Climate Justice Code

For artists, art workers, and arts organisations situated in the Global North

Climate Justice Code working group

The Climate Justice Code invites artists, art workers, and arts organisations to reconcile the values they (re)present with the ways they organise and operate. It proposes that they extend their sense of responsibility towards the (eco)systems they are embedded in, in order to recognise and act on the urgency of climate and environmental breakdown.

Across hierarchies of power, the Code is a demand for art workers to hold themselves and each other accountable across role and relation, and a manual to use creatively towards climate justice. Any and all responses require fundamentally transitioning away from extractive relations and systems through radical forms of action, care, and repair.

Oasco Art Institute: Working for the Commons

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FOR ARTISTS, ART WORKERS, AND ARTS ORGANISATIONS SITUATED IN THE GLOBAL NORTH

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Preamble

By the Climate Justice Code working group

The Climate Justice Code (CJC) invites arts practitioners and arts organizations to reconcile the values they (re)present with the ways they organize and operate. It proposes that they extend their sense of responsibility towards the (eco)systems they are embedded in, in order to recognize and act on the urgency of climate and environmental breakdown.

Climate and environmental breakdown have caused the Earth's sixth mass extinction event. It is disrupting and destroying generations of human and more-than-human life, shared environments, cultural practices, knowledges, ecosystems, and heritage. The accelerating extermination of so much life on this planet is a continuation of the destruction of lifeworlds that has been at the centre of over five hundred years of ever-expanding extractive colonial capitalism. The CJC is a tool for responding to climate breakdown trans-oceanically and intersectionally, across the cultural sector, highlighting the power and responsibility we all have to address the crisis.

The CJC aligns itself with the climate justice movement, which means it recognizes that climate and environmental breakdown are rooted in the extractive structures of colonialism, imperialism, patriarchy, white supremacy, and capitalism. However, those most marginalized by neocolonial racialized capitalism continue to be hit the hardest. Black, Indigenous, womxn-led, LGBTQI+, and lower caste or class communities, and others around the world, whose lands, waters, air, and lives are continuing to be destroyed, have struggled with the many crises of these extractive systems for centuries.

The CJC acknowledges the work already happening within climate justice, environmental justice, ecofeminist, and land rights movements, often led by frontline and Indigenous communities, and takes practical steps to support, reinforce, and ally with them.

For all forms of life, crises resulting from climate change challenge how to be, how to know the world, and how to understand ourselves in relation to one another and the cosmos. Any response requires fundamentally transitioning away from extractive systems and relations through radical forms of action, divestment, care, and repair.

For arts practitioners and art organizations, that means addressing our funding sources, our programming policies and practices, our accessibility policies and practices, our long-term environmental commitments and carbon footprint, our sites of practice (online and physical), our staff and support teams, our ethical practices, our transparency and accountability practices, our commitment to change, and being open to becoming smaller. It means decentering the knowledge structures of modernity and making space for a plurality of knowledges, practices, and approaches. We can't address climate and environmental breakdown without working on the interconnections between all of these issues.

NOTE

Much of the Code's writing was completed by 2021, and the Climate Justice Code working group would like to acknowledge how much has happened in the years since.

DOMAIN OF ACTION

> How can you create strategy from an encounter with the text and tactics that would be the difference, and in resonance in solidarity with this document [the CJC]? It's a diagram of how to begin to think about practical politics
>
> (Amit Rai, in conversation about CJC with students of the Dutch Art Institute)

Prompt for practice:
My name is _____.
Right now I read from _____.
I read the CJC in capacity as _____, _____,
and _____ and my domain of action is _____.

THE CODE IN ACTION

The CJC is a demand and a tool for arts practitioners and arts organizations to use and hold themselves and each other accountable – across hierarchies of power, role, position, or relation – for their responsibilities towards climate justice.

It is a code of ethics for practical application that is structured around a series of core sections. The work of putting the principles of the code into practice will take different forms depending on the context and resources of each user, so the CJC functions as an anchor to keep returning to rather than a checklist of tasks.

Individuals and organizations who take on the CJC are invited to make an ongoing commitment to develop it in practice; the CJC grows and adapts in response to the contexts and conditions it develops within.

Climate Justice

Assembled by Cannach MacBride from working group meeting and study notes

"Climate justice" as a term marks that climate and environmental breakdown is not only geological, ecological, and meteorological, but is also ethical, political, and spiritual.

The Climate Justice Code understands climate *in*justice to mean that communities in the Global North bear the historical responsibility for the majority of carbon emitted, of the Earth's resources extracted and consumed, and of the toxic residues of these activities, while communities in the Global South have been living with the effects of this extraction for far longer than the current period of "climate emergency" as perceived in the Global North – at least 500 years.

Global South and Global North are not fixed geographical locations. Communities of the Global South may be located in the geographical north of the globe, and communities of the Global North may also be located in the geographical south of the globe. Here, we have used a double meaning of the word community to include both communities of capitalism (nations, governments, corporations, and consumers) and communities of people (citizens and non-citizens). All communities also involve more-than-humans, but here the focus is on human-generated power relations.

To work towards climate justice, communities of the Global North need to bear the costs of living in climate and environmental breakdown. This means making structural and systemic change, because climate and environmental breakdown are the products of a systemic crisis of capitalism, colonialism, imperialism, patriarchy, extractivism, white supremacy, and class warfare. The corrosive planetary nature of these structures is why eighty percent of the remaining biodiversity of

the Earth is in the care of Indigenous peoples who currently make up only approximately five percent of the global human population. There can be no climate justice without Indigenous justice. Working towards climate justice requires massive shifts in what is valued.

The Climate Justice Code (CJC) is about working collectively, wherever we find ourselves, towards these shifts.

"Justice" itself is a complex term. John A. Powell writes about justice as "public love," which may be helpful in working through what follows in the coming sections of the CJC:

> This is a call to enhance love, but not just private love. This is a call to enhance public love – justice. This is a call to intentionally support the creation of structures informed by and informing our sense of social justice and spirituality. This is a call to become responsible for the institutional structures we inhabit and that inhabit us. This is a call for self- and world-making and for the bridge between them, as well as recognition that the world is deeply spiritual even at its most secular. It is a call to create and live the predicate for a beloved community.

Throughout the CJC, when the term climate justice appears, it always also carries valences of the term justice as it is used when addressing multiple oppressions: social justice, racial justice, reparative justice, healing justice, disability justice.

1 John A. Powell, *Racing to Justice: transforming our conceptions of self and other to build an inclusive society*, 2012, Indiana University Press, Bloomington. Cannach first came across this quote in the front pages of Nina Sun Eidshem's book The Race of Sound, Duke University Press, Durham, 2019.

Care and Community

Introduction

This section of the Climate Justice Code (CJC) invites the reader to engage with questions of care and community. The CJC considers these to be intimately intertwined and plural. They're presented alongside one another because they will survive and thrive when understood as an interdependent ecosystem. Practices of care and community unfold through and across time in an infinite ethico-political process and are, in part, what makes the Code feminist and decolonial.

Against a backdrop of climate breakdown and within a practice of climate justice, to engage with the Care and Community section is to ask: How to be together? How to live "well-enough" alongside one another in a non-extractive way? How to care for one another across difference? And how might arts practitioners engaging with the Code take immediate steps within their own context to account for climate colonialism and its associated, ongoing extractive practices?

With Care, the reader will discover that the very same power relations that set the scene for climate breakdown are also responsible for impoverished readings of what care can look like. In this world, most humans and all other planetary life and elemental materials are designated "resources" from which life may be extracted under the rubric of "property." Cannach MacBride unpacks how we might begin to practice care in relations that are not normative, moralistic, paternalistic, or characterized by the centering of already-privileged subjects. They propose a definition of non-extractive care that "replenishes, maintains, and sustains all forms of life and matter to live well-enough." Care provides the reader with a practical guide on how to take necessary steps towards decolonizing care work.

Community is an open-ended process that is "permeated with indeterminacy." Community – described as an embodied and enacted experimentation in being together – emerges and meanders through "unpredictable encounters between people, materials, contexts, physical environments, ideas, feelings, and experiences." When experimenting with community, Ana Inés Heras, Leo Hwang, Aviv Kruglanski and Molly Mullen on behalf of the Community Economies Institute write that "power can become embodied as an energy to *do something together with others*." This empowering possibility is one that can be carried across the entire Code.

There can be no "one size fits all." Practicing Care and Community requires co-maintenance and accountability, as well as bravery and perseverance – in so far as accounting for and working away from the damaging systems that shape us takes courage and time. And applying its lessons calls for creativity and expansiveness.

Care

By Cannach MacBride

The climate crisis and its embedded injustices have grown out of extractive practices where some human subjects designate most other humans, all other forms of life, and all of the elemental materials from which the Earth and its ecosystems are formed, as "resources" from which life is extracted by being folded into the category of "property." The many possible types of value become diminished in the drive towards the one with the highest monetary return in the immediate present (which includes a short conception of the future): surplus value. All of the forms of life and matter that are not "some human subjects" are given differential property values based on the diminished system of value practiced by these "some human subjects." The replenishing, maintaining, and sustaining of all forms of life and matter to live well-enough is not accounted for in this system.

Writing this here now, I take as a given that normative ideas of care and the devalorization of care work and care needs are rooted in the same patriarchal, colonial, capitalist, extractivist power relations that have brought us – this differently implicated and interdependent us – to climate crisis. I consider possible extensions and limits to necessary forms of care for working on climate injustice: how to care in non-extractive relations? In other words, how to care in relations that are not normative, moralistic, paternalistic, centered on "some human subjects," or given in a relation of "benevolent" dominance with a savior mindset?

This text offers some propositions for non-extractive care, followed by a set of "prompts to practice" through which readers may work on bringing these propositions into everyday life.

Non-extractive care: care that replenishes, maintains, and sustains all forms of life and matter to live well-enough.*

PROPOSITIONS

This non-extractive care means not imagining or assuming one kind of being or one mode of existing at the center of our practices. It is practicing knowing that everyone is different and has different and dynamic needs; these differences are what connect us as we journey into non-extractive modes of caring. Two warnings: thinking that one practice or context can care for all the different needs is inevitably exclusionary; and trying to imagine what others need *for* them without ongoing engagement and collaboration *with* them, and without a full awareness that your needs are tied into theirs, will inevitably reproduce exclusionary logics and assumptions.

This non-extractive care is **relational, messy, and cuts through all forms of life and matter**. Practicing non-extractive care begins in our immediate contexts, but each immediate context is eventually connected to every other immediate context through the relations of imperialist white-supremacist capitalist patriarchy (following bell hooks' descriptive formulation) and through the inseparability and interdependency of all the Earth's ecosystems. Practicing non-extractive care requires ongoing awareness that each of our immediate and locally specific contexts has differing impacts on the interdependent web of contexts.

This non-extractive care requires **listening** in order to co-create practices of solidarity, support

and learning across contexts. It recognizes that the vast complexity of imperialist white-supremacist capitalist patriarchy poses challenges to thinking and acting and proposes listening to those embedded in other contexts as a necessary step in working together in and across difference.

This non-extractive care is **sharing**, which is replenishing, redistributing, and making reparations. For many reading this text, non-extractive care means contributing more and extracting less.

This non-extractive care is an infinite ethico-political process of co-maintaining the present to co-create the future. It is feeling through and working with our shared yet differing responsibilities and holding each other accountable to them. This maintenance is **dynamic** not static.

This non-extractive care is **poly-temporal**, which means attending to those who were and will be as well as those who are now. The caring practices of those who came before made our existence. Our caring practices in the present create the possibilities of existence for those coming after.

This non-extractive care involves **repairing** and **healing** damage, neglect, violence, and pain.

This non-extractive care is **ongoing** and requires work and feelings, attempts and failures, and finding ways to sustain and continue. It is **difficult** and can involve conflict; cause harm in its messiness, which then needs to be repaired; feel boring and laborious because it has been systemically devalued; feel joyful; involve doing less and more, which can feel confusing;

involve noticing, which can feel painful and delightful; feel uncertain; feel constraining; feel improvised; and feel endless – because it is.

PROMPTS TO PRACTICE

The following prompts are intended as a starting point to guide reflection on where you are now, and to identify actions you can take to transition towards non-extractive care in your everyday practices. You can use them alone, with people you share communities with, or with people in your workplace. As you use them, keep thinking about what alliances and coalitions you are fostering and supporting.

Reflection: Who is centered, intentionally or unintentionally, in your working practices?

- Who and what is paid or unpaid?
- Who and what is and is not acknowledged?
- Who and what are the imagined and the actual producers, participants, and publics?
- Who and what are your collaborators?
- What relations to time are privileged?
- What are the power structures involved in how you or your organization work? For example, team hierarchies, decision making processes, financial structures, funding sources.
- If you have an accountability structure, what do they hold you accountable to? And who and what are part of that structure? An accountability structure could be your board, your mentors, your community, or your dependents.

Action: What could you change today, next week, next year to move towards an active practice of non-extractive care?

Reflection: How do you sustain yourself and where do those resources come from?

- Who and what is involved in your supply chain? Are they able to sustain themselves?
- Who and what is embedded in the historical accumulation of value that you or your organization has today? Historical accumulation of value is present in the the region and country you are in, your body and its relation to other bodies, and in your degree of access to financial, educational, or state resources.
- Do you recognize the emotional work that keeps everything going? Who and what does that work? How much of it do you do?

Action: What could you change today, next week, next year to move towards an active practice of non-extractive care?

Reflection: Where could you redistribute surplus and divest from extractive practices to transition towards non-extractive care?

- What are the effects further along the supply chain of the tools and supports you use? In other words, what do you do now that has longer term effects that deplete others? If you don't know, how can you find out? Tools and supports could be: financial services, energy supply, reproductive labour, IT services, consumable goods, building infrastructure.
- What do you do now that you don't need to do?
- What do you not do now that you could begin right away?
- How could you practice listening?
- How can you keep on working on the power structures that are involved in how you or your organization work?
- How can you work, and keep working, on repairing?

- What could be the impact of your actions in one hundred years' time?

Action: What could you change today, next week, next year to move towards an active practice of non-extractive care?

*The idea of non-extractive care itself came from a reading together of Macarena Gómez-Barris, María Puig de la Bellacasa, and Silvia Federici. It draws on Silvia Federici's definition of reproductive labour, María Puig de la Bellacasa's definition of care ethics, and Macarena Gómez-Barris's work on decolonial queer femme resistances to extraction. The elaboration of it came through the work of these people whose words and actions have been present while I wrote this text: Ailton Krenak, Alison Smith, Ama Josephine Budge Johnstone, Aio Frei, Beatriz Nascimento, Bonaventure Soh Bejeng Ndikung, Christina Sharpe, Clementine Edwards, Emilia Beatriz, Ferdi Thajib, Foluke Ifejola Adebisi, Jay Tan, Kathryn Yusoff, Keguro Macharia, Leah Lakshmi Piepzna-Samarasinha, Millena Lízia, Rosalba Icaza, Suzanne Dhaliwal, Taraneh Fazeli, Ying Que, Camilla Rocha Campos, Prerna Bishnoi, and Ali Hussein Al-Adawy.

