telephone poles just barely reaching above the surface.

Joan of Arc Parade by Mikaya Auerbach ('23)



Even though we couldn't be in New Orleans for Mardi Gras, we did get to enjoy the opening night of carnival season! This night was also Joan of Arc's 608th birthday so the parade

was dedicated to her life. Joan of Arc led the French army in the 100 years war at only 17 years old, was burned at the stake when she was 19, and was canonized as a saint in 1920. The parade

was set up in sections that all showed a portion of Joan's life as well as legends about her as well. The beginning showed people dressed as knights and butterflies to symbolize the army and the legend that butterflies would follow Joan wherever she went. The middle portion featured drumlines with people dressed as skeletons to portray her death at the stake. Her canonization of becoming a saint showed people dressed in all white like angels and a single white dove meant to symbolize the Holy Spirit. Of course, there was a girl in the parade who played the part of Joan. I later learned that every year, women from local high schools and colleges go through an extensive application process in hopes of getting the role.

Katrina by Jesse Langdon ('20)

On August 29th, 2005 and in the days and weeks that followed, the greater New Orleans area experienced one of the largest man-made natural disasters in history. Hurricane Katrina made



landfall in Mississippi to the east of New Orleans which possibly led to more damage than if the storm had hit the city directly. This is because the storm surge from the Gulf flowed north into Lake Pontchartrain which inundated the lake causing it

to overflow. This outflowed into several man-built canals in New Orleans. Though the Mississippi River is vital for commercial transport, it meanders back and forth on its way to the Gulf slowing

transport. Because of this, engineers constructed the Industrial Canal which bypassed the bending river allowing ships to enter Lake Pontchartrain and access the Gulf much faster. The Industrial Canal cut directly through the 9th Ward,

separating it into the Upper and Lower 9th. During Katrina the 9th Ward was devastated due to the overflow of Pontchartrain which caused the levees surrounding the canal to break and flood these impoverished areas with up to 20 feet

Bayous by Jesse Langdon ('20)

Bayou means small stream and is derived from Choctaw, a native language of southern Louisiana. Bayou is used to describe swamp

land, wetlands, and marshes today. These natural areas are vitally important in protecting the land from hurricanes and tropical storms. As a storm approached and contacts a landmass, it begins to dissipate and cause less damage. The wetlands of the Louisiana coast are the first line of defense against hurricanes for coastal communities. However, these vital landscapes have been in

of water. Another canal, abbreviated MR-GO also caused an influx of water into residential areas during the storm. Collectively these canals are referred to as “Hurricane Highways.”

steady decline due in part to the many canals that have been constructed along the Mississippi. These canals divert river silt from being deposited in bayous and wetlands and spew it out directly into the Gulf of Mexico. With silt no longer being deposited the landmass of the wetlands is no longer being built up. Slowly but surely these coastal storm barriers are sinking into the water and disappearing. Without wetlands and marshes the impact of hurricanes and storms on the coast will be far worse in the future.

New Orleans Culture by Shayla Welch ('23)

I don't think there is a person on this earth that would accuse New Orleans of lacking culture. Because of this, I think everyone on this trip had preconceived notions about the city and its people before actually going, but what I found surprised me. I wasn't disappointed in any sense, but I found the real culture of the city to be deeper than anything I saw in movies or on TV. Sure, you can stroll down Bourbon Street on a Saturday night and find tons of people having a good time and collecting beads, but you can also find so much more. Look at the street corners. Who do you see? We were able to see so many talented musicians sharing their gifts with the world. These were all sorts of people, from a 30-year-old lady playing the violin and rapping along to the song she's playing, to a boy no older than 13 making incredible beats on a five-gallon bucket. All of them were putting their skills on display to try and make a bit of cash while making the world

a more musical place. The real culture, though, comes from the people you take the time and get to know. Our trip was marked with lots of incredible people that showed us the true culture of New Orleans. This trend was first revealed to



me when we got to know Walt, the man who runs Camp Hope, but didn't end until our very last day

in the city. We then got to know Libby, a tour guide whose family had lived in the city for 10 generations. She had such a unique and enthusiastic view of the city and her passion was infectious. This continued with Donald and Teresa, two members of the Pointe-Au-Chien Indian Tribe who were willing to take time out of their day to talk with us about their culture and give us a boat ride to see just how devastating the amount of land loss they're facing truly is. Then we met Ronald Lewis, the man responsible for

the House of Dance and Feathers. He was an incredible wealth of knowledge and confirmed that the true culture of New Orleans was strong heritage and perseverance. Sure, Mardi Gras is well known for its flashy costumes and wild parties, but what it stands for is so much deeper. It's people like Ronald who can spend hours hand-beading a costume just to keep the tradition alive. The true culture of New Orleans is the people.

Camp Hope by Shayla Welch ('23)



While we were in New Orleans, our group stayed at a volunteer base camp called Camp Hope. The building was renovated from an old Catholic elementary school in Saint Bernard Parish that never reopened after Hurricane Katrina. It is run by The Gathering, a local community center, and it was started to help volunteers make a positive impact in New Orleans without having to worry about logistical problems like where to sleep, shower, and eat. Although the building used to be a school, the creators have done a great job making it feel like a home. The second floor is entirely for sleeping and has many rooms full of bunk beds. The bottom floor has a large cafeteria area where guests can not only eat but also hang



out and play one of many table games like ping pong. There is a stage in the cafeteria that is outfitted with couches and comfy chairs, making it the perfect area to sit with your group and digest the day you had. The biggest comfort our group found while staying at Camp Hope, though, came from the man who makes it all happen, Walt.

Walt is the man that keeps everything running smoothly at Camp Hope. His day typically begins at 4:30 AM when he wakes up to begin preparing breakfast. While it would be easy to serve something like cereal and pop tarts to groups that can bring up to 300 volunteers, Walt hand makes every single meal. His signature breakfast dishes include croissants, French toast,

bagels, and pancakes- all made from scratch and served with fresh fruit. Once breakfast is served, Walt sets out a spread of everything you could need to make a sack lunch, including fresh bread for sandwiches. When the volunteers leave the camp for the day, Walt keeps working on the daily chores required to keep the camp up and running. When the volunteers return, Walt always has an incredible meal prepared for them at six o'clock on the dot. While every meal he makes is incredible, he is particularly known for

his pizza, cake, and jambalaya. After dinner, Walt would always check in with our group and ask about our day. He is not only a great cook, but he is also a great guy in general. He single-handedly made us feel so welcome and I can say with confidence that he is the reason I can't wait to return to Camp Hope someday. Walt's day would always end at exactly 10:00 PM when he locks all of the building's doors and leaves for some well-deserved rest.

National Memorial for Peace and Justice by Amy Weeks ('19)

In Montgomery, Alabama, our class made its final stop at the National Memorial for Peace and Justice, a place that honors all known and unknown victims of racial terrorism in the United States. Dedicated to African American citizens who have faced violence since the passing of the 13th Amendment, the memorial recognizes that individuals lynched and suppressed throughout the time of Jim Crow.

As the memorial states simply, lynching is racial terrorism. The multi-level, open air memorial and garden is defined by rows of hanging metal rectangles, one for each county where a lynching has occurred. All known individuals and their dates of death are written on the hanging pieces. Visitors first walk among the long metal structures, reading the names in detail. The floor gradually lowers while the metal sculptures remain in place, and visitors walk below to see the rusted metal hang above them like the bodies of the individuals they represent. On plaques along the walls, these names are given context. Crows as many as 15,000 people would gather to witness a brutal

torture and murder. The victims are primarily black men, but there are also entire families honored, lynched by a crazed mob in one day. The punishment often occurred without trial for crimes or due to breaking well understood social faux pas, such as interracial marriage or refusing to call a white man "sir."

The dark history of racial terrorism is brought into the present with the existence of the National Memorial for Peace and Justice, reminding visitors that the most recent lynching's are separated from us by a single generation. Several lynching's occurred in 1947, the year my grandmother turned twenty years old. Now, racial terrorism is present in police brutality and racial profiling, in which the victims are once again primarily black men. The last stretch of the memorial gardens are dedicated to these victims. Manchester University Peace Studies students explored the sacred grounds of the memorial, ending our trip with a somber question: how can we end the cycle of violence?

The Lower Ninth Ward Builds Again by Amy Weeks ('19)

Manchester University Peace Studies entered a community in which new arrivals are called “transplants” by the locals. There are common threads among the people of the Lower Ninth Ward in New Orleans that lead the average outsider to question why individuals in this poverty stricken, disaster prone area would return and rebuild after natural disasters for generations. The answer might be found in the culture of solidarity that creates a sense of place, reclaiming land that has been disavowed and transforming it into a home.

In the Lower Ninth Ward, people from the community have suffered loss and hardship since engineering of the neighborhood itself. It has been used as a sacrificial lamb to save more profitable business centers from floodwaters during hurricane season. The Lower Ninth Ward is

a community abandoned by city officials and left at risk by civil engineers. Yet a culture of celebration and respect blooms there, and it cannot be found outside of New Orleans. Mr. Ronald Lewis, owner of the House of Dance and Feathers, expressed his pride in the resiliency of his community and the willingness of neighbors to fight for their homes when the government

tried to seize their land to create a greenspace. Though rebuilding in the Lower Ninth Ward leaves citizens at risk to more disaster, there is no question in Mr. Lewis’s mind that people will keep returning as long as they are able. The community of the Lower Ninth Ward has become an extension of self for many individuals raised there. Rebuilding becomes deeply personal so it is not a question of if, but how.

Mississippi Sandhill Crane Refuge by Dinah Gilbert ('23)

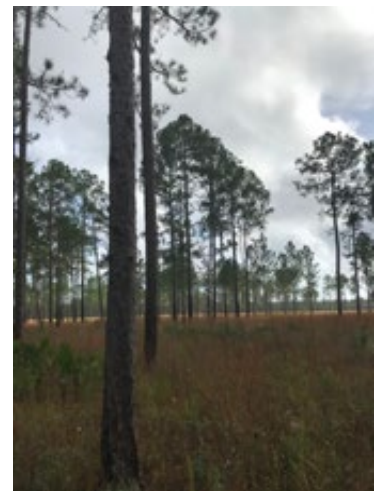


On our way to the Gulf Shores we stopped in Gautier, Mississippi to visit the Mississippi Sandhill Crane National Wildlife

Refuge. This refuge is the last area that the Mississippi sandhill cranes still live. These cranes have been listed as rare and endangered wildlife in the United States since 1968, listed officially as endangered in 1973, with less than 35 Mississippi Sandhill Cranes alive at the time.

These cranes only live in a white pine savanna ecosystem, which was being rapidly destroyed. In November 1975 more than sixteen thousand acres of land was set aside in order to try to keep these

interesting birds alive. Since then, the refuge has helped protect the cranes as they grow up. Without help from the staff and volunteers, Mississippi Sandhill Cranes would have an even smaller survival rate. For the first seventy to seventy-five days of the cranes life, they cannot



fly, so the risk of getting eaten by a predator is very high. With the help of the refuge there are now a little over 100 cranes counted for in Mississippi. Some of the birds have become accustomed to the refuge's visitors center. So, while we were at the refuge, four cranes fed in the savanna behind the visitor's center for us to watch. I have grown up with a dad that loves to

learn, talk about, and look for birds, so I found this refuge very cool! I learned a lot and enjoyed our time at the refuge and the trail they had through the savanna. This refuge has become more than just a refuge for the Mississippi Sandhill Cranes, but also a refuge for many other migratory birds and the white pine savanna ecosystem.

The Voodoo Museum by Dinah Gilbert ('23)



While in the French Quarters, we went on a French Quarters walking tour. Our

tour guide, Libby, was very informative and at one point talked about the Voodoo culture. She mentioned how Voodoo came to America and Louisiana from the Africans that were brought because of slavery. At the time, slave owners wanted Africans to practice Catholicism. Already having their own faith, Africans did not want to change, but saw that their seven powers could be related to the seven saints of Catholicism. In order to still practice their beliefs, they acted if they were practicing Catholicism by talking to the saints, when they were actually talking to their seven African

powers. After the tour we went to the New Orleans Historic Voodoo Museum. In the museum there was a setup of the seven African Powers with candles of the Catholic saint that relates to African Power. I thought that this was really fascinating that it is recognized how the two practices got intertwined. Coming into the museum with the knowledge Libby gave us, I had a more positive opinion about the religion. After being in the museum, I would not have thought of that. The museum fed the common thought that Voodoo is an evil practice, when they are not. I am glad Libby talked about Voodoo in our tour, otherwise I would have not gotten as much from the Voodoo museum and I would have come out with a completely different view of the religion. I think that without the background knowledge we had on Voodoo, the museum would have been a very different and confusing experience



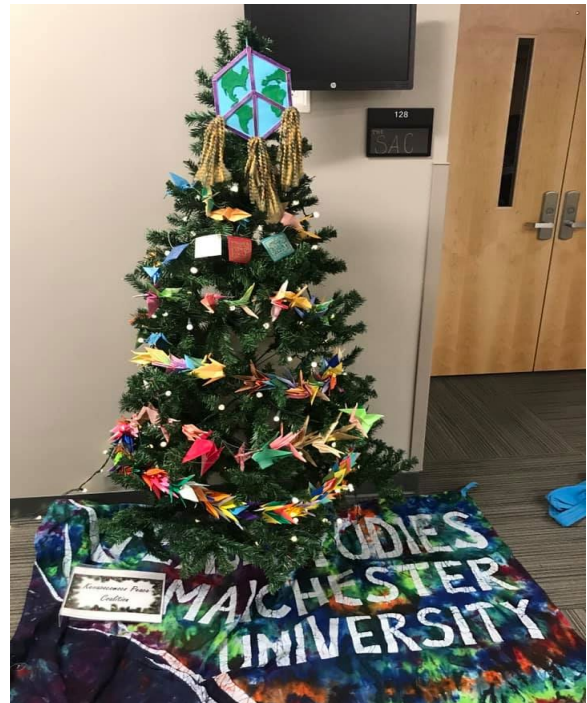
2019-2020 Photos



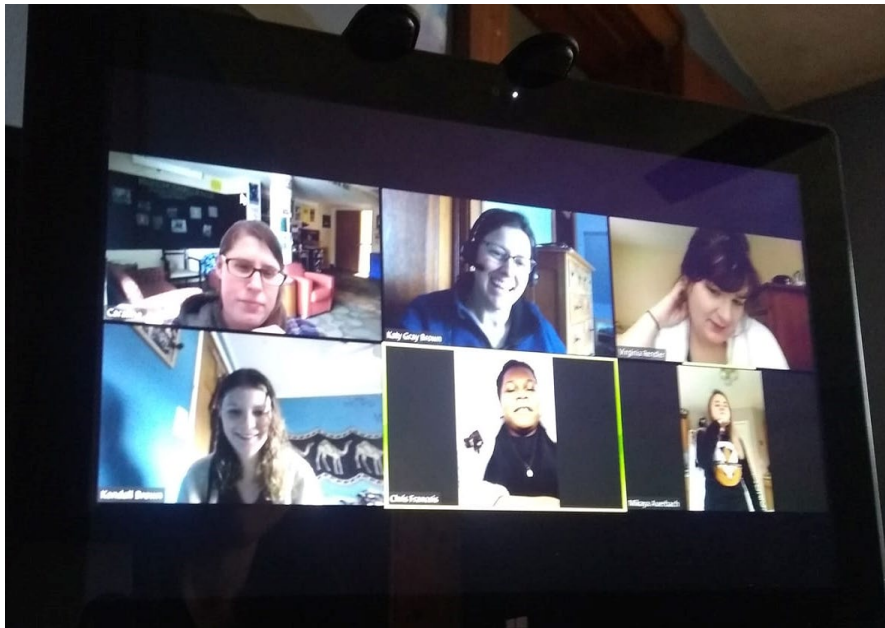
2019-2020 Kenapoc E-Board (from left to right): Jesse Langdon, Virginia Rendler, Chloe Leckrone, and Jenna Skeans at the Fall Involvement Fair