Communities

By Ana Inés Heras, Leo Hwang, Aviv Kruglanski, and Molly Mullen, members of the Community Economies Institute

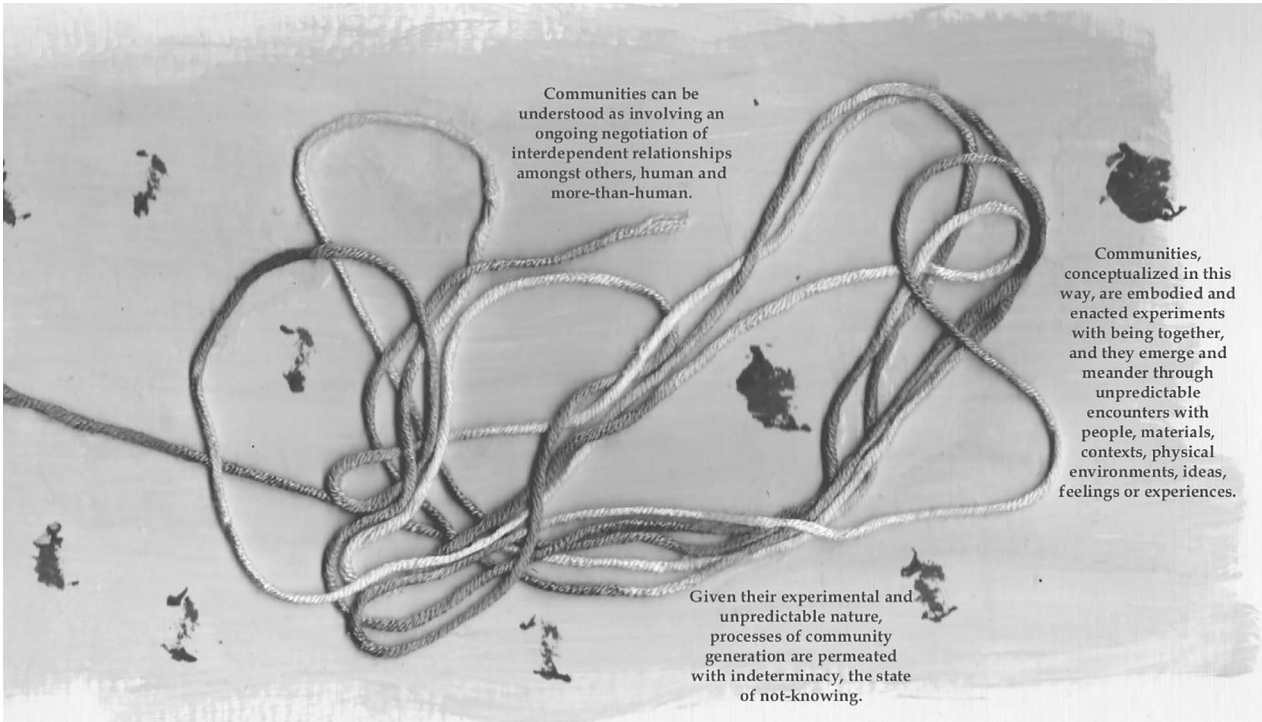
Communities can be understood as involving an ongoing negotiation of interdependent relationships amongst others, human and more-than-human.
Communities, conceptualized in this way, are embodied and enacted experiments with being together, and they emerge and meander through unpredictable encounters with people, materials, contexts, physical environments, ideas, feelings or experiences.
Given their experimental and unpredictable nature, processes of community generation are permeated with indeterminacy, the state of not-knowing.

Image credit: Ana Inés Heras, Leo Hwang, Aviv Kruglanski, and Molly Mullen, 2020.

[Image description: a hand made collage of multicolored wool arranged in a gently knotted tangle on a roughly painted background with paint splurges on it. Three phrases from the Communities essay are overlaid.
1. Communities can be understood as involving an ongoing negotiation of interdependent relationships amongst others, human and more-than-human.
2. Communities, conceptualized in this way, are embodied and enacted experiments with being together, and they emerge and meander through unpredictable encounters with people, materials, contexts, physical environments, ideas, feelings or experiences.
3. Given their experimental and unpredictable nature, processes of community generation are permeated with indeterminacy, the state of not-knowing.]

Communities involve the ongoing negotiation of interdependent relationships among others, human and more-than-human. Communities, conceptualized in this way, are embodied and enacted experiments in being together, and they emerge and meander through unpredictable encounters between people, materials, contexts, physical environments, ideas, feelings, or experiences. Given their experimental and unpredictable nature, processes of community generation are permeated with indeterminacy – the state of not-knowing.

However, communities are frequently constructed and talked about as complete, homogenous, and human-only entities. When enacted in this way, communities can be co-opted to undermine

climate justice by feeding and legitimizing projects of exploitation, and driving socially and environmentally corrosive dynamics of exclusion/inclusion. In this perspective, a "finite/exclusive" version of community upholds the operation of power as a force over others. A question thus arises: Is it possible to counter/unravel the oppressive power of these finite/exclusive communities? What notion of power needs to be enacted and conceptualized if we position ourselves as counteracting an exploitative perspective?

When experimenting with community as an open-ended process, power can become embodied as an energy to *do something together with others*. Rather than enacting power over others, it can be negotiated carefully, in diverse ways, supporting us all, and purposefully and actively negating conditions of exploitation. Such experiments with ethical and just ways of being together involve experiences of not-knowing, discomfort, and failure, but can also bring pleasure, wonder, and self- and other-awareness. Importantly, the varied, vibrant feelings involved when working through the power dynamics of interdependency can energise collective determination and action to change things as *they are*. In the context of the Anthropocene, it is our collective action that has altered the environment, but it is our collective action that can (and hopefully will) mitigate the worsening impacts.

Experiences in and of the arts make distinct and important contributions to such processes, worth exploring here. Collective artistic processes can sensitize us to our own being together-ness, providing methods and mediums for expressing, narrating, and simultaneously critiquing the very intricate experiences

we are enacting. Artists, contemporary society's professionals of indeterminacy, bring toolkits for experiments of this sort. Artistic techniques such as juxtaposition, assemblage, drift/derive, and the use of the ready-made place encounters and indeterminacy at the centre of learning and doing. Experimenting with such techniques makes interdependencies embodied, visible, and palpable. They draw attention to the ways concepts such as us-them are being constructed and provoke processes of re-imagining, deconstruction, and reconstruction. Such practices can also tacitly critique centralized and oppressive power structures. Through these critiques artists allocate their attention: looking for agency, authorship and collaboration everywhere; exploring and employing collective assets through co-creation; and enacting an ethics of openness and a politics of possibility.

Reparations, Rematriation, and Repair

Introduction

By Teresa Borasino

What are ways of meeting climate justice that evade Western colonial and capitalist logics? What are the missing pieces in the cultural sector's movement for justice? What are the risks that we, as artists and cultural workers, are willing to take to achieve the cultural transformation required in these critical times? What are we not willing to let go of?

The following essays do not offer ready-made answers to these questions. Instead, the questions they ask aim to beget a different kind of agency in the arts and cultural sector – a responsibility that is aligned not with the rising of CO_2 emissions, but with the conditions that created the climate crisis in the first place. The questions and the narratives the essays offer are tools for destabilizing the colonial and capitalist logics, behaviors, and mechanisms ingrained in the cultural structures that sustain Western society, and for imagining other realities entangled in mutuality with the living world.

The intra-action[1] that emerges from the relationship built between the different authors, artists, and cultural workers that have participated in creating this compilation of reflections around climate justice in the cultural sector presents the necessary framework to think about creative ways to interweave climate justice with healing justice – the politics of collective care that intervenes in generational trauma rooted in systemic violence and oppression. Intra-action refers to entangled agencies: the ability to act emerges from within the relationship and not outside of it. The five essays in this Reparations, Rematriation, and Repair section co-constitute a distributed agency, like a mycorrhizal network that heals illnesses while growing in solidarity and care.

Let me take you through an impossible exercise that will reveal the importance of this framework. Close your eyes and imagine we could remove settler colonialism, imagine we could undo the taking of land from Indigenous peoples and the destruction of their ways of being in the world, imagine we could erase the transatlantic slave trade from history. What would be left of Europe if we would take those foundations away? Nothing. And everything. A different form of life altogether.

The question would then be: How can we eradicate the plantation that proliferates the suffering, pain, and dying of people of color and working class people, as well as their displacement and dispossession? How do we do this while we heal the Earth in a way that brings justice to past harms? The process of leaving the plantation is as important as arriving on the other side. How do we distribute the pain and the joys, the burdens and the benefits, that are intrinsically part of the journey towards the so-called Just Transition? And I would say the "Global North", especially those high carbon emitting countries that have a history of colonial domination, like the one I'm writing this introduction in, must be made accountable and be on the hook for carrying the burdens of the transition to a new system.

To translate these questions into a pathway for a cultural transformation, the call here is to rethink the foundations of our cultural institutions and intervene in the structures that keep them operating and performing "art as usual." If we understand that transatlantic slavery and colonial violence built the world we live in today, that rich countries and corporations continue controlling the economy and social life in impoverished places, that our institutions owe their existence to the conditions

that produce genocides and a continuous mass-scale ecocide, then what will you do with the next funding you get? What will you do with the inflated budgets curators get to produce exhibitions that showcase "art as usual"?

"Art as usual" is all the ways of production of and circulation in the arts that rely on the exploitation and extraction of people and ecosystems, and on the extraction of their stories, materials, land, and knowledges for the benefit of the artist's career and the further establishment of the institution. Many artists and cultural workers enjoy funding for projects that "make visible" the suffering of others, only to accumulate cultural capital. Art has never been neutral, and neutrality has never been harmless. The art world as we know it has become a harmful system embellished by frequent air travel, fancy hotel rooms, cocktail parties, talk shows, etc. Having a long list of artist in residency positions on your CV has more value than relationships built over years of deep and careful work with a local community. This old paradigm cannot continue, it is dying from within.

The essays compiled in the following section call us to divest from the hegemonic – capitalist, anthropocentric, colonial – culture that fuels the myriad of crises humanity is facing. It also calls for a thorough reorientation of the discussion about how to achieve justice and what we should be looking for out of justice in response to the climate crisis, by proposing three key calls to action: reparations, rematriation, and repair. These are key elements for achieving justice that are grounded in Black, Brown, Indigenous, queer, and trans experiences and lineages, all from an eco-feminist and decolonial standpoint.

Centering the voices and guidance of the ones that face unspeakable oppressions currently and intergenerationally, including the commonly forgotten working class, is extremely important to counter the mainstream climate framework and outdated cultural paradigm that perpetuates the same old colonial violence as in the last 500+ years. The artists and cultural workers authoring this compilation "live with the threats and violences of displacement, white supremacy, racism, and hetero-patriarchy from cultural institutions with the privilege of colonial amnesia" in Ama's words.

They ask us to turn our heads, our attention, our hearts, and our bodies to a different cultural formulation. But nothing appears in the world without risk and retention. The stakes are high and artists and cultural workers in Europe are anxiously holding on to their cultural capital in denial that the old structures are falling apart. How is it that we're going to respond to this call? Are we going to repeat the same mistakes or are we going to dare to take risks that will undoubtedly lead to new mistakes in a collective and coordinated action to exchange a culture of scarcity and war for one of solidarity, care, and a wholesome relationship to the planet and to each other.

1 “Intra-action” is a concept Karen Barad uses in place of “interaction.” For Barad, the term interaction presumes that matter can be separated into units/bodies/things who then relate to one another, while the term intra-action is a way of giving language to the fact that all relationships are dynamic and take place between entangled matter. In Barad’s thinking, language use matters because discourse is always already material. This distinction between interaction and intra-action significantly complicates notions of agency and ethics.

See: Karen Barad, 2007. *Meeting the Universe Halfway: Quantum Physics and the Entanglement of Matter and Meaning*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Framing Part One: Towards an Anti-Capitalist and Anti-Imperialist Climate Justice Code

By Pau(la) Chaves Bonilla

Jlajeljo´tik te lekubteselike
(Tseltal [Mayan] slogan: Your development is our assassination.)

Image credit: screengrab from the YouTube trailer for *Daughter of the lake*, 2015, by Ernesto Cabellos, which was filmed around Yanacocha gold mine, near Cajamarca, Perú.

[Image description: police in riot gear line up in a muddy landscape. Beside the riot police, several people in military dress are grouped around two cars. Subtitles read, "It's greed for gold that makes them want to take my land by force."]

This Climate Justice Code is an anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist response to contemporary power structures like racism, classism, ableism, eurocentrism, sexism, heteronormativity, and anthropocentrism that are at play and entwined with the extraction, exploitation, and destruction of the Earth's resources, human and more-than-human alike. In this Code for arts institutions, organizations, and practitioners,

we reject any form of separation between economy, politics, and ecology as a legacy of the necropolitics we want to fight, dismantle, and resist.

This holistic interpretation is inspired by Enrique Leff's critical "political ecology," an interdisciplinary academic and activist field which denounces the impact of capitalism on "ecological distribution." This theoretical framework introduced the idea of "ecological debt" as a :

> strategic concept...questioning the legitimacy of the economic debt of poor countries and exposing the largest, and until now submerged, part of the iceberg of unequal exchange between rich and poor countries; that is, the destruction of the natural resource base of the so-called underdeveloped countries, whose state of poverty is not due to a cultural essence or to their limited resources, but to their insertion in a global economic rationality that has over-exploited their nature, degraded their environment and impoverished their peoples.[1]

It is clear that the socio-economic and political systems at work determine the ways in which we relate to our environment and other living beings. This Code therefore rejects any trendy, mainstreaming, or assimilatory art-institutional agendas that are targeted for profit and not for the transformation of power structures in favor of justice, reparations, and repair. This Code won't be asking the common, opportunistic question: How can contemporary politics benefit our artistic agenda? Instead it asks: How can our politics inside art institutions be more attuned with urgent, contemporary political debates?

Creating a Climate Justice Code for arts organizations and arts practitioners in the contemporary political climate requires that we always situate the fight for climate justice within the framework of social justice. The need for permanent growth and economic pressure over as-yet-non-exploited territories in the Global South is growing: natural reserves and collective lands are being pushed to accept extractivist projects of high ecological and human impact. Many of the people who live where the resources are buried are not interested in this capitalist imposition of development, so they are defending the autonomy of such territories and ways of living, risking their livelihoods and lives.

In the south of Colombia for example, the Minga – an interethnic organization with the presence of Indigenous, Afro-descendant, and peasant communities – operates to defend the autonomy, self-governance, and local economic projects of its collective territories, which have been under severe attacks. Carlos Alfonso Negret, Colombian Ombudsman, exposed the assassination of five hundred and fifty-five social leaders between 2016 and 2019 by military and paramilitary groups.[2] Meanwhile, the right wing governments of Santos (2014–2018) and Duque (2018–2022) attempted to fracture the Minga's interethnic organization by selling the lands of one community to the other, or dividing the infrastructure and financial support unequally among its constituent populations.[3]

Another example is the touristic project of the "Mayan Train" which aims to connect the Mexican states of Chiapas, Tabasco, Campeche, and Yucatán, and is attempting to privatize reserves of water, increase the presence of small hydroelectric plants, and implement mining extraction while forcefully

displacing or killing Indigenous peoples with the help of paramilitary groups.

The following key concepts are necessary for understanding the complexity of relations in the example above. *Racial capitalism* helps us understand how producing a hierarchized differentiation of race, culture, and gender is necessary to maintain a capitalist order of power accumulation and its unequal ecological distribution. *Neocolonialism* makes us aware of how the previous colonial logics of oppression continue in the present through the economic implementation of capitalism, globalization, cultural imperialism, and conditional aid. *Mobility regimes* (institutionalized regulatory structures that control mobility like laws and borders) help us to recognize the power structures that dictate who has the right to move and who hasn't based on their nationality, passport privileges, and economic status. *Ecocide* acknowledges the destruction of the natural environment by deliberate or negligent human action and complicity.

The works of this Code mobilizes from ancestral, anti-imperialist, and anti-capitalist legacies, like the Minga, the Zapatista Army of National Liberation, and the international movement of water defenders, that work towards creating transnational solidarity bonds between different communities resisting and fighting capitalism and imperialism in all its forms. These are autonomous and self-governing initiatives that highlight the struggle against capital and the division that it creates among communities in the fight towards collective liberation. They lead a path towards ethical practices that embrace, nourish, and support diversity in both human and more-than-human lives, while working ceaselessly to dismantle any relationship based on extraction and

exploitation. For art institutions and art practitioners, this means to examine and beware of the ways in which our modes of production are serving profit-making logics (capitalism) or cultural hegemony (imperialism) and work to both dismantle and transform them.

Responding to these planetary issues from contemporary art practices, social movements, and activist initiatives requires that we are aware of the ways in which our struggles and technologies are being detached from their contexts of origin (for instance in the digital sphere), rendered politically "neutral" and appropriated by capitalist techniques like greenwashing, blackwashing, artwashing, and pinkwashing.[4] All of these are capitalist cleansing technologies in which climate justice, Black liberation, art practices, and LGBTQIA+ rights are appropriated by spin marketing techniques to clean and redeem the public image of countries, institutions, companies, or public figures that have engaged in unethical practices and structural violations of human rights.

These cleansing technologies are lethal practices that seek profit at the expense of whatever and whoever, while at the same time serving to demobilize and discipline social movements into corporate initiatives. We must learn from the historical entanglement between art and capitalist politics and recognize how art has been instrumentalized as a weapon to deceitfully and successfully help spread the belief that "democracy" and "freedom" equal capitalist consumption.

The art exhibition *La Ruta de la Amistad*, launched to celebrate the Olympic Games in Mexico city in 1968, exemplifies this brutal practice well. At the time, Mexican students were protesting against authoritarianism and

repression, and in favor of autonomy for universities. Mexico was the host city of the Olympic Games and the un-legitimated authoritarian government wanted to increase its popularity by launching an apolitical art exhibition of international sculptors curated by Mathias Goeritz Brunner, a German-born Mexican modernist abstract artist.[5] Goeritz Brunner had been working on the creation of what he termed "emotional architecture," a new movement intended to replace the revolutionary expression of nationalist muralism.[6]

His work was strongly criticized by David Siqueiros and Diego Rivera, both painters who held militant convictions about arts as an expression of the social demands of popular and racialized groups. *La Ruta de la Amistad* was the world's biggest sculpture corridor, including more than twenty large scale concrete pieces located in the streets near Olympic locations. Artists were invited to make formally abstract and ideologically neutral works about friendship between peoples and nations.[7]

On 2 October 1968, while the so-called "neutral" art exhibition was occupying public space in Mexico City, the State Forces attacked and murdered around 325 protestors in the Tlatelolco massacre, one of the worst urban massacres in the history of Latin America. Despite the state violence, the Olympic Games Mexico 68 and *La Ruta de la Amistad* were launched on 12 October 1968.

This is why the Reparations, Rematriation, and Repair section of this Code calls for divesting from artwashing practices like gentrification, and their exoticization, romanticization, and depolitization of racialized, queer, and non-normative bodies. It calls for divesting from the censorship and suppression from visibility of critical

artworks that expose, challenge, and hack neocolonial powers structures. And it calls for divesting from the globalization of artistic modes of production and the promotion and sponsorship of artistic proposals that are detached from and in denial of the urgent and critical political climate that suffocates our communities.

To move towards reparations, rematriation, and repair would then mean to reconnect to our sense of belonging within our artistic practices. The art market – as we know it nowadays – has been historically complicit with hegemonic power, while the governments of the dominant world powers, the international banks, the International Monetary Fund, and the multinationals still continue to deny the role they play in upholding neocolonial and imperialist legacies.[8] To feel-think about reparations, rematriation, and repair is then to imagine the possibility of return, the possibility to feel at ease, safe, and respected within art institutions. To feel safe, we must regain trust and to regain trust we must consent to the narratives displayed. Rematriation and repair is letting people tell their own narratives and histories and own their culture and struggles, while bringing their abusers into a process of accountability, responsibility, and reparations. For art institutions, this would mean asking themselves a lot of questions: Who's telling the story? Who's consuming it? Who chooses who can stand up to tell the story? Who gives the funds? Who's producing it? Who receives institutional support? How is this project helping to end and transform the current order?

The economic geographies of the art market reflect the neocolonial power structures of the so-called "first world vs third world" in which the Global South is exploited to provide the high living standards of the

Global North. Drug trafficking gives us a clear example of this. While the biggest part of production of drugs happens in the Global South, 97.4% of drug trafficking profits stay in the Global North.[9] While people in the Global South are risking their lives to survive this illegal and violently persecuted business, wealthy people in the Global North are consuming the largest quantities with no major repercussions.[10] The same can be said with artists and cultural organizations and institutions of the Global South that are in constant fight to stay afloat while the cultural and art institutions in the Global North have the biggest art subsidies in the world and the stability that comes with such structural support.[11] All of this wealth comes at the expense of the dispossession of our lands, the "narco-gore violence"[12], and the genocides of working class and racialized populations in the Global South.[13]

"What will a process of accountability look like in the brutality of the present times?" asks Cameroonian scholar Achille Mbembe before going on to define brutality "as that which wants to stop negotiation, contestation and agreement. That which wants to reach impunity, to be exempt from taxes, justice and accountability."[14] The Code brings this question to bear on arts institutions by asking them to commit to climate justice not only in public programming and anti-racism statements but sustainably, holistically, structurally, across the board, on every level.

The Code welcomes and also promotes institutional critique, contestation, and disobedience as sites of political effect. These all require the return of political agency, self-governance, and autonomy to the people and our surroundings and understand the power of art as a tool for social change that is

not subordinate to institutional corporate agendas. This Code materializes the desire to invest in local initiatives that nourish and seed the communities and art institutions we are part of and in relationship with. It calls for a diligent practice of self-reflection within art institutions as well as engagement in conversations with governments to transform the profit making logic of their spaces and the architecture of their structural funding into ethical, plural and public platforms in service of society's emancipation.

Practices – like the ones initiated by If I Can't Dance, I Don't Want To Be Part Of Your Revolution, Veem House for Performance, or Kunstinstituut Melly – where artists are invited to collaborate in curatorial agendas, names of institutions have been changed to stop reflecting the glorification of a colonial past[15], and artistic directors are engaging in public discussions to try to keep diverse voices in the art field alive[16], give us a light on how to start making this shift. The creation of this Reparations, Rematriation, and Repair section within the Climate Justice Code also exemplifies how art institutions (in this case Casco Art Institute: Working for the Commons) can give space to artists, activists and marginalized voices to meet, imagine, and build more ethical and inclusive platforms and institutions together.

Practicing this Code means to put at the forefront the work of the commons and that which we share, that which is diametrically opposed to the ideas of sameness, universality, and homogenization that capitalism propagates. Collective memory – an axis to the ancient wisdom kept and transmitted by our ancestors – reminds us how worthless this present of death and destruction is and dares us to recognize our limitations as human beings who are a small part of the

history of the planet Earth which is older, bigger, and wiser than us. It reminds humans to have no vocation for eternity or control, yet have no fear to exist, honor, and care for the very existence of life, for an organic organization of our environments where we live in bio-symbiosis and mutuality with our diverse surroundings.

1 Enrique Leff, 2006, "La ecología política en América Latina. Un campo en construcción." In, Héctor Alimondra (ed), *Los tormentos de la materia. Aportes para una ecología política latinoamericana*. Buenos Aires: CLASCO, pp. 23-24.

2 Colombian Ombudsman Office, "Al menos 555 líderes sociales han sido asesinados entre 2016 y 2019: Defensoría del Pueblo," *Defensoría del Pueblo Colombia* website, 15 January 2020. Available here: https://www.defensoria.gov.co/es/web/guest/-/al-menos-555-l%C3%ADderes-sociales-han-sido-asesinados-entre-2016-y-2019-defensor%C3%ADa-del-pueblo?p_l_back_

According to the Historical Memory Center, paramilitary groups of organized armed forces outside the law appeared in Colombia in the 1980s, sponsored by hegemonic political and economic groups that were against political negotiation with leftist guerrillas groups and possible reforms derived from those. See: http://centrodememoriahistorica.gov.co/wp-content/uploads/2020/01/PARAMILITARISMO.pdf

3 María Fernanda Fitzgerald, 2020, "La Minga desde Adentro" *070 Universidad de los Andes* website, 20 October 2020. Available here: https://cerosetenta.uniandes.edu.co/la-minga-desde-adentro/

4 Greenwashing is a marketing strategy of companies that want to increase their sales by misleadingly presenting themselves in their publicity as environmentally friendly, without undertaking environmental commitments. Transnational corporation Nestlé, among others, has been denounced for doing so.

Blackwashing is a contemporary spin marketing technique that profits from the Black Lives Matter social movement. It appropriates the slogans and aesthetics of this movement in order to appeal as Black-friendly/anti-racist in order to promote their products, companies, countries, people, or entities.

Artwashing can be a strategy to censor politicized arts that criticize and denounce the neoliberal ideal of freedom or are committed to leftist ideologies. It can also be the use of art as capitalist propaganda and the legitimation-exaltation of dominant groups, hiding the consequences of their economic-ecological-political-military interventions to guarantee their power and domination.

Pinkwashing describes a variety of marketing and political strategies aimed at promoting products, countries, people, or entities through an appeal to gay-friendliness, so as to be perceived as progressive, modern, and tolerant.

5 In 1968, the Mexican president was Gustavo Díaz Ordaz of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), which ruled the country for seventy consecutive years. Díaz Ordaz rejected the rights of striking workers and was emphatically violent against popular movements that rose during the decade

6 Mexican muralism was the promotion of mural painting starting in the 1920s and associated with socialist political messages as part of an effort to reunify the country under the post-Mexican Revolution government. This artistic movement aimed to promote an independent post-colonial national identity that vindicated Mexico's Indigenous roots,

as well as mestizo and Afro-descendent peoples. Murals also were intended to educate the large illiterate population. See: James Oles, 2013, *Art and Architecture in Mexico*. London: Thames and Hudson.

7 Archivo General de la Nacion – Mexico, "Cinética Urbana: La Ruta de la Amistad de México 68 (Primera Parte)," *Google Arts and Culture*. Available here: https://artsandculture.google.com/exhibit/cin%C3%A9tica-urbana-la-ruta-de-la-amistad-de-m%C3%A9xico-68-primera-parte/OAIyG2UwFEEmJQ

8 In 1950, the CIA set up an anti-communist advocacy group called The Congress for Cultural Freedom, which sponsored the avant-garde movement of abstract expressionism, the Museum of Modern Art in New York (MOMA), and artist such as Jackson Pollock, Willem de Kooning, Mark Rothko, and Martha Graham among many others. See: https://daily.jstor.org/was-modern-art-really-a-cia-psy-op/, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Congress_for_Cultural_Freedom

9 Ed Vulliamy, "Western banks 'reaping billions from Colombian cocaine trade'" *The Guardian*, 2 June 2012. Available here: https://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/jun/02/western-banks-colombian-cocaine-trade

10 With emphasis on the fact that racialized bodies in the Global North who are also subject to terrible repercussions within the "war on drugs" are also colonial/Global South subjects.

11 Many of these institutions also became famous by amassing and exhibiting collections of works stolen and appropriated from the Global South, a fact addressed in other essays included in this section.

12 "Narco-gore violence" is a consequence of "the systematic uncontrolled and contradictory dimension of the neoliberal project" in impoverished countries, named by Sayak Valencia as "Gore Capitalism." See: Sayak Valencia, 2010, *Capitalismo Gore*. Barcelona: Editorial Melusina.

13 The "wealthy economies" take advantage of the multiplier effect of drug value and its liquidity. The stereotyped financial behavior of the smallest criminal bands is to take the money to tax havens (such as Switzerland) that facilitate money laundering, due to legal laxity and the condition of anonymity that shields the wealthy (Forero et al, 2019). Furthermore, cocaine traffic exists thanks to the complicity of the financial groups we interact with every day. Antonio M. Costa former chief UNODC said: "In many instances, drug money is currently the only liquid investment capital." See: https://www.reuters.com/article/financial-un-drugs-idUSLP65079620090125

14 Achille Mbembe, 2020, "Sharing the Planet: For an Ethics of Repair and Care". Online lecture in the series "Talking on Water," 16 August 2020, Zürcher Theater Spektakel 2020.

15 "Witte de With Center Changes its Name," *Artdependence Magazine*, 2 October 2020. Available here: https://artdependence.com/articles/witte-de-with-center-changes-its-name/

16 Marga Kroodsma (Veem House for Performance), “Op Ed: Van Gogh Museum, geef overtallige noodsteun aan andere instellingen,” *Het Parool*, 27 May 2022. Available here: https://www.parool.nl/columns-opinie/opinie-van-gogh-museum-geef-overtallige-noodsteun-aan-andere-instellingen~b0f8ab2c/

Framing Part Two: Reparations, Rematriation, and Repair

By Ama Josephine Budge Johnstone

FRAMING

The Climate Justice Code was initiated by Casco Art Institute for their second annual public assembly in October 2019. Co-drafted by an editorial committee, it was workshopped by 100+ participants at the assembly over two days of intensive gathering. The code's draft was guided by the question: What "practical" measures will artists and art institutions take to care for our planetary commons with the power of imagination? Through its development the code has come to centre a decolonial approach to reparations, rematriation, and repair, acknowledging that climate change is a direct result of European colonisation, occupation, and extraction from, as well as theft of, the human and non-human life and resources of the Global South. We understand that subsequently, there can be no movement for climate justice, or for free interspecies futures without an attention and commitment to reparations, rematriation, and repair.

We have reached out to feminist-of-colour-led organisations, and individuals who work collectively, that have dedicated their practice to these topics to contribute short essays, or testaments, to the work that is being done, the great work that is still needed, and the crucial role arts and cultural institutions have to play because we know this work can only happen in coalition and transoceanic solidarity. Below therefore, you will find contributions on reparations by UK-based land justice collective Land In Our Names (LION) co-founder Josina Calliste; rematriation, by climate justice activist Nish Doshi; and repair by Pacific activist and artist Jessica Palalagi. These testaments feed into one another, echoing and reinforcing underlining commitments to care, healing, collective memory,

and the tracing of a rigorous and sustainable climate justice movement that sees the potentiality and collusion of the cultural sector not as peripheral, but central to change.

CONTEXTUALISING CLIMATE COLONIALISM

Reporting on a private meeting with majority African leaders held at the 2009 Climate Summit in Copenhagen (COP21), South African journalist Adam Welz describes the words of Sudanese ambassador Lumumba Di-Aping upon receiving the "Danish Text" (a non-committal proposal by several high-emitting nations for a two-degree rise agreement):

> Di-Aping first attacked the 2 degrees C warming maximum that most rich countries currently consider acceptable. Referring continuously to science, in particular to parts of the latest IPCC (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change) report, which he referenced by page and section, he said that 2 degrees C globally meant 3.5 degrees C for much of Africa.[1] He called global warming of 2 degrees C "certain death for Africa", a type of "climate fascism" imposed on Africa by high carbon emitters.[2]

Taking its cue from this statement, the term Climate Colonialism was an accusation returned to the world's highest GHG (greenhouse gas) emitters at that same climate summit.[3] It attempts to encapsulate this political and cultural moment, in which there is little to no accountability held by Euro-North America with regards to the global power dynamics of domination and oppression that neocolonial capitalism continues to re-inscribe, manifested through the effects of

climate change upon both the economies and peoples of the Global South. Climate Colonialism traces the direct lineage from climate change to European colonial occupation across the Global South and the far-reaching atrocities that followed; namely the forced extraction of natural resources from across the Global South, mass deforestation and dissolution/ destabilisation of sustainable Indigenous farming, irrigation, and migration practices. These resources were then broken down using the labour of enslaved Africans, as well as other oppressed Indigenous and people of colour to establish cis-patriarchal and white-supremacist capitalist centres across Europe and settled nations globally, and subsequently power the Industrial Revolution, thus beginning the white-supremacist consumer-driven economic model that would go on to releases high volumes of carbon emissions causing the Earth's temperature to rise, dramatically altering its conditions both large-scale: causing tsunamis, hurricanes, droughts, etc, and microbially effecting the mycelial networks of fungi, the acidity of soil, and the health of its bacteria.

Climate Colonialism is the inherent disparity with which the Global South is being forced to pay, economically, ecologically, and socially for the effects of climate change in comparison to the Global North in relief funds, croplands, and lives. It also references the *continued* siphoning of natural resources at unsustainably high rates, using ecologically volatile methods such as hydraulic fracturing (fracking) within economies that have been historically and contemporarily hampered by postcolonial stipulations such as the Structural Adjustment Programs, which left much of Africa "indebted" to Europe. Similar models can be found globally imposed by the IMF, the World Bank and

imperial nations themselves such as the self-proclaimed states of settled North America and Australia. Many countries' economies and environments in the Global South were already, in some cases cataclysmically, altered by colonial occupation, leaving occupied/stolen/desecrated lands, species and peoples economically, socially, ecologically, and epistemologically hampered in their ability to respond to the drastically shifting and increasingly hostile environmental change.