Hannah Lawning attends a Black Lives Matter Protest in N. Manchester



Kenapoc Entry into the Festival of Trees



Virtual Coffee Hour taking place over Zoom



Gladdys Muir wears a mask



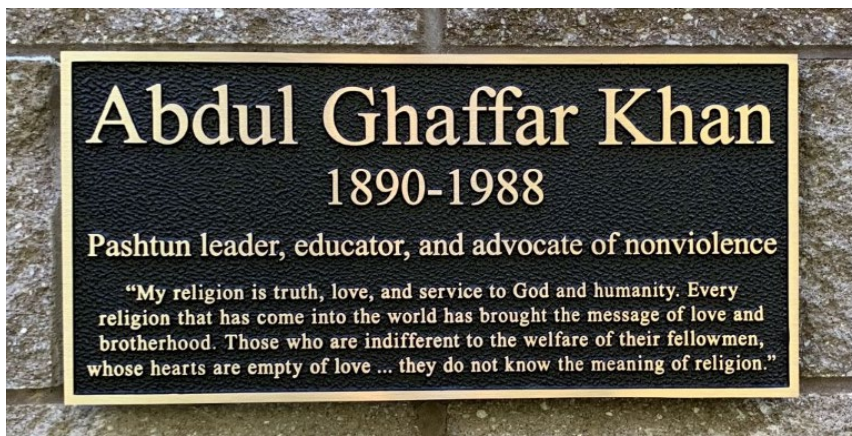
From Left to Right: Caraline Fearheller, Dr. Katy Gray Brown, Virginia Rendler, and Chloe Leckrone set up crosses on the Mall for the annual Armistice Day Memorial



Dr. Katy Gray Brown goes over Church of the Brethren History during the 2019 Camp Mack Day



From Left to Right: Jenna Skeans, Kendall Brown, and Chris Francois at the 2019 Frueauff Opening Conference, preparing for their Poverty Studies Internships through the Shepherd Higher Education Consortium on Poverty



2019 Homecoming Plaque



Kentucky Poor Peoples Campaign Tri-Chair Tayna Fogle



The 2019-2020 Amnesty International E-board (from Left to Right): Chris Francois, Jade Gourley, Virginia Rendler, and Noah Dillon

Counteracting Hispaniola's Crisis: The Rebirth of Antihaitianismo, Nonviolent Processes, and Impacts on Stateless Populations

By Chris Francois ('20)

INTRODUCTION

The issue of citizenship is at the forefront of several contemporary political crises, such as in Myanmar, where large portions of the country's Rohingya population were forced to flee to Bangladesh, or the 700,000 DACA recipients in the United States whose legal status has been in limbo in Congress. As nationalism rises in various countries around the world, the possession of citizenship is often the difference between having one's human rights guaranteed by the state or being forced to live in peripheral communities with little to no political security.

Despite the struggles faced by individuals who lack citizenship, many persons continue to function outside of their official political communities, with some spending their whole lives in statelessness—which in the international legal realm, is understood as the condition of a person that does not have the nationality of any country.

Unfortunately, statelessness persists because governments are slow to integrate undocumented persons within their borders. According to the Institute on Statelessness and Inclusion, an estimated 15 million people in the world remain stateless, based on a review of public data available on statelessness in 2014. These numbers include hundreds of thousands of stateless persons living in border towns between the Dominican

Republic and the Republic of Haiti, the two nations comprising the island of Hispaniola (2018).

The stateless population Hispaniola was born of a newly promulgated Dominican constitution in 2010, which switched its definition of citizenship from *jus soli*, or right of soil, to *jus sanguinis*, or right of blood. Three years later, a constitutional court created by the 2010 constitution ruled that the new criterion for citizenship should be applied retroactively, all the way back to the year 1929, when the previous constitution was established.

In accordance with the high court's ruling, the Dominican government began deporting several thousands of people a day, targeting anyone who could not prove their parents' citizenship through birth certificates, *cedulas* (national identification cards), or passports (Amnesty International Publications, 2015). This deportation *en masse* precipitated a crisis that created one of the largest stateless populations in the Americas.

This tactic succeeded by classifying Dominican-born children of Haitians as migrants in transit, which would make them ineligible for Dominican citizenship. The exclusion of migrants in transit from the 2010 Constitution is outlined in Chapter V, Section I, Article 18, which states that Dominicans are:

...The persons born in the national territory, with the exception of the sons and daughters of foreign members of diplomatic and consular delegations, and of foreigners in transit or residing illegally in the Dominican territory. Any foreigner [masculine] or foreigner [feminine] defined as such in the Dominican laws is considered a person in transit; (Valle Velasco, 2020, p. 18)

According to numbers published in *The Atlantic*, an estimated 500,000 to 1 million people, or roughly 10 percent of the population in the Dominican Republic, are classified as Haitian migrants; this category includes roughly 171,000 Dominican-born persons under the *jus soli* clause with 2 Haitian parents, and another 81,000 people with 1 Haitian parent. So far, around 70 to 80 thousand people have been deported from 2015 to 2018. (Katz, 2018).

While many international bodies and non-governmental organizations such as the Organization of American States, the Inter-American Court of Human Rights, the United Nations and Amnesty International condemned the decision, it remains in place, forcing even fourth-generation Dominicans to register as foreigners in the only country they have ever known, or otherwise face deportation at the hands of their government.

While the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) has made efforts to reduce statelessness in the Caribbean and Latin America, the stateless population in the Dominican Republic remains a challenge for the international community. In 2017, the UNHCR removed the figures for stateless persons in the Dominican Republic and Zimbabwe from the yearly report on statelessness, leading to a drop of almost half a million in the reported numbers. The UNHCR has explained in its footnotes that data collection efforts in both countries are ongoing, but one potential issue flagged by the Institute on Statelessness and Inclusion is the exclusion of second and third generation children born on Dominican Soil who have been affected by the rulings (Institute on Statelessness and Inclusion, 2014, 2018).

Although nation-states are sovereign in the Westphalian order, the Dominican Republic is party to the 1961 Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness, a legally binding document which states "a contracting state shall grant its nationality to a person born in its territory who

would otherwise be stateless." (United Nations, 1961, p. 7). As such, the Dominican government's refusal to comply with the convention, as well as the continuous growth of the stateless population is of significant importance to the international community because the government's decision also has lasting effects for stateless populations worldwide, insofar as their integration into their country of residence.