A clear example of this is the catastrophic health effects, and unnecessarily degraded quality of life, suffered by tens of thousands of mostly Black residents in Johannesburg's townships due to abandoned colonial goldmines. As journalist Oliver Balch reports:

> More than 600 abandoned mines surround South Africa's largest city, with much of their waste now piled up high next to residential communities – most of which are poor and black [...] Residents here fear the wind most. When it blows, fine particles from these man-made dumps are carried up into the air and deposited on to residents' homes. It is no ordinary dust, either: the residue of decades of mining, it can contain traces of everything from copper and lead to cyanide and arsenic.[4]

These are remnants of colonial ecocide, dependent on that which Naomi Klein has called sacrificial peoples and sacrificial places.[5] In other words, Climate Colonialism is the (continuing) violent extraction of both human and non-human resources from across the Global South. Mines, deforestation, epistemicide, genocide, colonial occupation, and the Transatlantic Slave Trade was always going to reap these afterlives

of what Saidiya Hartman has termed "the afterlife of slavery – skewed life chances, limited access to health and education, premature death, incarceration, and impoverishment."[6] Balch continues, "A hardened white wasteland now stands where reeds and plants used to grow. A lifeless stream runs next to it."[7]

Of particular pertinence to this code are the way that the power dynamics laid out by colonialism are replicated across the European arts and culture sector, reinforced by creative institutions, as explored further in the essays below. The CJC positions climate justice – a term that works from a deep-rooted understanding of colonial violence and toward decolonial multi-species futures rather than in denial of them – in direct opposition to and acknowledgement of Climate Colonialism. We do so because we understand that when climate change is divorced from its colonial legacies – the distribution of global-warming effects becomes randomised, unaligned to the respective parts of the world where the burning of fossil fuels and the extraction of natural resources takes place, leaving the Global South and BIPOC[8] communities within the Global North as caught now between climate change and global capitalism as they were caught between decolonisation and Europe's Structural Adjustment Programs (and their global equivalents) half a century ago. In other words, these violent systems have not changed, they have only evolved. And if we cannot see that, cannot work in direct opposition to those histories of violence and extraction, then we cannot build new futures or other ways of being with alter-life that prioritise the livelihoods and wellbeing of the most oppressed and the most silenced first, across both humanity and all life. Without building other ways, without centring healing justice protocols, there will be no future for climate justice to fight for.

EUROPEAN ARTS INSTITUTIONS ARE FAILING BIPOC ARTISTS: A MICROCOSM FOR CLIMATE JUSTICE IN THE ARTS

> Caring for myself is not self-indulgence, it is self-preservation, and that is an act of political warfare.[9]

Why is this Audre Lorde quote, just one line from an epilogue in the collection of fragments and diary entries that make up her 1988 publication *A Burst of Light*, one of the most shared, reproduced, quoted and referenced of all of Lorde's writing? It has become a structural foundation to the Black feminist skeleton of reading, writing, and survival. Sara Ahmed reflects: "This is a revolutionary, extraordinary sentence. It is a much loved, much cited sentence. It is an arrow, which acquires its sharpness from its own direction."[10] It echoes back something inside of us, a resounding validation that we are always searching and yearning for, a justification that the pain, the wearing-down, the exhaustion we feel on emotional, professional and physical levels as Black feminists and Black artists, is as real and tangible as the page – reassuring, rough, and worn with re-reading – and the ink – certain, unwavering, true. Many of us[11] come to this text by Lorde the way bell hooks writes about coming to theory:

> I came to theory because I was hurting – the pain within me was so intense that I could not go on living. I came to theory desperate, wanting to comprehend – to grasp what was happening around and within me. Most importantly, I wanted to make the hurt go away. I saw in theory then a location for healing.[12]

Many BIPOC artists working within Europe are first or second generation migrants from geographies that have only recently gained independence from European or North American rule, yet remain intricately intertwined with their political systems, economies, trade-agreements, and border disputes. Some come from sites that remain occupied states. We live with the threats and violences of displacement, white supremacy, racism, and hetero-patriarchy from cultural institutions with the privilege of colonial amnesia, many of whom were built upon/are still funded by the profits of imperial extraction and slavery, and some still contain stolen "artefacts" – sacred objects, yet to be rematriated. We live too with the increasingly inescapable knowledge that the geographies we/our parents/our ancestors left to come here are, with increasing rapidity and urgency, being worn away by fires, desertification, flooding, coastal erosion, soil salinisation, drought, rising sea levels, and the various political disputes and oppressions that accompany states of scarcity.

As BIPOC artists and cultural producers, we are forced to tread a hazardous and hungry warzone of white institutional spaces as well as retreating to community-led "for us by us" gatherings, art shows, festivals, and collectives, that can themselves be complicated entanglements. For those of us that function in high-economy cities where rent prices continue to double and re-double like a cancerous cell in an unhealthy labouring organ, white institutions can fund our survival and the continued possibility of making work, which are often one and the same. Even those of us who do achieve a level of visibility through institutional work – and I'm thinking here with the large, state-funded museums/galleries/theatres/opera halls that dominate

the cultural landscapes of "ex" colonial Western states – often have both our works and ourselves consumed, chewed up, repurposed, spat out, and smeared over white walls: a demonstration of the institution's diversification. "Working with" institutional spaces can translate as making interventions, curated and allowed by a white oppressive structure, but an intervention nonetheless. The work produced does not have to be "overtly political work" as the very existence of the Black body in the white institution places them within the warzone regardless of whether they are working directly with imagery of BIPOC bodies, or abstract forms in white marble.

On top of this, as touched on in the first framing essay, we are now living in a neoliberal landscape in which artists of colour are being asked to come into the institutional space in order to critique its whiteness and colonial legacies without care or protection. Those works then become justifications and evidence that the institution is decolonising, despite no tangible shift in employment demographics, anti-racist policy, the stepping down of white board members, the structural and individual rejection of patriarchal and racist donors, the withdrawal from partnerships with or funding support from violently unsustainable energy companies such as Shell and BP, whose ecocidal and unsustainable practices are directly affecting the geographical spaces many of us are from, as much as we are from our respective European homes. This is exploitative representation, not fundamental change, not decolonisation, and not anti-racist work. The mental health consequences of working within such environments is one of the largest, most taboo, and least researched, funded, and resourced crises affecting BIPOC lives today. This industry is killing us.

It is long-since time arts and cultural institutions began to hold *themselves* accountable, that is not our labour to do. You need to be accountable to BIPOC in every way you encounter them: as your staff, your audiences, as the peoples whose lands are being polluted, flooded, or made barren to keep your museums' doors open, as the peoples whose sacred objects need to be returned, as the people globally who are suffering because one of your artists decided they needed to blow up ten cars for their latest exhibition. This has to stop. We are dying. The land is dying. Our non-human kin are dying, and you have a responsibility to change.

We want you to interrogate:

- Who are you working with?
- Who are you funded by?
- Who are you hiring?
- Which white board members/governors, directors, and curators are stepping down to make space for BIPOC hires in empowered positions?
- How are you – especially larger state institutions – using your position within the cultural sector to lobby with state funding? How are you holding your state accountable, presuming them to de-systemisize box-ticking diversity programming and hires as a response to empire and white supremacy, that in fact reinscribes intersectional violence?
- What anti-racist policies are you putting in place and do they apply to everyone, at every level of your organisation?
- How you are protecting the BIPOC artists you invite into your spaces?
- How are you valuing their emotional and physical labour?
- How are you quantifying racism and reparations?

- How are you implementing fundamental change in response to their critical artworks?
- What are your commitments to care, wellbeing, mental health, and accessibility?
- Does your entire team – especially front of house, security, building managers, etc – understand the relationship between ableism, colonisation, and white supremacy? And how are they, with institutional support and training, working to make your institutions (physical and virtual) accessible and inviting?
- How are you actively working against the co-optation of artists and artworks to "diversify your institution" – taking the discourse but losing the practice – while not actually wanting to do the work and interrogation?
- How you are returning stolen objects and artworks?
- What movements are you in coalition with and how you are working from what they need/want/know, not co-opting their resources and turning years of their labour and work into an aesthetic that makes you look good?
- How are you becoming a carbon-neutral institution?
- What are your commitments to tracing the resources used in the artworks you exhibit and by the artists you work with?

And this is simply a beginning.

1 Even a two-degree rise could reduce African crop production by 10% by 2050.

2 Adam Welz's Weblog. "Emotional scenes at Copenhagen: Lumumba Di-Aping @ Africa civil society meeting – 8 Dec 2009." [online] Available at: https://adamwelz.wordpress.com/2009/12/08/emotional-scenes-at-copenhagen-lumumba-di-aping-africa-civil-society-meeting-8-dec-2009/

3 Naomi Klein (2015). *This Changes Everything*. London: Penguin, p.28

4 Balch, O. (2015). *Radioactive city: how Johannesburg's townships are paying for its mining past*. [online] the Guardian. Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2015/jul/06/radioactive-city-how-johannesburgs-townships-are-paying-for-its-mining-past

5 Naomi Klein, "Let them Drown: The Violence of a Warming World," *London Review of Books 38*(11), 2 June 2016.

6 Saidiya Hartman, "A Journey Along the Atlantic Slave Route," *Narrative Magazine,* https://www.narrativemagazine.com/issues/winter-2007/nonfiction/journey-along-atlantic-slave-route-saidiya-hartman
See also: Saidiya Hartman (2008). *Lose Your Mother*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

7 Balch (2015)

8 Black, Indigenous and people of colour
Audre Lorde, *A Burst of Light*. In *The Audre Lorde*

9 *Compendium*. London: Pandora. 1996, p.332

10 Sara Ahmed, "Self Care as Warfare," *Feminist Killjoys Blog*, 25 August 2014, Available at: https://feministkilljoys.com/2014/08/25/selfcare-as-warfare/

11 Us: Black women, Black women artists, Black queer women, Women of colour feminists, womanists, survivors.

12 bell hooks, "Theory as Liberatory Practice," *Yale Journal of Law and Feminism* 4(1), 1991, p.1

Reparations: Land and Healing

By Josina Calliste, of Land In Our Names (LION)[1]

Image credit: Josina Calliste, 2018

[Image description: photograph of a fire-damaged tree with new growth sprouting from the base of the trunk.]

Image credit: Josina Calliste, 2018

[Image description: photograph of a fire-damaged tree with new growth sprouting from the part of the tree where the trunk splits into branches.]

THE WORK OF REPAIR

I am a Black London-based land justice activist, who has come to write about reparations through (what I would discover to be) my calling: healing the land through regenerative farming, and supporting communities affected by racial injustices.

In the USA, conversations around reparations have been more mainstream, at least in activist spaces. We are witnessing a leap in the acceptability of such efforts to redistribute power. This is most visible in the naming of reparations as a policy goal in 2020, by the Movement for Black Lives in the USA. Even so, the movement has been maligned enough for Black American award-winning writer and journalist Ta-Nehisi Coates in *The Case for Reparations* to comment: "The popular mocking of reparations as a harebrained scheme authored by wild-eyed lefties and intellectually unserious black nationalists is fear masquerading as laughter."[2]

Many people encountering reparative justice frameworks will do so in ways which summarily dismisses any legitimacy. This may be in part due to the lack of a baseline understanding for what reparations is, or what repair would be needed. As I understand it, we can self-organise, going beyond external recognition and demanding apologies for harm, to organise, to redistribute power. It is especially hard to articulate a position on reparations in Britain which will be commonly understood. The migrant communities coming here from formerly colonised countries may have experienced multiple migrations (consider the East African Indian diaspora, and Afro-Caribbean populations). Thus displacement from the lands which

were the "scene of the crime" manifests a disconnect from the harm and the path to healing. It is perhaps one reason why the conversation is more mainstream in the USA and other parts of the western hemisphere, where those who experienced harm from genocide and enslavement not only still exist on that same land in considerable numbers, but for the most part never left since their displacement.

The Chinweizu quote below was one of the earliest introductions to reparative justice frameworks, and the one that has remained with me:

> Let me begin by noting that reparation is not just about money: it is not even mostly about money; in fact, money is not even one percent of what reparation is about. Reparation is mostly about making repairs. Self-made repairs, on ourselves: mental repairs, psychological repairs, cultural repairs, organizational repairs, social repairs, institutional repairs, technological repairs, economic repairs, political repairs, educational repairs, repairs of every type that we need in order to recreate and sustain black societies.[3]

The notion of "repair," to me, clarifies the actions we need, by acknowledging specific harms, and putting the task beyond a monetary value.

WHAT'S THE NEED FOR REPAIR?

This essay forms an articulation of a developing position on reparative justice. As a person with African heritage in Britain, my existence here is interconnected with histories of exploited labour

and land, alongside the collective traumas of colonialism and enslavement. Out of the multitude of former colonies in the "Common*wealth*," people from the Caribbean have been some of the most vocal in demanding reparations, which has filtered through the cultures and politics I was raised in.

The annual Reparations March in London has been happening since 2013. I am only just learning about previous initiatives in the nineties and noughties. Bernie Grant, one of the first Black ministers of Parliament, led the Africa Reparations Movement (ARM UK) from 1993 till his death in 2000. ARM UK's demands included an apology from the Queen, full compensation from the British government and "the restitution of African monuments, artefacts and religious objects residing in British Museums and elsewhere in Britain."[4] At least two (unsuccessful) legal cases were brought forward in 2004 by African descendants of enslaved people. The first was against Lloyd's and other corporations in the USA who insured and financed slave ships. This case was the first to use DNA to prove links to specific ethnic groups harmed during enslavement, but was sadly ignored by corporations named in the lawsuit. The second case was brought against the British government to compensate for the infrastructure built in European countries and pay 72.5 billion pounds to resettle Jamaican Rastas in Africa. This case was also dismissed, with the British government swerving accountability for "wrongs committed in past centuries." Both cases demonstrate a lack of willingness on the part of the most culpable to engage with reparative justice. The "expressions of regret" have come, but these fall short of an apology, for fear of the financial implications of doing so. Changing the narrative around what repair looks like and who to engage with

seems necessary; redistribution can come from all levels. The legal cases should continue to be brought against governments and corporations, but we can also engage at local levels with progressive benefactors who acknowledge the need to redistribute gains from colonial wealth. The failures of the above cases suggest we need a multi-pronged approach to repair, from the proactive repair we must do on ourselves, to the repair that comes from large payouts which may one day be within reach.

My ruminations on the power of reparative justice for people and planet come from a deeply personal place. I speak as a Black queer woman, a health professional, food grower, land activist with chronic pain and a family history of mental health issues caused by intergenerational trauma. *The #BlackLivesMatter movement is my dad never quite recovering from the effects of racism and police brutality*. Intergenerational trauma (sometimes called post-traumatic slave syndrome, or epigenetic trauma) has hit every generation of my family in the form of psychosis, anxiety, and poor mental health. Living with chronic pain means the daily healing work is through attempts to abide by flawed western medical interventions which cannot treat the holding of trauma, or through lifestyle regimens for wellness associated with middle-class cultures and only accessible through wealth, both in terms of time and a steady high income.

I've experienced firsthand the health consequences of a long-term existence in survival mode. My years of working in public health showed again and again the disproportionate burden of ill health upon those who have migrated to Britain from formerly colonised lands. Addressing those inequalities through community health

activism led me to think about the intricate connections between wellbeing and time spent in green spaces and the rights of underserved communities to access green spaces for "nature connection" and food production.

Gardeners experience lower rates of depression, in part due to contact with microbes in soil.[5] The National Health Service in Britain trialled prescribing "forest bathing" for mental health during our 2020 global pandemic lockdown. Our physical health also benefits from time spent outdoors. What's on our plates matters greatly for tackling health inequalities. Access to localised, nutrient-dense, organic, seasonal food varies widely across Britain. Women of colour are forced to use food banks at disproportionate levels. Food apartheid is the system by which racism contributes to inequalities in the food system and deprives communities of colour of good-quality, affordable fresh food. My big career shift into the land sector was the result of the realisation that the planetary-level need for regenerative farming practices interconnects with the country-wide need of land access for our communities' wellbeing: both for food production and nature connection.

REPARATIONS AS ECOLOGICAL REPAIR

In writing this essay, I thought deeply about healing. Not from obvious kinds of injury, where a bleeding cut to skin scabs over and leaves a scar. But the long-term work of repairing historic injuries which scarred families, communities, species and ecosystems. The first step is achieving ecological justice, described by USA-based Movement Generation as "the state of **balance between human communities and healthy ecosystems** based on thriving, mutually beneficial relationships and

participatory self-governance."[6] Self-governance in this context meaning a people's sovereignty, autonomy, or having control over oneselves. Ecological justice is learning (or re-learning) how bound up we are as human individuals with the survival of plant and tree species, and all supported life in their ecosystems.

Most people thinking about "reparations" are not necessarily thinking about land at all - let alone climate justice. The process of repair requires that we interrupt and repair from those harms wrought on both people and planet.

Trees can teach humans many ways to heal from trauma and injury. In March 2018, I went to a farm in Portugal to learn how to grow a food forest, using "permaculture"[7] principles. Portugal's forests are full of highly-flammable trees, dry ground, and high Atlantic winds. This deadly combination causes annual forest fires. A forest "management" class during the course gave me firsthand experience of how quickly such fires could get out of control. A nearby tree caught alight when a coursemate's cavalier attitude and negligence led to losing control of our bonfire. This terrifying experience brought greater awareness of how delicate this ecosystem was, and the importance of constant attention to the needs and rules of our non-human kin. As with so many forested areas, climate change is making such fires more frequent, hotter and longer lasting. With more people living near forested areas, humans' survival is thus intricately tied to that of the surrounding ecosystems.

Visual evidence of previous fires scarred the farm and surrounding landscapes in the form of charred remains of small olive, cork, and citrus trees. Most of

these had fresh, new, smaller branches which grew from the dead tree's unexposed roots, surrounding the burnt trunk in the centre. I loved photographing these beautiful young trees. As many cultivated fruit trees are grafted onto wild stock, I was fascinated with the mystery of what the new growth from the roots would bring, as well as how humans can support or positively interfere with this process.

While observing these trees, I found "nature heals itself" to be a good allegory for healing from trauma and injury. This was especially true, given that escaping to plant fruit trees in Portugal was a way of me coping with my own "burnout," as it's often described in activist circles. I wrote in my journal at the time: "Trees are more important to the Earth's ecosystems than any one of us. If trees can survive such massive harm, and repair through regrowth from the root, is it not our duty to try to do the same as a species?" Repairing from major harms throughout history that humans with power have enacted upon others, and support our new growth (ways of relating to each other) starting at the root.

Thinking about the ways nature responds to trauma such as forest fires is useful for humans, given that we must try to mitigate and minimise our impact on the Earth. How we can feed ourselves whilst healing the land, improving soil and air quality, and ensuring we're not contributing to further environmental degradation; such as creating tinderboxes in forests; the lungs of our planet.

We take what's still alive at the roots - ancestral wisdoms and spiritual ecologies. CARICOM's[8] 2014 10-Point Reparation Plan includes the creation of an "African knowledge programme to teach people

of African descent about their roots." That certainly includes artefacts in museums, also architecture and my special interest: regenerative farming practices. What could be more appropriate than encouraging the kinship-based commons of our ancestors? We are earth stewards, not owning but merely tending to the land which belongs to both our ancestors and the unborn generations to come.

LAND AND REPARATIONS

Reading the Land for the Many 2019 report[9] sparked my deeper interest in land justice, and I co-founded Land In Our Names (LION), a grassroots land justice collective in June 2019, combined with onsite learning at Soul Fire Farm in upstate New York, which centres land reparations, as "... necessary in the form of land and wealth redistribution to those who had land and wealth stolen from them..."[10] For me, this articulation was as revolutionary as it was rare, almost unheard of in British activist spaces. Though Britain as yet lacks an equivalent farm learning and organising space to uproot racism in the food system, Soul Fire Farm also hosts an online Reparations Map[11], listing specific projects and resource needs of farmers of colour.

I have been on a journey of discovery: making visible inequalities of land access and ownership. I am thankful that through my work with LION, I am encountering individuals reckoning with the harms which led their families to wealth at the expense of colonised peoples and lands. It is heartening to be contacted by families who inherited wealth or land, and understand the role of redistribution as repair. Various groups and movements, including

Resource Justice[12] in Britain, and Resource Generation[13] in the USA are mobilising young people to "meaningfully leverage their privilege, and understand their stake in a future where wealth, land, and power are equitably shared."

LION is mobilising Black and Brown food producers across Britain. We're working in a context where one percent of the population own more than 50% of the land, with 30% of land in the hands of the aristocracy and gentry (Who owns England?, 2019).[14] All over Britain, the consequences of land inequalities affect people's housing, food, health outcomes, and access to nature. Black communities and communities of colour are disproportionately affected by land inequalities, and face additional struggles relating to racism and legacies of colonialism.

It is in this context that readers might ask what they can do. LION's work addresses the whiteness of the agriculture, environment, and horticulture sectors. We take land reparations as the starting point, from which we can correct health issues, food security, and disconnect from our living planet. Our need to repair the soil and bring about ecological justice cannot wait. In the words of Aurora Levins Morales, ownership destroys ecologies. It is imperative to redistribute access to land, not just so people can address food injustices affecting them, but right the wrongs of enclosed land which turn living regenerative environments into expendable commodities.

In articulating a right to land in Britain for our communities, we call on landowning institutions such as universities and churches to lead redistribution efforts. It is imperative that the hoarding of land by

the aristocracy, crown, and corporations is stopped. Normalise reparative justice frameworks, so our demands are no longer mockable or feared by those with power and resources. Institutions, including those in the cultural sector, play a key role in increasing "common good" land use, as part of redistribution efforts, and the long-term work of envisaging land reparations. There are local groups across Britain who want to grow food. The demand for spaces to grow always outstrips supply, be it farmland or allotment waiting lists. A global pandemic has thrown into sharp relief the precarity upon which Britain's food supply chains are based. Now is the opportunity to support local efforts to access nature and feed communities, in particular those of us experiencing multiple barriers to good food and health.

Now is the time to consider what lands large arts institutions and museums own in Britain. In amongst these issues of land justice and reparations the arts are intimately woven, even down to the supplies used by institutions (canvasses and other natural resources). So what does accountability look like? How can institutions in the cultural sector use their platforms? Of course, lobbying the government is one way. Putting pressure on corporations which have credible cases to answer for slavery reparations, as well as land and climate reparations. I may be biased, but would encourage such institutions to be part of the vibrant growing movement to redistribute land for food growing and nature connection, for Black people in Britain. There's space for reflection on Chinweizu's quote above: how to support descendants of enslaved peoples with the many forms of self-made repair. This includes repair of our diets, our relationship to land, and the land itself.

I conclude by returning to the tree analogy: "nature heals itself." We can positively support and mimic the repairs we see in nature. Further, the repairs we see in nature cannot become sustainable without human allyship and the transformation of our food, living, learning, producing, and coexistence structures. Individuals, families, and institutions with power can help us be those trees you'd see growing years after forest fires have ravaged the landscape. Where the flames have gone, smoulders remain, reminding us of what came before. Our unburnt roots deep in the soil require tending to, the tools for new growth, self-made repair and our collective survival are in both our hands and yours.

*If you want to support LION in our efforts to achieve land justice, and develop a Reparations Map for Britain, visit: https://landinournames.community/support-our-work.

1 LION is a Black-led, grassroots collective committed to reparative justice in Britain by securing land for BPOC (Black people and People of Colour) communities. We work with BPOC farmers and food growers, and bring a racial justice perspective to progressive land, farming and food movements.

2 Ta-Nehisi Coates, "The Case for Reparations," *The Atlantic*, June 2014. See https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2014/06/the-case-for-reparations/361631/

3 Chinweizu, 1993, "Reparations and A New Global Order: A Comparative Overview," paper read at the second Plenary Session of the First Pan-African Conference on Reparations, Abuja, Nigeria, April 27, 1993. See https://ncobra.org/resources/pdf/ChinweizuReparationsandANewGlobalOrder1.pdf

Thanks to the Global Afrikan Congress UK for introducing me to this work.

4 Africa Reparations Movement (UK), Birmingham Declaration, 1994. See: https://www.inosaar.llc.ed.ac.uk/sites/default/files/atoms/files/1994_birmingham_declaration.pdf

5 For more info see: Zoe Schlanger, "Dirt has a microbiome, and it may double as an anti-depressant", *Quartz*, May 30, 2017, https://qz.com/993258/dirt-has-a-microbiome-and-it-may-double-as-an-antidepressant/

6 The USA-based Movement Generation Justice and Ecology Project inspires works towards the liberation and restoration of land, labour,

and culture. Quote from "Eco Means Home," Movement Generation website, see: https://movementgeneration.org/ecological-justice/

7 It is in the spirit of reparations to honour the sources of regenerative farming wisdom. In the words of Soul Fire Farm's Leah Penniman: "Permaculture isn't really real. It's the amalgamation of a number of different indigenous agroecology technologies that have been rebranded, packaged and sold by college-educated white men to turn a profit on their courses." ORFC 2020 keynote - Farming While Black: African Diasporic Wisdom for Farming and Food Justice, see https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=t0qrNupy_Ng&t=1345s

8 The Caribbean Community is an organisation of fifteen states and dependencies throughout the Caribbean. For the 10-Point Reparation Plan, see https://caricom.org/caricom-ten-point-plan-for-reparatory-justice/

9 Land for the Many, report commissioned by the Labour Party in 2019, see https://landforthemany.uk/

10 See https://www.soulfirefarm.org/. The farm honour and work with the original stewards of their land in Grafton, New York: Stockbridge-Munsee Band of the Mohican Nation forcibly displaced to a reservation in northern Wisconsin in the 1800s.

11 Soul Fire Farm's Reparations Map. See https://www.google.com/maps/d/u/0viewer?ll=35.226181801033164%2C-70.90789418320321&z=4&mid=1YvB3PuH8jeR_yoFCLvrKOTQQ3p_5NmkK

12 See https://www.resourcejustice.co.uk/

13 See https://resourcegeneration.org/

14 See https://whoownsengland.org/. Although I'm writing in a British context, this is much the same throughout the colonial "motherlands" of Western Europe.

Calling for “Rematriation”: Art, Heritage, and Sovereignty

By Nish Doshi

It is 2005, I have just moved to London, and I am visiting the Victoria and Albert Museum. As I meander through the galleries, I am aware that this space is a living celebration of colonial exploitation, pillage and genocide – a display of the power of Empire. I am *uncomfortable*. I arrive in the South Asian Sculpture hall, room 47B and I pause, uncertain on how to navigate the space. Scattered across the room are statues of Tirthankars, Jain religious teachers. If this were a temple, my shoes would be off and my mind would be quieter. Instead, museum visitors come and go, peering at decontextualised collections of "art," torn apart from their cultural significance.

This sense of discomfort – of dislocation, of appropriation, of erasure – is common for many of us Black, Indigenous and People of Colour (BIPOC). In 2017, Young Fathers – a majority Black Scottish hip hop band – released a powerful video[1] that asked:

> Does this mean I don't exist?
> That I'm not a man?
> Because I don't see a face like mine,
> framed in gold, hanging on the wall...
>
> ... Am I meant to admire the brushwork
> and the colours and the historical context,
> without considering how you came to be here?
> And the people who look like me aren't?

The piece, commissioned by the National Portrait Gallery, was a response to its touring exhibition *Looking Good*, which explored "male image, identity and appearance from the 16th century to the present day."[2] As soon as it was published, Young Fathers faced a furor of racist abuse, resulting in the video being taken

down and only reuploaded with comments switched off and the video unlisted.

In writing this essay, I draw on this experience of discomfort. Through the history of Great Zimbabwe, I show how European control over our heritage has been used to justify colonialism.

Using the recent destruction of the 46000 year old rock shelters in Juukan Gorge in Australia, I show how art – like land – is still being used to enact colonial violence. As a solution – and a demand – I offer "rematriation" – an Indigenous and feminist response to the colonial heteropatriarchal concept of repatriation.

REMATRIATION OR REPATRIATION? TOWARDS DECOLONIAL FEMINIST PRAXIS

> The African continent evolves within a regime of historicity where the memories of the colonial situation influence the contemporary presence in the world of African peoples... To escape from the representations and the lack of reflections about this past requires a work of history as well as the imaginaries of a relation that, as well, needs to be decolonized.[3]

When Cecil Rhodes encountered the ruins of Great Zimbabwe, he was insistent that they were not built by local Shona peoples. To ensure this, he commissioned James Theodore Bent to prove that the local Shona peoples' ancestors could not have built the settlement. Despite failing to find any evidence, it was concluded that the settlement must have been made by white men or Arab peoples because the settlement was

too "civilised" to fit into the history that Europeans had already written about Africa.[4] Until Zimbabwe's independence, "Southern Rhodesian" institutions demanded that any work published on the site had to give equal validity to the idea of a foreign builder. Without that belief, there was no public rationality for the colonisation of the Shona peoples[5] because this would mean that the British colonised a "civilised" people (by their definition) and not the "children" that Rhodes had insisted they were. It brought into question the great myth of white supremacy – that colonialism was as act of charity and moral responsibility, which, to this day, continues to be used to justify European colonialism.

Repatriation plays a significant role in allowing us, colonised peoples, to reclaim and (re)write our own histories. When our histories have been purposefully erased and rewritten in frames which suit the coloniser, repatriation is an act of liberation. But in many ways it still conforms to the heteropatriarchal notion of returning something to where it "belongs" – of object, people and assets as property which is "owned" by a specific group of people. As Eve Tuck explains, "the inadequacy of the word repatriation points more to the inadequacy of the English language to describe and facilitate decolonization."[6]

In response, rematriation – increasingly used by Indigenous women across the world – is an ontological challenge to patriarchal settler colonial concepts of justice. It decentres the man as property owner, and brings in relations to land, ancestors and the rights of non-human kin. Rematriation, according to Rematriation Magazine, is "Returning the Sacred to the Mother" or "a powerful process by which Indigenous women

of Turtle Island are restoring balance to the world."[7] Sámi scholar Rauna Kuokkanen defines it as "a way of decolonizing and ultimately, exercising Indigenous self-determination" by "the restoration and reclaiming the political roles and authority of Indigenous women alongside traditional governance structures and political orders."[8] These definitions are determined by the communities which shape them, and are not bound by a colonial definition of binary gender or heteronormativity.

THE EXTRACTIVE ARTS INDUSTRY: ABORIGINAL ARTS AND THE DEMAND FOR SOVEREIGNTY

In May 2020, 46000 years of Australian Aboriginal heritage was razed – stolen, annihilated, blown up for US$97 million worth of iron ore. Rio Tinto – the world's second largest metals and mining corporation – destroyed the rock shelters in Juukan Gorge despite vocal and legal opposition from the Puutu Kunti Kurrama and Pinikura (PKKP) peoples on whose lands the Juukan Gorge lay.

Half of Rio Tinto's global revenues come from extracting/destroying "natural resources" on lands which were never given away by Traditional Owners. Upon the arrival of British colonisers, Australia was declared "terra nullius" or "no man's land." This was a legal framework through which the British could invade and claim land without needing to negotiate with local populations. In essence, Aboriginal Australians and Torres Strait Islanders were effectively defined as non-human or sub-human until 1967, when they were finally included in the National Census. Their lands remain occupied.

Writing on the development of the Aboriginal arts "industry," Fred R. Myers talks of how art was used as a way of bringing Aboriginal peoples into the white settler economy after 1967.[9] While originally this was led by a number of centralised boards, these were later dismantled in favour of decentralised and private arts gallery sales. This was in part due to the cultural difference in economic valuation between what Aboriginal peoples saw as "meaningful" art and Western markets saw as "sellable." For example, while Myers writes about how *all* paintings of the Dreaming[10] were seen as "dear" to the Papunya Tula artists, while "the fine art world's logic or mechanism for establishing hierarchies of aesthetic quality means keeping the 'cheap stuff,' the 'dots for dollars,' out of the same circulation as the good work."[11] Thus, a practice of "quality control" was put in place, where the arbitrators of that "quality" were and still are private white-owned art institutions.