Research Question

There is a dearth of peace studies-guided approaches on resolutions to the crisis of statelessness in the Dominican Republic, even though the conditions underlying this human rights issue are well-known and international responses through the United Nations have been crafted for similar crises. Additionally, regional intergovernmental organizations appear powerless to enforce human rights when it comes to statelessness, due to arguments of national sovereignty by the Dominican government. This thesis, using a peace studies approach, by method of historical, political and socio-cultural analysis, provides an answer to the following question: Can a victim-informed approach in international law, in conjunction with localized efforts by the Haitian and Dominican governments, provide redress for stateless populations in Hispaniola?

I argue that the Dominican government's policies concerning populations rendered stateless by the new constitution is rooted in the rebirth of *antihaitianismo*, a racist political ideology most fully incarnated under the government of dictator Rafael Leonidas Trujillo (1930-1938, 1942-1952), who ordered the killing of tens of thousands of Dominicans of Haitian descent in 1937—an incident which is now known as the Parsley Massacre. Additionally, I posit that multipronged international, national and bi-national processes, supported by legal reforms in the Dominican Republic, will help reintegrate stateless populations into the Dominican Republic over time, as well as achieve the goal of preventing statelessness as enshrined in the 1961 Convention. I further propose that this process will significantly reduce racial and ethnic tensions on the island by bringing the community together in reconciling differences and healing its traumatic and tumultuous past.

METHODOLOGY

This research paper is a historical case study that examines key pieces of ethno-racial literature focused on the lived experiences of Blackness on Hispaniola, as well as the pieces of legislation fueling the crisis of statelessness in the Dominican Republic—namely "La Sentencia" or Sentence 168-13. Previous literature on this topic analyzed the economic impact of Haitian migrant laborers on the Dominican economy, as well as historical relationships between Haitians and Dominicans before the Trujillo regime. The information gathered from the literature serves a basis for a socio-cultural and historical explanation of illegality in the Dominican Republic as it pertains to Haitian migrants and their descendants.

My literature review draws upon works from the international community that discuss statelessness globally, as well as texts specific to the Dominican Republic. These texts were produced concurrently with others drawn from research done by Haitian and Dominican scholars on historical relations between the two countries that fostered *antihaitianismo*. My discussion examines how international law, as well as other aspects of collaboration within the international system, can play a role in mapping potential applications for the Dominican context. Finally, I also analyze the tactics used by the implicated stateless populations and their supporting organizations to deal with the issue of statelessness in the Dominican Republic.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Historical Context

In order to understand how bias pervades the denial of citizenship to Dominicans of Haitian descent and influences the ways politicians enact sweeping policies to discriminate against a particular group, one must first grasp the historical roots of *antihaitianismo* ideology. The overtly discriminatory policies and practices against Haitians in the Dominican Republic manifested through "La Sentencia" and *antihaitianismo* have their roots in a long-standing conflict between the two countries, beginning with Haiti's annexation of the Dominican Republic by the Boyer government in 1822

Usually, the argument presented against Boyer's government is that the peasant class in the Dominican Republic revolted against Haitian occupation (Wooding & Moseley-Williams 2004), but further research by Ricourt lays out how Boyer's abolition of slavery

harmed property owners and the Catholic Church in the Dominican Republic, causing them to fuel anti-unification sentiment in the country (2016).

In Haiti, the history of annexation of the Dominican Republic is largely forgotten, and what remains is the feeling of threat, as well as the overpowering racism and xenophobia coming from the other side of the island. The realities of *antihaitianismo*, while felt by Haitian visitors to the Dominican Republic, disproportionately affect migrant workers and their descendants. In contemporary Dominican history, however, the rebellion against Haiti is seen as marking the first "independence," as Spanish rule would be restored during the latter part of the 19th century—yet this Spanish annexation did not last long (Derby, 2012).

Blood: Trujillo and the Parsley Massacre of 1937

The ruthless *antihaitianismo* demonstrated in contemporary Dominican society and politics, exacerbated by the upcoming presidential elections, has not always existed within the country. While the two nations' common history plays a significant role in the later development of *antihaitianismo* on the Dominican side of Hispaniola, it was not until the government of dictator Rafael Leonidas Trujillo from 1930 to 1960 that the overt racism became a mainstay of national politics (Pons, 2010).

The key event was known as the "Parsley Massacre" by those who survived it (Ricourt, 2016). In October 1937, Trujillo's government ordered the slaughter of thousands of Haitians along the border, a gratuitous and bloody massacre of unprecedented scale in the history of Hispaniola. The massacre takes its name from a form of linguistic profiling that acted as "proof" of one's origins. In the spring of 1938, Trujillo ordered another massacre to be perpetrated against Haitians, and this time, the word parsley, in Spanish *perejil*, was used to gauge who was Haitian and who was not, as the stereotype of the time was that Haitians could not roll the "r." Unfortunately, this shibboleth was indicative of the ethnic discrimination faced by those with a Spanish accent that was not considered "proper" by the dominant voices in society (Wucker, 2000).

The Dominican government's official stance for the massacre was that it was a "spontaneous uprising of patriotic Dominican farmers against Haitian cattle thieves," (Bishop & Fernandez, 2017, para. 2), several

academics such as Ricourt (2016) and Wucker (2000) agree that the military largely perpetrated the massacre; it seems that while the army used guns to intimidate those perceived to be Haitians, machetes had been the preferred weapon for the killings, as it would make it easier to blame civilian Dominicans for the massacre. The mass killings were eventually settled with an indemnity of \$750,000 brokered by U.S. president Franklin Delano Roosevelt between Trujillo and President Stenio Joseph Vincent of Haiti, of which the Dominican government only paid \$525,000 (Wooding & Moseley-Williams, 2004).

Several perspectives have been offered on the reasons for the Parsley Massacre: some, like Ricourt (2016), argue that it was in part informed by the positioning of the Dominican Republic as a white Christian nation as opposed to the Vodou roots of the Haitian Revolution, and the subsequent Black-led Republic of Haiti. Others, like Wucker (2000), propose that the Parsley Massacre was a way for Trujillo to solidify the border that former President Vasquez had delineated with Haitian president Louis Borno; by eliminating the Haitians who lived in the border towns, Trujillo was thus cementing the official border in blood.

After a tumultuous political existence for the Dominican nation throughout the 19th century, the Parsley Massacre was Trujillo's attempt at expressing the Dominican nation as what Benedict Anderson has called an "imagined political community" (1991, p. 6). In other words, the nation is a cultural construct imagined by those who see themselves as sharing a common heritage. Thus, the definition of the nation can either be narrowed or expanded according to the people's imagination. By eliminating those who were uplifted by the Haitian national project as a "homogenous symbol of black power and freedom" (Gaffield, 2007, p. 81), Trujillo was rejecting the ideological design of the island in the 19th century, in favor of a Dominican Republic that was Roman Catholic, Spanish, Taíno and with "some" African roots.

Antihaitianismo in the Dominican Republic

In the Dominican Republic, anti-Haitian sentiment is largely defined by racial, cultural and linguistic differences steeped in colonial history and some forms of historical revisionism. Some Dominican academics such as Mayes (2015) and Miranda (2014) have pointed that the Spanish conquistadors mixed in more frequently

with the Native population on the Eastern side of the island and later on with the African population, and thus a good portion of Dominicans have more admixture than Haitians do, making their skin lighter than the average Haitian.

Whereas people who may be of similar skin tone or phenotype to the average Dominican exist in Haiti are referred to as "indios" or "morenos" to mask their Afro-descendant roots, a phenomenon Miranda classifies as the "Indio myth" (2014). A further constructed distinction in the Dominican Republic is that Haitians are usually referred to as "africanos"; sometimes the entire population of Haitians is referred to as "la raza haitiana." Furthermore, Spain's colonization of Haiti has not had the same impact as the French colonization; however, some cultural traces of Spain remain in Haitian culture.

After the occurrences of 1937 and 1938, Trujillo's government enacted various discriminatory policies, such as the Migration Law of 1939, which was explicitly constructed as a means to disenfranchise those who were perceived as Haitians, particularly in border towns in the Dominican Republic. The new migration law prohibited Haitians from entering the country except when they were needed as sugar cane workers through the establishment of worker permits with the Haitian government (Miranda, 2014).

This new law also created the division between those perceived as immigrants and those perceived as citizens, as the earlier border treaty created a suddenly "foreign" population living in the Dominican Republic. Prior to the formal definition of the border, people on the Haitian side of the island would study in the Dominican Republic, and vice-versa—with this new law, the lines of culture and society were no longer blurred.

Considering the historical evidence and arguments by various scholars (Ricourt, 2016; Wucker, 2000; Pons, 2010; Wooding & Moseley-Williams, 2004), I argue that these policies were the result of a racist ideology of *antihaitianismo* harbored by Trujillo and his government, as well as the need for the solidification of Dominican national identity after the tumultuous political period of the 19th century.

For example, on the Dominican far-right, the National Progressive Force party (NPF) has argued for a UN intervention against the "Haitian invasion of the Dominican Republic" (Ariza & Hindin, 2016). They also help further establish anti-Haitian sentiment by

inflating the numbers of actual immigrants within the country by including those born to even one Haitian parent, as demonstrated in the book *Five Hundred Thousand Haitians in the Dominican Republic* by André Corten and Isis Duarte (1995), which includes projections of the numbers of children of Haitian parents with Dominican citizenship within their statistics.

Haitian Migration to the Dominican Republic

After the Parsley Massacre of 1937 and the Migration Law of 1939, legal migration of Haitian workers fell sharply, while undocumented workers became prevalent within the country (Miranda, 2014). Limiting immigration to male sugar-cane workers effectively prevented newcomers, particularly women, from coming into the country except through illegal means (Petroziello, 2018). From 1929 until 2014, the Dominican Republic, as enshrined in its constitution at the time, implemented "jus soli" policies at random, as evidenced by the case of Yean and Bosico.

In October of 1998, the IACHR received a petition on behalf of Dilicia Yean and Violeta Bosico, who were denied birth certificates despite the fact that both of their mothers were Dominican citizens and had proof that the children were born in the Dominican Republic (Miranda, 2014). The Dominican government argued that the children were denied the nationality on the basis of their Haitian descent, but the Court rejected that claim, arguing that the "in-transit" clause could not be interpreted so broadly as to include all undocumented migrants (Baluarte, 2006).

After Trujillo's assassination in 1961, subsequent presidents continued his policy of mass deportation and restriction of Haitian migration (Wucker, 2000), especially as Haiti dealt with the Duvalier dictatorship and its own murderous impulses towards Haitians critical of the regime. However, certain Dominican governments, like the administration of Joaquin Balaguer, distributed birth certificates to Haitian sugar cane workers in the bateyes—which are settlement grounds around sugar mills—in order to win their votes in elections.

Yet, limiting citizenship for children of undocumented workers effectively infringed upon their right to vote (Wooding and Moseley-Williams, 2004). Today, Haitian migration to the Dominican Republic continues in both legal and undocumented forms, as the sugar cane

industry continuously relies on the oppression of undocumented workers to fuel the bateyes, and Dominican universities thrive on labor provided by Haitian students. Therefore, maintaining the current legal immigration system is beneficial to the Dominican economy.

FINDINGS

The Construction of Haitiano-Dominican Conflict

The Haitian-Dominican border has not always been as militarized and fraught of an issue as it currently is for both countries. Ricourt (2016) argues that the border on Hispaniola is a colonial demarcation on the island. In the 1697 Treaty of Ryswick a third of Hispaniola was identified as French and the eastern two-thirds as Spanish. Therefore, the demarcation between what is now Haiti and the Dominican Republic had been governed by colonial agreements until another treaty was signed by both governments in 1929.

Prior to the 1929 treaty, there was free movement of peoples across borders, and Haitians and Dominicans intermarried frequently, with schoolchildren in border towns such as Ouanaminthe, Haiti and Dajabón, DR going to schools on the other side of the island. It is also a natural demarcation because the northernmost part of the border between Haiti and the Dominican Republic is formed by the Dajabón river, which was one of the sites of the Parsley Massacre across the border. I would argue that the border is also cultural, as the Dajabón river is colloquially known by people in border towns as the Massacre River.

Moreover, Boyer's unification of the island in 1822 was a catalyst for current conservative Dominican thought on the island. In crafting the foundational message for *antihaitianismo*, the Trujillo government reframed the unification of the island as an act of colonization and enslavement of the Dominican Republic. However, this reframing ignored the historical context of the union. Both Haiti and the Dominican Republic were at risk of being recolonized by Spain and France, and at the time, the Dominican Republic was a politically and militarily weak nation.

The Dominican government had been debating whether to join Bolivar's Gran Colombia, but Haitian President Jean-Pierre Boyer had already garnered majority black and mulatto support with promises of abolishing slavery (Pons, 2010). However, soon after the union was

formed, the French crown threatened the Haitian government with re-enslavement, and would only recognize the independence of the sovereign island if they paid an indemnity of 150 million francs, which is now valued at around 21 billion USD, 30 million francs of which were a loan from the French central bank.

The revolution had already decimated the soil of Haiti after Dessalines's scorched earth politics, and so, Boyer required all Haitians and Dominicans to perform labor as part of the repayment plan. This led to the movement led by *Trinitarios* that was called *La Separación*, culminating in the separation of then "Spanish Haiti" from the Haitian Republic. (Pons, 2010)

Pons (2010) also alleges that the portrayal of the unification period under Boyer by Dominican historians has been tainted with white nationalism. Boyer's policies had effectively alienated the white owning class in the Dominican Republic through a series of land reforms, as well as the creation of the first lay state in Latin America and the Caribbean through the expulsion of the Catholic Church and the seizure of their property (Ricourt, 2016).

The hatred of Boyer's actions during the unification period manifested itself into a hatred of Haitians alimented by "negrophobia" (Restrepo-Rocha, 2019). For example, Ramfis Dominguez Trujillo, the grandson of Rafael Leonidas Trujillo, during his campaign for President of the Dominican Republic in 2018, argued that "we need to hold a tough and firm stance before the peaceful Haitian invasion," (Andrade, 2018, para. 10) echoing the sentiment expressed by modern Trujillistas that descendants of Haitians in the Dominican Republic are trying to reunify the island.

Historians on both sides of the island have also played a role in fanning the flames of conflict. In Haitian history books, the various times Haitian leaders have stepped onto Dominican soil have been construed as moments where they were actually welcomed into the island (Wooding & Moseley-Williams, 2004), whereas in Dominican history books, the authors assert that on their way both in and out of the Dominican Republic, Haitian revolutionary leaders committed massacres in places such as Moca and Monte Plata (Ricourt, 2016).

It is worthy to note, however, that the Dominican Republic had not actually been created until the 1844 separation with the Republic of Haiti, and many during this time period referred to what would be known in the Dominican Republic as "Spanish Haiti" (Pons, 2010)—

therefore, having dissonant histories coming from both sides of the island makes forming a coherent unifying narrative in Hispaniola difficult.

Who is Haitian in the Dominican Republic?