In addition to stolen land, Rio Tinto also holds power over the PKKP peoples' art production. Through its Community Trust, it funds and curates the *Colours of Our Country Pilbara* exhibit at the Art Gallery of Western Australia[12] – one of the only ways in which PKKP peoples can access arts supplies and facilities. Through this process, it acts as "quality control" – a gatekeeper to the global arts markets. By holding a monopoly over the region's art production, Rio Tinto actively "owns" PKKP artists as much as it "owns" the lands on which the PKKP peoples reside.

Since 2000, the commodification of Aboriginal art has given rise to a proliferation of "fake art" – incorporating stereotyped Aboriginal art forms copied and sold in souvenir shops, but also by some art galleries.

To respond to this crisis, the Indigenous Art Code[13] was written and published in 2010, outlining a list of recommended ethical practices. Arts institutions could elect to sign the code, but are not obliged to. This code, however, is not enough. As Merindah Donnelly, Executive Director of BlakDance, the peak body of Indigenous dance states:

> We need to have Aboriginal control and autonomy over our affairs because otherwise we are always limited to what the white man thinks that we should have... [I]f we look back at the Original Sin of the removal of ancestral names and cultural property and the way that's continuing to manifest in the current 21st century through the removal and the appropriation of our intellectual property – that would be one of the areas that would be important to have Aboriginal control and autonomy over.[14]

In 2019, as part of the Edinburgh Fringe Festival, I had the privilege of watching *Deer Woman* – a performance arts piece by Article 11 – which uses raw and explicit storytelling to speak out against the genocide of Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls. Article 11 is an independent Indigenous theatre group from occupied Canada, who aim to use performing arts to "create well-resourced works, with an inclusive model inspired by traditional Indigenous ways of living. [Their] projects are inter-generational, working to fill the dearth of Indigenous designers, arts managers and directors through paid apprenticeships."[15]

Their performances actively challenge and destabilise contemporary colonial narratives and "bridge" the divide between native and non-native. Their "rematriation"

is positioned in healing, in learning/unlearning, and in being able to tell their own stories.

According to BlakDance, the success of Canada's arts funding model relies on 70% of public investment in the arts going to small and medium sized companies, thereby allowing for more Indigenous sovereignty in arts practice – like Article 11.[16] In Australia, only 30% goes towards small and medium sized companies, thereby limiting the capability for Aboriginal groups to take ownership over their arts, and instead leaving them in the hands of large private funders, funders like Rio Tinto.

ACCOUNTABILITY AND REMATRIATION

As profiteers of colonial exploitation, as occupiers of stolen artefacts, as gatekeepers to resources and funds, as arbitrators of "value," as destroyers of ecological traditions, as benefactors of enslaved Black and Indigenous bodies – art institutions in Europe need to acknowledge their role in the continued exploitation of the Global South. It is time to dismantle the hold that white supremacy has over how our stories and voices are heard.

We demand the right, the funds, and the autonomy to create and curate our own art, build our own governance practices, and reclaim our heritage – including that of our human and non-human kin – without the need to define ourselves in white European terms. That is rematriation – the practice of returning to the land to nourish and shape our futures.

1 National Portrait Gallery. 2017. *Young Fathers | Scottish National Portrait Gallery | Van Dyck: A Masterpiece for Everyone* [online] https://youtu.be/XkSSj5HcCV0

2 National Galleries Scotland. n.d. *Looking Good | The Male Gaze From Van Dyck to Lucian Freud* [online] https://www.nationalgalleries.org/exhibition/looking-good-male-gaze-van-dyck-lucian-freud

3 Sarr, F. & Savoy, B. 2018. "The Restitution of African Cultural Heritage. Toward a New Relational Ethics" [Online] http://restitutionreport2018.com/sarr_savoy_en.pdf, p37

4 Ndoro, W. 2005. "The preservation of Great Zimbabwe." [Online] Available from: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/280920513

5 Ibid

6 Tuck, E. 2011. "Rematriating curriculum studies," *Journal of Curriculum and Pedagogy* 8(1), pp34-37

7 Rematriation Magazine, n.d. "What is rematriation?"[online] https://rematriation.com/

8 Kuokkanen, R. 2019. *Restructuring Relations: Indigenous self-determination, governance and gender*. Oxford University Press: New York, p98

9 Myers, F. 2001. "The Wizards of Oz: Nation, State and the Production of Aboriginal Fine Art." In: Myers, F. (ed) *The Empire of Things*. James Currey: Melton, pp165-205

10 Loosely defined, the Dreaming is a collective term used to define the world views and belief systems of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders.

11 Ibid, p172

12 Rio Tinto. 2019 “Colours of our Country art exhibition shines light on talented Pilbara artists” [online] https://www.riotinto.com/en/news/releases/Colours-of-our-Country-2019

13 The Indigenous Art Code. 2010 [Online] Available from: https://indigenousartcode.org/the-indigenous-art-code/

14 Donnelly, M & Behrendt, L. 2020 “First Nations Arts - Stereotyping, Tokenism and Funding.” On: Speaking Out [Podcast] https://www.abc.net.au/radio/programs/speakingout/merindah-donnelly/12635782

15 Beagan, T & Moro, A. n.d. Article 11, Indigenous Activist Arts - Who we are. [Online] https://article11.ca/?page_id=716

16 BlakDance, n.d. A Call to Respond [-o-] [Online] https://www.blakdance.org.au/a-call-to-respond

Repair: Higoa

By Jessica Palalagi

> We sweat and cry salt water, so we know that the ocean is really in our blood.[1]

'O WAI KONA INOA? | KO WAI TANA INGOA? | O AI LONA IGOA?

(WHAT IS HER NAME?)

She has many names. We call her the moana. From her early experiences with colonial powers, she was renamed and claimed the Pacific, from Mar Pacífico (peaceful sea) coined by Ferdinand Magellan in the 1500s. This passiveness does not encapsulate the multitudes she contains, her power, vastness or complexity.

Moanaākea in Hawaiian imbues her with "something of great energy that cannot be harnessed, something unpredictable." Te Moananui a Kiwa in Maori is the great ocean of Kiwa, an ancestor and kaitiaki (guardian) of the moana. 'Api moana as sung by Queen Sālote Tupou III of Tonga – "the ocean homeland."

This simplified coding is still extended to us – her descendants – as we find ourselves underestimated, undervalued, and ridiculed for our schools of thought and world views as we are battered by new seas (c's) – colonisation and christianity. These foreign c's navigated by Enlightenment explorers such as Captain James Cook who "discovered" our sea of islands, renaming and reclaiming again – even naming my ancestors island Savage Island... our name is Niue (behold the coconut!) or Nukututaha (the island that stands alone).

Traces of these exchanges from the friendly to the bloody, led to ancestors, both tagata (people) and taonga (treasure), being kept in storage in various museums and private collections such as the British Museum, Musée du Quai Branly, Museum für Völkerkunde, and so on and so on.

This essay seeks to provide a framework for healing justice – cultivating liberated futures by centring moana (ocean) pedagogies of community, collective care, and reciprocity – by reclaiming language and focusing on the moana as an ancestral home, introducing vā (relational in-between-space) and tā (time), whenua (land) as ancestors/taonga, and the connections and relationships we currently possess with this and institutions around the globe.

Healing Justice Framework 1) Recognition: a deep relearning (as the original latin suggests) in which institutions undo previous learning from copious amounts of non-Indigenous writers and their subsequent studies, assumptions and opinions to recognise and relearn from an Indigenous perspective. This extends to world views, philosophies and language.

"Vā is the space between, the betweenness, not empty space, not space that separates but space that relates, that holds separate entities and things together in the Unity-that-is-All, the space that is context, giving meaning to things."[2]

Vā exists in all aspects. Central in our connections and reciprocity with each other in interpersonal relationships as well as those with the environment, there is an instruction in Samoan "teu le vā,"

in Tongan "tauhi vā," in Niuean "vahā loto mahani mitaki" – cherish the vā (the space/the relationship), hold it, adorn it, celebrate and explore it.

This is community. This is collective care. Vā does not exist without tā (time) and these intertwined moana concepts mark and keep the rhythm of life. Even the word moana itself may be derived from this liminal space as moa means "middle-space/ in-between space" – therefore moana is the space between islands.[3] Tā is not just a translation of time and chronology. The word tā means to beat, strike, mark, form. It is also used to mean marking time, rhythm, pace, tempo. This pairing of vā and tā together extends our understanding as many of our tagata moana (people of the ocean) do not demarcate between vā and tā, in Niuean the word for season is vahā. In Tonga, moana and vaha are used interchangeably.

Lilikalā Kame'eleihiwa in her book *Native Land and Foreign Desires*, says:

> It is interesting to note that in Hawaiian, the past is referred to as Ka wa mamua, "the time in front or before." Whereas the future, when thought of at all, is Ka wa mahope, or "the time which comes after or behind." It is as if the Hawaiian stands firmly in the present, with his back to the future, and his eyes fixed upon the past, seeking historical answers for present-day dilemmas.
>
> Such an orientation is to the Hawaiian an eminently practical one, for the future is always unknown, whereas the past is rich in glory and knowledge.

> It also bestows upon us a natural propensity for the study of history.[4]

This example in Hawai'i is not unique and many tagata moana view time this way – in Niuean the phrase is "fuluhi ki tua ke kitia mitaki a mua" (look to the past to clearly see the way forward) – time is not perceived as a linear concept of past, present, and future – it is circular – meaning that it does not exist without being in relation to its surroundings or phenomena. Tagata moana face the past, learning/leaning on our ancestors and ancestral knowledge to guide and define the future. This is in stark contrast to non-moana concepts of time, where the future is faced into, the past turned away from.

Healing Justice Framework 2) Reframe: with this deeper understanding, we reframe the dynamic, acknowledging who possesses power, and how this can be addressed. We commit to openness, listening and robust dialogue. This process is ever changing and needs to ebb and flow in response.

Ko au te Awa, ko te Awa ko au
(I am the River, and the River is me)

In 2017, Aotearoa passed Te Awa Tupua (Whanganui River Claims Settlement) Act which declared the Te Awa Tupua "a legal person and has all the rights, powers, duties, and liabilities of a legal person." This was and still remains a remarkable piece of legislation which has influenced many other countries to now recognise the life systems the land and water possess, preserve and create and have embraced this notion of environmental personhood. For Maori, the connection and relationship

is described in the Act itself by stating the role of Te Awa Tupua in providing spiritual and physical sustenance, its intrinsic and tangible link from the mountains to the sea and the meaning it has in its existence and connections to the collaborative health of local iwi (tribes), hapū (sub-tribes), and whānau (families).

This is significant as it signals a shift in how we perceive the land, ocean, and all the life in between. It presents a hope to start a movement to listen to Indigenous voices and recognise ancestral knowledge – that perhaps those who inhabit and have inhabited these environments before history was written should have agency in how they are treated for future generations. Tā and vā in circular time illuminate a present where we face the descendants of our colonial past carrying on the work of their ancestors; decimating moana communities with cataclysmic impact. This climate colonialism manifests in the "proving grounds" where copious nuclear testing was undertaken throughout the 1940s right up until 1996 by France, Great Britain, and the United States of America. The ongoing militarisation of the moana and the whenua by "developed" nations who are also responsible for the majority of excessive greenhouse gas emissions contributing to rising ocean levels – effectively drowning our islands, coral bleaching, biodiversity loss, and extreme weather events. A tagata moana view of moana and whenua as ancestors and taonga reaffirms that our collective health and liberated future is entwined, and we can only exist together.

Healing Justice Framework 3) Remuneration: pay us for our time, energy, connections, and emotional labour.

We are the sea, we are the ocean, we must wake up to this ancient truth and together use it to overturn all hegemonic views that aim ultimately to confine us again, physically and psychologically, in the tiny spaces that we have resisted accepting as our sole appointed places and from which we have recently liberated ourselves. We must not allow anyone to belittle us again, and take away our freedom.

Amplifying tagata moana voices and forcing a relationship of true reciprocity with institutions remains a focus of the In*ter*is*land Collective, a collective founded by tagata moana in the diaspora creating our own moku (island) on this island (Great Britain). In 2018, we were able to tautoko (support) Ma'u Henua, a delegation from Rapanui (Easter Island) who sought an audience with the British Museum to articulate the unequivocal need for their moai ancestor of Hoa Hakananai'a (lost or stolen friend) to return home after spending 150 years under artificial light, in temperature-controlled rooms under the curious, confused gaze and iPhone glare of the millions of visitors. The idea that these "objects" could possess lineage and descendants that are alive and present and interact in the world beyond museum cases is just being understood now. These "objects" are taonga (treasures), they hold genealogies and ancestral knowledge, and they present living narratives.

Activating taonga is a creative praxis common within Indigenous communities, this can be singing chants, presenting offerings, dancing, speaking karakia (prayers) – In*ter*is*land Collective were able to do this for taonga in the *Oceania* exhibition held at the Royal Academy in 2018. As a collective, we moved together throughout the galleries, communicating

and communing with ancestors, explaining where they were now, introducing ourselves, lamenting the distance they had travelled across tā and vā to be held within the suspended animation that is all museums and galleries can provide.

This is community. This is collective care.

For our delegation from Rapanui there was some mention of the "R" word (repatriation) or perhaps "a long-term loan" would be better? Or perhaps the other "R" word could be explored... replica. As in you, Indigenous person (can we trust you with your own taonga?), you get to keep the replica and we will hold onto "the real one" just in case...

Healing Justice Framework 4) Repair: we have interrogated our learning, we have shifted the paradigm of relationship, exchanged currency for energy, and now we imagine new narratives that allow for circularity, a space where ancestors and descendants co-exist – teaching and learning together.

"Our dead are woven into our souls like the hypnotic music of bone flutes: we can never escape them. If we let them they can help illuminate us to ourselves and to one another. They can be the source of new-found pride, self-respect, and wisdom."[5]

1 Teresia Teaiwa quoted in Epeli Hau'ofa "The Ocean in Us." In Epeli Hau'ofa, 2008, *We are the Ocean*, University of Hawaii Press.

2 Maualaivao Albert Wendt, "Tatauing the Post-Colonial Body," *Span* 42/43 1996, pp 15–29.

3 Tēvita O. Ka'ili, 2017, *Marking Indigeneity: The Tongan Art of Sociospatial Relations*, University of Arizona Press.

4 Lilikalā Kame'eleihiwa, 1992, *Native Land and Foreign Desires*, Bishop Museum Press. Cited by Epeli Hau'ofa in "Pasts to Remember," in Epeli Hau'ofa, 2008, *We are the Ocean*, University of Hawaii Press.

5 Maualaivao Albert Wendt, "Towards A New Oceania," *Mana Review* 1(1) 1976, pp 49–60.

Whiteness

White Supremacy and Climate Justice

By Cannach MacBride with Clementine Edwards

INTRODUCTION

The Climate Justice Code addresses the co-constitution of race, capitalism, patriarchy, modernity, and colonialism. This text, "White Supremacy and Climate Justice", and its sibling text "Living Dying Cultures" by Zoe Scoglio are both directed toward readers whose lived experiences make them less aware of the consequences of the complex privileges and responsibilities they carry. This includes their authors, in this case white members of the Climate Justice Code working group, with our shared and different experiences of gendered and classed whiteness and accompanying habits and biases. By working with "good intentions" rather than embodied responsibility, we reproduced systemic habits we thought we were trying to dismantle.

"White Supremacy and Climate Justice" addresses the relations between racial capitalism, white supremacy, and climate injustice. It is mainly directed towards readers in European countries with colonial pasts and presents. "Living Dying Cultures" addresses the depth of the epistemic, spiritual, material, and ethical work needed from Europeans, and people with European ancestry living on Indigenous lands to face the injustices of multiple climate and environmental breakdowns.

SOME THEORY FOR CONTEXT

There are different ways of thinking about whether the relationship between capitalism and colonialism is one of cause and effect or one of co-constitution. Walter Mignolo's clarity on co-constitution is helpful: "Coloniality is constitutive of modernity – there is no

modernity without coloniality." The term "coloniality,"[1] first developed and elaborated by Latin American thinkers and activists, has its own sometimes complex history and plurality of usages. For now, let's take it to mean the ongoing patterns of power that emerged during the historical events of Western European colonialism, and have continued ever since to develop and sustain that power. In other words, capitalism (modernity) and the ongoing effects of colonialism (coloniality) are co-constituted, historically and in the present.

Here's an example. Marxian analyses of the development of capitalism use the concept of "primitive accumulation" (now also often called "original accumulation") to describe how materials and labour were forcibly brought into the capitalist system. For Marx, primitive accumulation was a temporary developmental phase in the euphemistically named "transition to capitalism" and he problematically designated many people and the Earth's materiality as pre-modern, "primitive," or "natural" – that is, less than human.[2] Subsequent scholars have critiqued Marx's analysis for this and how its focus on wage labour cannot adequately address that capitalism is only possible because of ongoing land enclosures; extraction of "natural resources"; the forced labor, dispossession, and displacement of Indigenous peoples, enslaved Africans, and indentured laborers; the criminalization of poor people who don't submit to power; the oppression of women; and pacts between states and religious power.[3] Capitalism was built through colonialism and capitalism endlessly invents more sites from which to extract value in ever new forms of "primitive" accumulation. Capitalism needs coloniality to sustain itself.

The complexity of co-constitution plays out in recurring struggles over whether to address identity or structure "first," as if they were separable and could be overcome with a sequential response. Many Black, postcolonial, decolonial, and Indigenous feminisms and queer theories address this false binary: identity occurs within structures, meaning relations are the locus of political oppression and resistance.[4] A commitment to relational practice – in all its materialities, pluralities, and collectivities – is the place from which to act against threats to life and ways of life, and through which to dismantle colonial consciousness and coloniality.

Many other essays in the Code address relations and practice as sites of struggle and change. The next part of the text focuses on the co-constitution of capitalism and colonialism in Europe.

WHITENESS AND EUROPEAN IMPERIALISM

White supremacy in Europe runs deep.

Religious wars undertaken by the Latin Church in the Middle East in the medieval period eventually set constructions of whiteness/Christianity/West into a moral position against constructions of brown-ness/Islam/East.[5] In Europe, this fundamentalism resulted in existing multi-ethnic, multi-faith communities being broken apart. This conceptualization of race added another layer to already violent relations between rich and poor. Racialization became another vector of oppression applied to "others" who were falsely narrativized as being "from" elsewhere, and to various "internal others" who could be any group resisting the emerging church-

landowner-state consolidation of power. Intra- and extra-continental European imperialism that followed built on this toxic combination of power and narrativized exceptionalism to justify domination.

European states and institutions turned places, people, beings, and life into property.

Within Europe the development of race as a fracturing tool of power is still cascading through rich/poor class relations, between differently racialized working-class people, between European states and regions, and between Fortress EU and refugees at borders, camps, and in detention inside and outside of Europe.[6]

All of this means that white supremacy has been a key vector in colonialism even while the categories of white and non-white have differed across locations and times.

WHAT IS WHITE?

The category of whiteness and who is considered to be white have been mutable throughout this history in ways that have benefited structures of power – those with accumulated wealth in the class system, nation-states, or religious institutions. In recent history, traveling people and settled people – usually poorer – from southern Europe, the Balkans, eastern Europe, central Europe, and Ireland have been criminalized for poverty, racialized within Europe or in the so-called New World as non-white, and forced into indentured labor. In settler colonial contexts, these populations have made the move from non-white to white whenever that has been convenient to the further subjugation of Afro-descendent and Indigenous people, or people

descended from indentured laborers from Asia. Becoming white has not necessarily meant becoming wealthier, although it has often meant becoming relatively better protected by state institutions.

COLONIALISM DIDN'T END WITH DECOLONIZATION

The "Reparations, Rematriation, and Repair" texts address the ongoing forms of colonialism that the Global North perpetuates in relations with the Global South.

Most European states have not begun to make reparations for the many ongoing injustices of their empires. Looking back at who paid the financial costs of the abolition of slavery and decolonization is instructive.

European countries did pay huge reparations to slave owners at the time of the abolition of slavery. The UK treasury only finished paying off the loan it took to pay these reparations in 2015.

In many cases, European nations states required that they receive payment for decolonization. Let's take the example of France, which:

- sought reparations equivalent to $21 billion *from* Haiti after the Haitian revolution, which were paid until 1946, continues to receive "taxes" from many African nations where it was the colonial power for the "debt" those nations owe for the "benefits" of the colonial era,
- destroyed key infrastructure in nations that refused to enter such agreements at the time of decolonization, and
- continues to hold the cash reserves of many

African nations and to claim first right to exploit natural resources.

Following decolonization, many European states continued to exert power over their former colonies by direct violence – assassinating politicians, sponsoring militias – and financial violence like structural adjustment plans, and cycles of loans and debt repayments.

European states continue to destroy colonial records and fight court cases brought by former colonial subjects for compensation in the form of money or citizenship.

WHITE SUPREMACY AND EXTRACTIVE CAPITALISM

White supremacy in the form of racial capitalism sees some human life as more valuable than other human life to such a degree that only some human people are granted access to the category of humanity (in the figure of "Man") while others are not.[7] This form of racial supremacy also considers Man to be apart from and "above" the rest of the world (in the figure of "nature").[8] By thinking itself as apart from the world, Man can be "conqueror," "discoverer," "savior," or "hero" of other people, livelihoods, beings, and places.

The extractivist model of capitalism has treated the environment, more-than-human life, and poor, racialized, and female assigned and identifying people as material from which to extract profit. Capitalist systems of agriculture, fishing, mining, energy use, and production of goods have consistently damaged or destroyed local environments through pollution and disruption of ecosystems. Fossil fuel use has caused

an irreversible breakdown to the planet's climate and the effects of this are unevenly experienced in different parts of the planet, with the Global South most severely affected. The effects of this worsen existing inequalities. Racial capitalism continues to need to produce "others" to exploit and continues to function by extracting value from somewhere it deems "external" to produce a profit.

White supremacy shows up in following ways: the continued lack of action by Western powers when the severest consequences of climate change are felt elsewhere, the idea of green capitalism "solving" climate breakdown, the focus on carbon capture based on non-existent technology, the opening of new fossil fuel developments, and the embrace of forms of electricity reliant on heavy mining of rare earth metals.

The fear of structural change, and the attendant reorganization and redistribution of resources and privilege that it would entail, means that states, corporations, and many citizens continue to prioritize the current dysfunctional economic system, pay huge sums to lobby against change to the "profitability for the few" model, and keep the focus on individual consumer acts rather than transnational solidarities as the locus of environmental change.

WHITE SUPREMACY IN THE ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENT IN EUROPE

Within Europe, historically white-dominated environmental movements can still come up against and need to be alert for some of the following issues:

- Solutionism
- Savior mentality
- Paternalism
- A distorted perception of urgency related to proximity to self – the narrative of the climate crisis as being new
- Flattening the different experiences and impacts of climate and environmental breakdown caused by environmental racism
- Reducing "sustainability" to consumer choices
- Greenwashing
- A fictional historical past where Europe was white and socially conservative
- Eco-fascism
- Cultural work that reifies more-than-human relations while jumping over unresolved social justice issues
- A willingness to deprioritize urgent social justice demands by racialized groups for the "greater good" of an ecosystem
- Beliefs in technological solutions to climate breakdown
- The "right" to hope
- Reliance on technological intermediaries to sense climate breakdown
- Lack of connections or solidarity with other social movements, locally and transnationally
- Appropriation of Global Majority knowledge without honoring the people who carried it to the present
- Historical and ongoing non-attribution or erasure of work already done by BIPOC-led environmental activists and movements
- Claiming decolonization without changing working practices and structures, or even meaningfully addressing the history of colonialism
- Centering white histories around practices, such as permaculture, which have many cultural roots

- Over-intellectualizing, but also not thinking critically enough
- When feeling the stakes as part of a developing consciousness, taking up emotional and organizing space amongst people who've lived feeling the stakes for ever.

THERE IS NO ONE WAY

There is no one way to be with the depth of these issues, just as there is no one way to be with the damage already done and set in motion. There must be stamina in sustained efforts of moving from where you are; working into your connections and relations and growing them with those you don't yet know; nurturing or setting alight your domain of action; getting things wrong or doing things well and learning in the process; noticing when you are propelled by fear, or guilt, or grief, or anger, or obsession, or dissociation, or together-feeling, or excitement, or passion, or love, and learning about the ways those different motivating feelings can move your actions in different directions.

SOME LEARNINGS
BY CANNACH MACBRIDE

The following is a list that Cannach wrote in response to being with the CJC and the call in that Zoe describes in "Living Dying Cultures".

- I can't avoid being a white person and doing white person things. The feelings that that raises in me are mostly mine to work with. With trusted people, there is space to explore this without

shame. I can build on these experiences to open more space for more of this work to happen.

- I think there is a huge hole of often-unconscious grief and loss underneath "Western culture" and the world it has built for the minority on the backs of the majority. Deep down, we who benefit from it know that what we have isn't what we need to continue to make life. This world based on a negative culture of capture and lack – not good enough, not human, not worthy, etc. – is violent to most of the world, but also doesn't offer its beneficiaries a sense of meaning or belonging. This hole has no bottom – it grows convoluted, hungry forms of seizure and defense that never stop finding new grounds.
- I struggle to find nourishment in my ancestral cultures. The ones I can access saw the world as theirs to take and I can't access the older ones to know if that was ever different. In order to stop throwing things in the hole of lack, I need to think about what kinds of healing they might need.
- I find joy in connection and need to nourish this.
- I am not great at holding space for deep (for example spiritual or cosmic) expansiveness in crisis. This is due to deep inherited priorities that I'm trying to re-pattern. This work is longer than my life alone, so I do it as many days as I can.
- Nothing I do can ever be entirely without harm.
- It's not my intentions that matter, although that doesn't mean that the type of intentionality with which I walk in the world doesn't matter.
- The capacity to be more active and less defensive builds with the doing.
- The visibility or legibility of whatever commitment I have made is not the most important thing – it's showing up that is important.
- I can't show up to all the things I would wish to so

I am learning how to do a bit less but a bit more deeply, while being mindful to not stay with the easiest or most comfortable tasks.

- I listen for pain and anger, and for joy and connection.

1 Walter D. Mignolo "Coloniality: The Darker Side of Modernity," p. 39. In *Modernologies: Contemporary artists researching modernity and modernism*, edited by Sabine Breitwieser, Cornelia Klinger, and Walter D. Mignolo, (Museu d'Art Contemporani de Barcelona, 2009), pp. 39–49.

2 See: Denise Ferreira da Silva, 2007, *Toward a Global Idea of Race*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press; Sylvia Wynter, "Unsettling the Coloniality of Being/Power/Truth/Freedom: Towards the Human, After Man, Its Overrepresentation – An Argument," *CR: The New Centennial Review* 3, no. 3 (Fall 2003), pp. 257–337.

3 See: Cedric Robinson, 1983, *Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition*. London: Zed Press; Silvia Federici, 2004, *Caliban and the Witch: Women, the Body and Primitive Accumulation*. Brooklyn: Autonomedia; Denise Ferreira da Silva, "Toward a Black Feminist Poethics: The Quest(ion) of Blackness Toward the End of the World," *The Black Scholar* 44, no. 2 (Summer 2014), pp. 81–97.

4 See for example: Lélia Gonzalez; Audre Lorde; Gloria Anzaldúa; M. Jacqui Alexander; Chandra Talpade Mohanty; María Lugones; Jasbir K. Puar, and many, many more.

5 The "eventually" condenses and over simplifies a lot of time, factional wars between believers in different forms of Christianity, and many layers of endless historical revisionism as to where Europe and "The East" began and ended.

6 The lands of present day Europe have been home to Brown and Black people for thousands of years but these histories have been neglected and erased, and today are contested by white supremacist revisionists, some of whom seek to appropriate and weaponize the concept of indigeneity against refugees.

7 See: Sylvia Wynter, "Unsettling the Coloniality of Being/Power/Truth/Freedom."

8 See: Sylvia Wynter, "Unsettling the Coloniality of Being/Power/Truth/Freedom" and Kathryn Yussof, 2019, *A Billion Black Anthropocenes or None*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Living Dying Cultures: Reflections on Whiteness Within the Code

By Zoe Scoglio

This text has been written in response to the ongoing calls by First Nations peoples and those from the Global Majority for solidarity in centering an anti-racist, justice-based approach to the climate crisis. This is a personal reflection, a collection of residues and awareness gathered from my time immersed in the Climate Justice Code's (CJC) organizational culture and the impact of whiteness upon it. This includes lessons learned and mistakes made by myself and other white members of the CJC working groups. It is primarily written for other white artists and arts institutions who are interested in engaging with the Code, or processes of solidarity towards systemic change. It aims to highlight the need for allies to learn about the ways we participate in and benefit from white supremacist cultures, its impact on our imaginaries and beliefs, and our responsibility to reckon with this culture if we are to create just and equitable alternatives.

I am writing from unceded Djaara Country on the continent known as Australia, as an uninvited guest, a second generation settler with Sicilian/Calabrian and English/Scottish ancestry. I am an artist who attended Casco's Assembly in Utrecht in 2019 where the draft CJC was shared and collectively edited by 100+ participants. I am one of the participants who volunteered to integrate the fragments of feedback into the Code and support it to come to life.[1] These words are informed by the generous and deep engagement of everyone who worked on the code, especially the members of the post-Assembly working groups, including Ama Josephine Budge Johnstone, Suzanne Dhaliwal, Marianna Takou, Cannach MacBride, and Clementine Edwards. They are also informed by the communities and colleagues I'm indebted to where I live. Much of my involvement with

the Code's working groups took place over Zoom after returning to this continent I call home and where I'm still digesting the lessons I gathered from the Code's process and failings in support of my relationships locally. This includes my work with Nalderun Education Aboriginal Corporation, a grassroots Aboriginal run and led organization and a related community of practice of allies who co-facilitate Self-Reflection Conversations on allyship, white privilege, and structural racism. They call it upside-down country here, gold rush country, the devastation from 230 years of European colonization still fresh and ongoing. This is a place where the myths of *terra nullius* and the White Australia Policy loom large in the landscape. It's the season that the Kulin Nations call Guling during what Europeans call winter. It's a short season of big change and wattle bloom, where there are usually warm winds and much rain.

THE SCOBY

This Code is not a code, it's a scoby.

The word scoby is an acronym for "symbiotic culture of bacteria and yeast." It is a starter culture used to make a sweet fermented health drink called kombucha that assists to build healthy microbial cultures within one's gut. The scoby is a fleshy, slimy, alien-looking thing that is often shared among friends as it grows in excess when people brew their own at home. It can be found in health food shops often frequented by white middle- and upper-class women who would think of themselves as "progressive." I have one, long neglected, growing in my pantry.

Symbiosis comes from the Greek word "living together." It describes how different organisms or species build long-term relationships to support each other's survival. I have been thinking about the texts in the CJC as a scoby: a collection of deep thinking and prompts offered to support embedded and mutually beneficial transformative action; ingredients which when tended to, shared, and given time to ferment – as scobies do – can contribute to living cultures in the particularities of your own creative and institutional lifeworlds.

The metaphor of the CJC as a scoby may not be perfect but it has lingered since it was first proposed during the Casco Assembly.[2] The model of a living starter culture that can adapt and grow in relation to each context of its activation assisted me to feel the shape of the complex tangle of concepts and themes within the Code. It helped me to better understand the Code's potential, not just as words on paper, but as a possible generative, commoning, governance framework that could support arts organizations' transitions to be climate-just.

Over many months, conversations ebbed and flowed about how the Code as scoby starter culture could proliferate and be connected in a decentralized way to support reciprocity and relationship; free to evolve but grounded in and accountable to its core values and anti-racist aims. While busy speculating on future living cultures, it became obvious that the majority-white working group couldn't work toward the creation of "new" starter cultures within Western artistic institutions and beyond if everyone was not first actively reckoning with the necrotic and oppressive scoby we are within, and that is within us. Any attempt at creating new cultural forms without

deep processes of critical self-reflection, truth telling, and reckoning upon the colonial, capitalist, and patriarchal cultures that make us up can only further ingrain existing logics rather than do the deep work necessary of disinvesting from them. When dominant modern culture has been wired along severed lines of domination and exploitation, it's necessary to make time to slow down, soften, and land – into our bodies, and into the rifts and relations of where we stand.