Before the Constitutional Court's ruling 168-13, also called "La Sentencia" by those who were rendered stateless, there was no concrete definition for who was Haitian and who was not in the Dominican Republic. Various people, including academics, have tended to lump together the children of immigrants born on the soil—who according to the previous constitution have the right to Dominican citizenship—along with their immigrant parents, some of whom may have Dominican identification. (Wooding & Moseley-Williams, 2004). Moreover, due to racist and Afro-phobic beliefs and racial classifications that are born out of the Spanish colonial-era system of *genizaros* or *castas*, anyone who has a deep complexion is often considered to be Haitian, regardless of their actual ancestry, as the Trujillo myth of a mixed-race only population with predominantly Spanish and Taíno roots does not allow for the recognition of predominantly African descent persons.

There is also the issue of discrimination against people who look phenotypically Black (Candelario, 2007), as Dominican national identity has been construed as the opposite of Haiti's Afro-centric identity. This is evidenced in the fact that the current Miss DR 2019, Clauvid Daly, was subjected to racist epithets on social media and accused of being an undercover Haitian due to her deep complexion. On the other hand, many on the far-right in the Dominican Republic have alleged that Miss Haiti, Gabriela Clesca Vallejo, is actually Dominican and has no Haitian ancestry—this was due to her light skin tone.

The common assumption in Dominican society is that Haitian immigrants are a burden who bring "voodoo" and illnesses to the country (Wucker, 2000). Yet, under the IACHR's ruling (Baluarte, 2006), the children of people of Haitian descent have the right to Dominican citizenship, and many had acquired citizenship prior to the 2010 constitution, or they have proof establishing their legal status in the country. Some studies show that contrary to popular belief, Dominicans of Haitian descent mostly live in cities like Santo Domingo, and many of them have gainful employment that is no different than other social classes in the country, with

some being employed as doctors and educators (Wooding & Moseley-Williams, 2004).

According to Restrepo Rocha, *antihaitianismo* in the Dominican Republic also affects who is seen as Haitian in the country; while Trujillo pioneered the tactic of using “perejil” as a way to distinguish French Creole speakers with a difficulty for rolling the “r” in Spanish, border guards and police are now using skin color as a way to confirm whether someone is Haitian, regardless of their ability in Spanish (2019). Therefore, the tactics used to decide who classifies as Haitian and who doesn’t have evolved over time. Therefore, if discrimination against people of Haitian descent is to be eradicated in the DR, lawmakers should reevaluate the ways that *antihaitianismo* has become entrenched in the legal fabric of the society.

How is Statelessness Created and Reproduced in the Dominican Republic?

As evidenced by the literature, statelessness in the Dominican Republic has continued to progress due to the systematic denial of birth certificates to children of Haitian migrants in the Dominican Republic. The landmark *Yean and Bosico v. Dominican Republic* case handled in the Inter-American Court of Human Rights in 2005 had previously mandated that the Dominican government actively work towards eliminating the discrimination plaguing its practices on nationality (Miranda, 2014), namely the Junta Central Electoral (JCE)'s practice of denying birth certificates to people with Haitian-sounding names (Note: Yean and Bosico are a Dominican Spanish transliteration of the Haitian last names Jean and Boursiquot).

This discrimination has been defended in court by the JCE and its lawyers, who have repeatedly argued that *jus soli* does not include the children of “illegals.” Yet, the policy of *jus soli* only applies to the child, not to the parents (Wooding & Moseley-Williams, 2004). According to the International Organization for Migration, close to 80,000 people have been deported over a span of three years, stretching from 2015 to 2018.

Additionally, thousands more have fled their homes in fear of deportation or being killed, as some of the populations were terrorized by the military and children were beaten. The Dominican government has argued that since the Haitian state has a policy of *jus sanguinis*, the deported can go and ask for a birth certificate in

Haiti. However, this is not true. Former President Michel Martelly's prime minister declared via Twitter that “ [t]he Haitian State does not receive persons at risk of statelessness” (Ariza & Hindin, 2016).

In her work on the intersection of gender and statelessness in the Dominican Republic (DR), Petroziello (2018) argued that the exacerbation of statelessness in DR stemmed from the limitations placed on female migrant workers by formally excluding them from labor migration programs, thereby forcing them to survive in ambiguous legal status. In her conversations with Haitian-descent migrant women, she found that the lack of formal documentation for Haitian-descent women was not only tied to their exclusion from migration programs, but also tied to evidence of human trafficking of Haitian women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation.

The processes in place for the registration of birth certificates also reinforces the structures of statelessness. After giving birth, foreign women are issued a pink certificate—which is not a birth certificate—that they can use to register their newborn in the Foreigner's Book and receive a birth certificate from their consulate (Petroziello, 2018). As most migrant women do not have formal documentation, whether from Haiti (Ariza & Hindin, 2016) or the Dominican Republic (Amnesty International Publications, 2015), their children become effectively stateless as they cannot acquire either nationality.

At the core of migration management is also the issue of systemic racism against Black women in the Dominican Republic. Racial markers such as skin tone and hair texture (Derby, 2012) as well as ethnic markers such as accent, are used to question the validity of documents presented by Haitian women. Another issue is the language barriers between French or Kreyòl-speaking migrants and Spanish-speaking health personnel. Health workers in charge of issuing the certificates tend to transliterate French names (Petroziello, 2018)—as evidenced by the transliteration of Yean from Jean—which results in a mismatch between the documents provided by Haitian migrants and those offered by the health personnel.

Reframing the Narrative in International Law for Stateless Persons

While previous rulings within the international court system (Miranda, 2014) have tried to address the issue of citizenship for stateless persons in the Dominican

Republic, the argument for national sovereignty has been at the forefront of the Dominican government's tacit refusal to cooperate with the rulings from the Inter-American Court of Human Rights. Instead of following the recommendations laid out by the IACHR in 2006, the Dominican government pulled out of the treaty establishing the court in 2014.

Therefore, I propose that multifaceted international, national, and binational approaches may provide relief for stateless persons while providing the recognition of national sovereignty actively pursued by the Dominican government. A victim-informed approach also provides a way for the process to be inclusive of different identities, as Recalde-Vela (2019) argues that the experiences of stateless persons will vary depending on the context they live in, as well as the harm that was inflicted upon them or their community.

As a disclaimer, I would like to note that the solutions outlined in my blueprint are dependent on the level of cooperation that can be achieved from the Dominican and Haitian governments, as well as the international community. Therefore, this blueprint should be treated as a proposal, and not as a definite plan of action.

BLUEPRINT FOR POTENTIAL SOLUTIONS

Due to the lack of recognition for Dominican-born people of Haitian descent within the legal system of the Dominican Republic, I propose several solutions under the international system of human rights for providing redress to the stateless populations. There has been a timeline of action in the international system on discrimination against stateless populations in the Dominican Republic:

2005	Inter-American Court of Human Rights rules that the "in-transit" clause for migrants must be limited in time, and that the citizenship status of the parents is not a valid reason for denying Dominican nationality to the children. (Miranda, 2014)
2014	Inter-American Court of Human Rights rules that the 2013 Constitutional Court ruling commonly called "La Sentencia" discriminated against people of Haitian descent and constituted an arbitrary stripping of citizenship for affected persons (shortly after, the Dominican

	Republic rejected the jurisdiction of the IACHR). (Organization of American States, 2014)
2017	Inter-American Court of Human Rights blacklists the Dominican Republic as part of a list of countries who have gravely violated human rights due to its structural discrimination against people of perceived or actual Haitian descent born on Dominican soil. (Toledo, 2017)

1961 United Nations Convention on Statelessness and the UNHCR

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) states that "the 1961 Convention is the leading international instrument that sets rules for the conferral and non-withdrawal of citizenship to prevent cases of statelessness from arising." (United Nations, 1961, p. 3). The creation of this Convention is based out of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights Article 15 which guarantees the right to nationality for every person. The text of the Convention further clarifies that:

Underlying the 1961 Convention is the notion that while States maintain the right to elaborate the content of their nationality laws, they must do so in compliance with international norms relating to nationality, including the principle that statelessness should be avoided. By adopting the 1961 Convention safeguards that prevent statelessness, States contribute to the reduction of statelessness over time. The Convention seeks to balance the rights of individuals with the interests of States by setting out general rules for the prevention of statelessness, and simultaneously allowing some exceptions to those rules. (United Nations, 1961, p. 3)

The text of the Convention therefore makes it clear that the national sovereignty argument used by the Dominican government, which was an original signatory to the 1961 Convention, must comply with norms on the avoidance of creating or exacerbating statelessness. Further excerpts from the text illustrate how the gender-based discrimination against migrant women violates this latter principle:

The 1961 Convention establishes safeguards against statelessness in several different contexts. A central focus of the Convention is the prevention of statelessness at birth by requiring States to grant citizenship to children born on their territory, or born to their nationals abroad, who would otherwise be stateless.

To prevent statelessness in such cases, States may either grant nationality to children automatically at birth or subsequently upon application. The Convention further seeks to prevent statelessness later in life by prohibiting the withdrawal of citizenship from States' nationals – either through loss, renunciation, or deprivation of nationality – when doing so would result in statelessness. Finally, the Convention instructs States to avoid statelessness in the context of transfer of territory. For all of these scenarios, the 1961 Convention safeguards are triggered only where statelessness would otherwise arise and for individuals who have some link with a country. These standards serve to avoid nationality problems which might arise between States. (United Nations, 1961, p. 4)

Therefore, the Petroziello (2018) argument on the reinforcement of statelessness through health workers supports the need for the application of the 1961 Convention in this case.

Pursuant to the articles established in the Convention, claimants have the right to seek redress through the office of the UNHCR.

The landmark case of Juliana Deguis Pierre (Miranda, 2014) within the Dominican government's Constitutional Court and the uprooted lives of others like Annette Jeudy, who self-deported to Haiti with neither Haitian nor Dominican documentation (Ariza & Hindin, 2016), cement the need for a path to redress for stateless populations on Hispaniola. Several groups and individuals such as Reconocido and Rosa Iris are fighting for the inclusion of stateless people within the Dominican political process and broader society. While

utilizing the United Nations process may be a slower process for those rendered stateless by "La Sentencia," it is a step forward in the right direction, given that the previous use of the Inter-American Court of Human Rights in the Yean and Bosico case have been unfruitful for the larger population of stateless people in the DR.

By solidifying the claims process for people at risk of statelessness via the 1961 convention, the international community would provide an example that could help address other cases of statelessness involving populations fleeing to another country without being offered any legal documents in the recipient country. In some ways, the crisis unfolding at the border in Hispaniola is similar to the migration and deportation of Rohingya people from Myanmar into Bangladesh, and both have yet to achieve a satisfactory conclusion since the last decade.

Bilateral Government Agreements

Previously, the Dominican and Haitian governments operated under a system of labor contracts which facilitated the creation of worker permits for sugar cane workers in the Dominican Republic. The crux of Haitian migrant flows to the Dominican Republic has rested upon the sugar cane industry. As the 1961 Convention of Stateless mandates that states find ways to reduce the possibility of populations to become stateless; given that both Haiti and the Dominican Republic have signed onto the Convention, it is the responsibility of both states to ensure that workers in this industry do not fall into illegality or move without documentation.

According to Miranda (2014), almost 90 percent of Haitian sugar cane workers currently in the Dominican Republic are there illegally. Subsequently, any children these workers bear will not have any papers, and thus will be rendered stateless due to government-sanctioned discrimination. As the Dominican Republic's Constitution has already been changed, and the Convention does provide for national sovereignty, both the Haitian and Dominican government must create a seasonal workers agreement to facilitate documented entry and exit. The last time a labor contract between Haiti and the Dominican Republic was signed was in 1986 (Wooding & Moseley-Williams, 2004), the same year of the fall of the Duvalier dictatorship. Therefore, it seems political instability has been one of the factors contributing to the illegal status of migrant workers, as well as the statelessness of their children.

Challenges of Using an International Framework for Resolving Statelessness

One needs to look no further than the case of *Expelled Dominican and Haitian People v. the Dominican Republic*, which was handled in the Inter-American Court of Human Rights (IACHR), to understand the complexities of resolving statelessness through international frameworks. According to Recalde-Vela, "the applicants claimed that excessive force was used by the authorities, including sexual abuse, psychological damage, and economic hardship resulting from the forced expulsions. Impediments in obtaining nationality for those of Haitian origin—despite being born on Dominican soil—had left thousands stateless." (2019, p. 195).

While in both cases the IACHR ruled in favor of the claimants, one of the most difficult aspects of representation in the case was verifying the identity of the stateless victims. Recalde-Vela (2019) argues that the lack of identification documents when trying to resolve the issue of statelessness makes it more difficult for victims to have access to redress in the international system. However, having international pressure exercised against the Dominican government may be the best shot for stateless populations in the country. Given those challenges, I also propose a national process that can be implemented by the Dominican government, with the presence of international observers from the United Nations and the Organization of American States.

Implementation of Law 169-14 by the Dominican Government

While the Dominican government has never recognized that the Constitutional Court Ruling 168-13 or "La Sentencia" resulted in a massive wave of statelessness, they have tried to address the issue of legal status for stateless persons. Law 169-14 divided the people affected by La Sentencia into two groups: Group A, those who had been registered in the Civil Registry, and Group B, those whose birth had never been registered.

A report by Amnesty International Publications (2015) has highlighted that several groups of people effectively remain stateless even through the application of Law 169-14 because:

- Some people are still being denied documentation and thus cannot prove their birth in the Dominican Republic
- Those whose births have never been registered do not have any papers
- Some people were wrongly registered as foreigners even though they have no Haitian documentation whatsoever and many have previously enjoyed Dominican nationality
- The children of people affected by La Sentencia, as their parents cannot register them as Dominicans in the National Civil Registry
- Children of undocumented foreign nationals who were entitled to citizenship before the 2010 Constitution due to jus soli were denied citizenship due to the retroactive application of Ruling 168-13
- Children with a Dominican father and a foreign mother do not have papers due to gender-based discrimination

Given the prevalence of statelessness in spite of Law 169-14, I further propose some recommendations that can help address unaccounted aspects of the statelessness crisis.

Key National and Binational Recommendations

As evidenced by the results of previous international pressure on the Dominican Republic, third parties to the conflict cannot be the ones who bring reconciliation in post-conflict societies. The international community must acknowledge that the reconciliation process has to be locally owned. As posited in the *Reconciliation After Violent Conflict Handbook*, "pain, misery, and discrimination can only be known and acknowledged by those who suffered and those who caused the injustice." (Bloomfield, Barnes, & Huyse, 2003, p. 163). Hence, I make the following national and binational recommendations:

- Creation of Truth and Justice Commission which will address the complaints of victims of discriminatory practices within the healthcare system, civil society and other aspects of the Dominican Republic, while making sure that any disciplinary measures are informed by the desires of the survivors.
- Publicly acknowledge the scale of statelessness in the Dominican Republic, and in conjunction with the government of Haiti, create public memorials that recognize the history of migration between both

countries, including the atrocities previously committed such as the Parsley Massacre.

- Carry out a comprehensive documentation process that identifies people who are at risk of statelessness, particularly those without documents, and pursuant the results of this process:
 - Send official representatives of the JCE in the Dominican Republic to the bateyes, sugar plantations, border and isolated rural areas of the Dominican Republic to identify the populations that have been previously denied papers by the JCE
 - Send official representatives of the Office National d'Identification or ONI (ENG: National Identification Office) to the border towns and rural areas in Haiti to document populations evicted from the DR after the Parsley Massacre.
 - Create a comprehensive joint system between Haiti and the Dominican Republic whereby those who wish to remain in the Dominican Republic have a path to stay and be legal, and those who wish to be in Haiti have the necessary travel documents and paperwork to establish residence on the western side of the island.

Does Civil Society Have a Role to Play?

Oversight by international actors within the proposed systems is not enough of a safeguard in helping implement the processes outlined in my recommendations. In order to help highlight the role civil society can play in the fair implementation of international, national and bi-national processes, I use Thania Paffenholz's (2016) framework for understanding the involvement in civil society in peacebuilding approaches of which I will only integrate four out of the seven functions of civil society peacebuilding for my analysis.

- *Protection of citizens from violence from all parties AND Monitoring of human rights violations:* Many videos have circulated on social media of military and police members abusing those perceived as being of Haitian descent. Using a bystander intervention approach, civil society, through public opinion, can condemn the actions of the government and

rally around the victim, in order to show that even the appearance of government-sanctioned abuse against migrants is detestable. Members of civil society can also report these abuses to international actors such as Amnesty International, which has dedicated report channels for such purposes, thereby helping improve the functioning of international safeguards.

- *Advocacy for peace and human rights AND Intergroup social cohesion:* Activist groups such as Reconoci.do have emerged from civil society, and helped raise awareness of the conditions of stateless people in the DR. The work of such activist groups can be broadened to apply to wider civil society by lowering the barriers to entry for action calling for peace, so that both individual and group actors are involved in the advocacy for peace and human rights. This requires a change in public opinion towards antihaitianismo.

REFLECTIONS

Summary of the Findings

In this paper, I sought to address whether a victim-centered approach in international law, coupled multipronged binational and national processes, could provide redress for stateless persons on Hispaniola. Given the previous examples of the IACHR's ruling in the Yean and Bosico case, I found that such an approach could work with limited success when paired with policy implementations at the national level in the Dominican Republic. Through the pressure exerted by the international system via the IACHR, the Dominican government provided citizenship documents to the children in the Yean and Bosico case (Baluarte, 2006).

Similarly, even after the Dominican government's withdrawal from the treaty establishing the court, President Danilo Medina caved to the court's pressure and established a residency registration program that offered a path back to citizenship to some of the people made stateless. Juliana Deguis Pierre, the petitioner in the landmark case that gave way for the protests against La Sentencia, applied to the program and had her citizenship reinstated in 2015. However, in the years since La Sentencia, only 19,000 people have had their citizenship restored (Katz, 2018), and the other tens of

thousands who were deported have yet to return to the Dominican Republic.

Therefore, previous actions at the international level have only had limited success. With Haiti's previous government refusing to accommodate the stateless populations, coupled with the narrow citizenship restoration efforts undertaken by the Dominican government, any truly successful measure involving international law will require the cooperation of both nations. Previous action on statelessness in the Dominican Republic has only involved the Dominican government, a situation which does not acknowledge the tacit agreement between the Dominican and Haitian government regarding the legal status of migrant workers, which has led to the current crisis.

The solutions proposed in my blueprint offered a path forward for redress of stateless people on the island by including binational policies for the statelessness crisis that will put an end to the legal limbo that migrant workers and their descendants in the Dominican Republic have found themselves in since 1939. Even with the border separating them, Haiti and the Dominican Republic share the same island, along with common histories of violence and oppression between their peoples. Hence, any action addressing policies that are intertwined with the island's complex and often fraught history will require cooperation between the Haitian government, with international law acting as a third-party mediator.

Contributions of the Research Paper

Given the almost decade-long period between the creation of this research project and the passage of "La Sentencia," this paper helps frame the issue of statelessness in the Dominican Republic within the broader crises happening worldwide, including the Rohingya refugee crisis, the stateless Syrian Kurds, the Pakistani Bengalis, as well as other currently stateless populations. As challenges to citizenship continue to develop in the Dominican Republic, particularly in light of the current election cycle, this thesis serves as a springboard from which I may pursue further, more complex questions at the graduate level.

This treatise also contributes to the growing body of academic literature within Caribbean Studies and Peace Studies on Haitian-descent populations in the Dominican Republic. Currently, most of the research

focused on statelessness in the Dominican Republic has been pursued by non-profit organizations such as Minority Rights Group International and Amnesty International. Finally, this thesis aims to contribute to a peace studies perspective on statelessness in the Dominican Republic, while reinforcing the socio-historical and racial arguments that dominate the literature.

Limitations of the Research Paper

This paper attempts to create a coherent narrative about statelessness in the Dominican Republic, informed by socio-historical pieces interwoven with modern legislation that sets the ground for the illegality of people of Haitian descent. Due to a lack of resources including recent ethnographic field research, as well as the limited scope of this thesis, this paper leaves many aspects of the picture of this internal conflict untouched. A fuller picture would include the recent efforts on social media by Haitiano-Dominican organizations in the diaspora and on the ground in the Dominican Republic, as well as the perspective of the Dominican government and key economic stakeholders who are at risk of losing the valuable economic bloc of sugar cane workers mostly comprised of people of Haitian descent.

While my review of the literature has given me insights into some of the background of statelessness in Hispaniola, my limited experience in the Dominican Republic, coupled with a dearth of knowledge on the inner workings of the Dominican government, makes mapping a simultaneously international, national and bi-national process an elusive goal. A better understanding of the political process in the Dominican Republic and a more thorough survey of Dominican and Haitian public opinion might alter my proposed blueprint for an inclusive multipronged process.

An additional limitation is my lack of resources for understanding the legal contexts in the Dominican Republic. It has been almost seven years since "La Sentencia" was passed, but the slow nature of the international justice system, a critical lack of investigations in DR, and the rise of far-right nationalism, made this analysis all the more difficult to accomplish.

The current political crises in Haiti also complicate the implementation of a bi-national agreement, and unfortunately, the plight of the stateless populations affected by this web of historical, socio-economic, political and cultural dealings is not a priority at the

moment for neither the Haitian nor Dominican government. In future research, I hope to explore how a victim-informed approach to transitional justice could offer a comprehensive solution to solving statelessness not just on the island of Hispaniola, but in places across the globe.

Suggestions for Future Research

Starting from late 2017 to the present moment, civil resistance movements in Haiti and the Dominican Republic have been building themselves from the ground up, and youth-led ones such as Marcha Verde and Petrocaribe on both sides of the island have culminated in energies that collaborate with each other, resulting in collectives such as Movement Azuei, which consists of Haitian and Dominican intellectuals and artists coming together to create a culture of peace on the island using various art forms.

Therefore, with increasing collaboration between civil resistance movements on the island, there is a possibility that action against statelessness could come from the people acting as the Third Side in negotiation, without the need for international actors or international law. Further research on this topic might explore how the populations on both sides of the island could unite themselves to make policy demands towards their governments on topics ranging from statelessness to election integrity.

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intimate circles of healing, in order to raise awareness of this issue both within the island, as well as the larger diaspora of Hispaniola. This research project bears witness to the daily struggles people have faced and continue to face on the island and recognizes the importance of the protection of human rights and reconciliation for Hispaniola.

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