To effectively address a problem, it is important to adequately diagnose. In this instance, it is important to recognize that the climate crisis we are experiencing is the direct result of the colonial project. The destruction of lifeworlds was and is the aim of colonization. This necrotic system has progressed so masterfully that our whole planetary lifeworld has now become a sacrifice zone – anti-colonial and anti-racist consciousness is critical for any meaningful climate action and cultural change. This is about understanding the ways in which the colonial system is making us all, differently, sick.

> The coalition emerges out of your recognition that it's fucked up for you, in the same way that we've already recognized that it's fucked up for us. I don't need your help. I just need you to recognize that this shit is killing you, too, however much more softly, you stupid motherfucker.[3]

Approaching the climate crisis with anti-colonial consciousness means taking leadership from and supporting the self-determination of Indigenous and colonized communities whose relational cosmologies and knowledge systems enable them to live in reciprocal and sustainable relationships with place.

> If Country is sick, our people are sick.
> Healing Country means healing ourselves…
> Empower us and you empower yourselves
> – no group of people are more invested in
> caring for the environment and keeping
> it healthy than Indigenous peoples.[4]

Indigenous peoples and other colonized communities have not only developed ways to survive the apocalypse of their lifeworlds but continue to organize and mobilize in resistance to ongoing ecocides and genocides while also reviving Culture. On this continent, First Peoples bring 80,000+ years of living expertise of sustainable land management, governance, and science that care for the interconnected health of Country, Culture, and Community.[5] Listening to, supporting, and learning from First Nations people provides a space of hope for us all, and yet their leadership and knowledge systems continue to be devalued, and their human rights and lands violated through ongoing racist and destructive processes of settler colonization.

Some of the best climate action white people can take is to build cultures of solidarity and support the self-determination of Indigenous and colonized peoples.

> Work collaboratively with us, learn our laws and
> our ways and respect our knowledges to find
> solutions together to combat climate change.[6]

From where I'm writing, in this settler colony on unceded Aboriginal lands, terms like decolonization, the commons, and re-wilding don't fit so neatly as they do in Europe. Decolonizing here ultimately means the returning of land.[7] It is not a feel-good approach by settlers, activists, artists, and academics towards forms of belonging that

only further embed the colonial project. When language of change and justice – decolonizing – is so quickly absorbed and de-radicalized to further entrench current systems and imbalances of power rather than disrupt them, it is important to continually ask how attempts to decolonize institutions or consciousness are working in alignment to support the self-determination and justice of First Peoples.

Gumbaynggirr activist and academic Gary Foley tells us that it's often harder dealing with allies and progressives than with those who are overtly racist.[8] When unexamined privileges, fragile egos, savior complexes, unconscious biases, and paternalistic attitudes are coupled with an identity aligned with "doing good," it creates shady relationship dynamics, reproduces colonial violence, and makes it hard to take on the constructive criticism so necessary for change.

> The cost of solidarity is POC exhaustion... This industry is killing us.[9]

Culture is the practice of meaning making. It is alive, contaminated, and forever mutating. It is the connective tissue that binds us to each other and to place, moving through us and between us. The cultures within our guts, within the soil, and within our social sphere are part of the same continuum. Culture is the way we make sense of the world, a container for our beliefs, values and imaginaries. Dominant culture is often invisible to those privileged enough to not butt up against its walls or be excluded by them. Those of us with this privilege need to actively make time to know our own culture in order to transform it and to recognize our agency, creativity, and responsibility to do so. The colonial project has not only shaped

the Earth, but has shaped the imaginations and nervous systems of the peoples grown in its soil.

> This climate justice code is a failed project as it starts from a colonial conception of what art is.[10]

THE CODE IS DEAD

These are times of learning to let things end. To let go and let change.

The Code, as it was initially envisioned, is dead. I can feel a weight lift as I type this after collectively dragging around what has felt like an inherited dead scoby carcass trying to revive and "fix" it, rather than letting the rich nutrients, relations, and knowledge from within its rotting flesh ferment into a proliferation of new forms.

One form that emerged in response to the discrepancies and frictions that became visible at the Assembly was the Reparations, Rematriation, and Repair section of the Code. This was proposed and outlined at the Assembly by a group led by Black, Indigenous, and People of Colour (BIPOC) participants, because the initial draft code did not go far enough to address the structural racism, inequity, and colonial violence at the core of the climate crisis. It was apparent at that point that *both* a dedicated section within the code was needed to hold this work *and* an anti-racist consciousness be embedded throughout all sections of the code. Although there was general consensus on this within the broader working groups that subsequently formed, there wasn't the experience, knowledge, or group culture to put this into practice.

The majority white, majority femme main CJC working group charged on, trying to fix the dissected draft scoby carcass we'd inherited rather than letting it de/recompose. Instead of listening and learning from the obstacles before us we sense-less-ly contributed to the culture of urgency and busy-ness so deeply embedded in Western minds and bodies to get somewhere else rather than be where we were more fully.

The challenge in locating individual and collective agency and accountability to change direction from an inherited course of action or stop – that was especially present among white members of the working group – feels like a mirror of the inertia and commitment to comfort and familiarity of larger structures that resist the inevitability of the systemic change the climate crisis brings and calls for.

THE CALL IN

This Code is not a code, it's a call in.

A call in, rather than a call out, is a compassionate request to gather in and critically reflect, especially when harm or damage has been done. Through dialogue, relationship, and accountability, it can generate learning.

A call in was made to the white members of the CJC working group by the BIPOC members in January 2021. At this time, the working group was trying to move from the Code as a bunch of words chewed over by a large number of people to the Code as an accountability structure in action. The intention was to work closely with a handful of "test site" arts

organizations to develop concrete ways the Code could function in practice within the particularities of their context. Test sites were asked to commit to a minimum six month process of investigating their structures and practices before making any program connected to this work. After encountering resistance at initial meetings with potential test sites and at other external meetings, it was clear that the white members of the group didn't have the knowledge, self-awareness, or experience necessary to be able to support the Code in the face of conflict. As a result, the BIPOC members of the group most available to attend meetings were bearing the labor of advocating for the Code's anti-racist principles whilst simultaneously experiencing the violent impacts of navigating white institutional spaces. We, white members of the working group, were told to go and do the work and come back when we had sorted our shit out.

So we gathered weekly online to reflect on the ways we had failed to embed the prefigurative politics the code was calling for into the ways we showed up and worked together. In small groups, we explored Somatic Abolitionism, the embodied anti-racist and cultural practice of therapist Resmaa Menakem.[11] This framework supports somatic learning about the different ways intergenerational racialized trauma sits within different bodies and informs the cultural norms of individuals, communities, and nation states. His embodied practices offer tools to build a sense of bodily safety and to listen to how our nervous systems respond when unpacking the different ways we have deeply internalized the values of what he calls "white-body supremacy" – this somatic awareness is a small first step in a multi-generational process of healing. We read Tema Okun's "White Supremacy Culture,"

which is a tool for exploring how certain tendencies – such as perfectionism, individualism, a sense of urgency, privileging the written word, either/or thinking rather than both/and thinking – show up, often unquestioned, in the ways in which people work together in dominant culture spaces.[12] By using an embodied approach to feel my response to a close and situated reading of this text, I realized how much these traits inform and limit my own sense of self and self-worth, and how deeply they limit ways to move together across difference in right relationship. I could feel that the disinvestment from toxic systems that climate justice calls for is *both* deeply personal *and* structural.

And so it becomes clear that we must practice our emotional literacy and vulnerability, showing up compassionately as we are, to build strength and capacity for difficult feelings and unsettling conversations that are so necessary to have. It's this regular practice of working the heart muscle, of stretching ones comfort zones, that Menakem likens to "reps" at a gym. To be able to be with the grief, the shame, and the fear opens up space for joy, connection, possibility, and for emergent mutualistic cultures to form.

I'm reminded here that during the time we were meeting at the height of the Bla(c)k Lives Matter movement and Covid-19 lockdowns, a meme was circulating online about how Black people were fighting for their lives while white people were joining study groups.[13] The absurd discrepancy in privilege that this statement speaks to felt so true – but also study we must. This is not the kind of study that safely isolates us in our individual rooms but that brings us together in place, to humbly learn through messy relations, vulnerability, and action.[14]

Six months later, we were further away from any answers on how to "solve" the Code or "fix" our white supremacy tendencies, but closer to an understanding and sensing of how deep our shit was. The kind of shit that will take generations to heal and that Gesturing Towards Decolonial Futures collective calls on us to collectively compost if we are to "face the (shit) storm together in a generative way(s)."[15]

I pass a scar tree on my run this morning – it's surrounded by suburban sprawl, European pastoral farmland, and a denuded quartz-filled landscape still laced with arsenic from the gold rush. I also pass young Sweet Bursaria bushes growing on old sludge piles, planted by one of the local landcare groups, and inhabited by the nocturnal ants and caterpillars of the endangered Eltham Copper butterfly – who all live, eat, and care together in mutual symbiosis.

I've been running from this text these last months despite my desire and sense of responsibility to write. Because of my fear of getting it "wrong," of causing harm, of speaking from the heart and all the feelings and vulnerability it brings. Because of the inadequacy and inability of dis-located written words to talk to the complexity and contradictions of things. Because of the challenge of moving within and beyond reductive binaries. Because of the necessity of embedded place-based approaches when I am now so far away and out-of-place to this European "art world" that the Code speaks to. Because I don't care about art world, I care about art that is in service to the world.

What has stuck with me since the Assembly is the potential of the Code as a support for collective learning for all of us participating in and benefiting

from the varied terrains of the European colonial project. That there is so much to learn and unlearn.

And learning, failing, learning is never done.

And so I think of the Climate Justice Code itself as a call in: a call in to notice where and how you're already in.

A call in to critically self-reflect with others on the impacts of whiteness and colonization to be better accomplices to reparative justice.

A call in to feel into the rifts rather than rush to repair using the same broken logics.

A call in to invest in creating the conditions for endless embedded study, and the mutual unfurlings it can bring.

1 If you're looking for an overview about what the CJC is or how it came to be, check out "About the CJC" and the "Preamble."

2 I'm not actually sure who first proposed the scoby metaphor at the Assembly. It was one of those terms that someone threw into the mix and got caught up in circulation. If anyone one knows, I'd love to hear.

3 Stefano Harney and Fred Moten, 2013, The *Undercommons: Fugitive Planning and Black Study*. Wivenhoe: Minor Compositions, p. 10

4 "Statement from the Indigenous authors of the 2021 State of the Environment report," in the report chapter "Indigenous" in the Australian Government's 2021 State of the Environment Report. Available at: https://soe.dcceew.gov.au/indigenous/outlook-and-impact

5 Country, Culture, and Community are capitalized here as they are often considered names within Indigenous world views, and, as I am often reminded by proud Yorta Yorta woman and Nalderun CEO Kath Coff, Country from First Nations perspectives is not referring to a nation state but the interconnection of land, sky, and waterways and all life and Culture that emerge from it.

6 "2021 First Nations Peoples Statement on Climate Change" from the National First Peoples Gathering on Climate Change 2021. Available at: https://nespclimate.com.au/wp-content/uploads/2021/10/NFPGCC-Statement-on-Climate-Change.pdf

7 Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang, "Decolonization is not a metaphor," *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education and Society* 1(1), (2012), pp. 1–40.

8 Gary Foley, "Foreword." In Clare Land, 2022, *Decolonizing Solidarity: Dilemmas and Directions for Supporters of Indigenous Struggles,* New York: Bloomsbury, pp. 2–8.

9 Ama Josephine Budge Johnstone, "Framing, Part 2: Reparations, Rematriation, and Repair", Climate Justice Code.

10 Sámi participant at a public workshop about the Code as part of the series "Committed to Change" at Oslo National Academy of the Arts, 2020.

11 Resmaa Menakem: Embodied Anti-Racist Education, https://www.resmaa.com/movement

12 This short text and other resources can be freely downloaded at www.whitesupremacyculture.info/about

13 "Blak" is a self-referential term used by some First Nations people in so-called Australia. The phrase Bla(c)k Lives Matter has been used to acknowledge the particular yet interconnected ongoing fights for justice from systemic racism. On this continent, First Peoples are the most incarcerated people on the planet, and there have been over 540 Indigenous deaths in custody since the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody recommendations in 1991.

14 There is a long history of consciousness raising practices. Especially relevant is the intersectional approach of Black feminist collectives such as conceived by The Combahee River Collective in their 1977 statement. Available at: https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/combahee-river-collective-statement-1977

15 Gesturing Towards Decolonial Futures, "The (shit) storm categories." Available at: https://decolonialfutures.net/portfolio/the-shit-storm/

Art and Radical Imagination

Introduction

This section of the Climate Justice Code (CJC) proposes a reflective moment for people using the code. It is titled Art and Radical Imagination because to change one's practices requires a great deal of creativity. The CJC believes creativity and imagination exist in many types of practice, that they do not only belong in the domain of art. In working for climate justice, arts practitioners and arts organizations will work from many different understandings of what art is and what it could be.

To support thinking together about art and radical imagination in climate justice, we invite users of the code to write short reflective texts in response to these questions: How does reading the CJC affect you and what effect can that have on your practice? What does your artistic practice mean to you and how can it relate consciously to climate injustice? It always already relates, consciously or not, by existing.

This invitation is informal and can be approached with openness, vulnerability, and uncertainty. CJC working group member Clementine Edwards has written a first text to inspire and serve as prompt.

Art and Radical Imagination

By Clementine Edwards

I've been dreaming through the last few weeks. Thinking, reading, looking, talking. And as the days have slanted into autumn I've changed. Tussling with the ego-logic of the "I" – that menace – and the "deep places of possibility" where change and social life and making things live, I've understood myself to be tussling with an idea I have about beauty and delight, which I'd like to describe here. I call this idea the clearing. It is a dream site enclosed by forest or bushland; or it is when morning sun burns away the fog. Here simple, beautiful things evade capture or words. And while the clearing may be surrounded by thickets of things I don't want to talk about (heroes, history, pure form, property) it is an open site nonetheless.

No individual experience is beyond context. Although there may be frameworks in life that dictate the ways in which you or I are understood and these frameworks might explain the conditions of one's pain, living is "a situation to be experienced and interacted with" rather than "a problem to be solved" – with frameworks or otherwise.

Art started for me as a shelter, within which beauty dwelled as a "radical act of subsistence." Touching and making is affirmation of presence (here, now) and repetitive action is gentle reminder of being in one's skin. What such actions produce are charged, "a transfiguration of the given." Here I am at the studio desk, closely focused on rearranging the delicate body of a fly. Such actions envision otherwise, tell story otherwise. I sweep the floor and produce with the broom a beautiful pile of dust, and the soft grey mountain contains worlds. Pay attention.

Minutes, days, or weeks passed and I noticed something in my chest. Leaden and flaky, anxiety had settled in. Despite the gentle thought, my thinking on the clearing didn't feel right. If emotions tell me something about the present, then affect is something that I'm always catching up to. Anxiety told me that my views were changing. Slow tongued, I saw-felt-intuited I was approaching "deep places of possibility" from my thinking of yesterday.

Art is not only shelter. Yes, it can look inward and reflect, getting to the feeling underneath a thing. From its hideout it can respond to and critique structures within which we are framed, for they are inescapable. And it can conjure a dream site enclosed by forest or bush. But the presence of the thicket casts long shadows around me; I haven't been paying attention to the tracks that had been laid down by those before me.

To engage with art is to invite conversation with others across time. It is to be alive to difference and texture and histories. What does one do with that difference? The contexts within which I practice might be complicated and while my relationship to these contexts might be refusal or disavowal, to refuse or disavow with art is, in the end, an act of affirmation.

Because.

Practicing art is an act of world-building and is *itself* a possible framework for living. Audre Lorde wrote that poetry "is the skeleton architecture of our lives." I trace this proposition with my eyes; Lorde might have been speaking about art more broadly. *Art as the skeleton architecture of our lives*. So how might this architecture work in relation to other more painful

structures that shape our lives? If art is "to hint at possibility made real," then it is also to understand that artistic resources are political, access is political, geography is political, heritage is political, and image-making and representation – individually and institutionally – is political. Art is walking lightly with the Earth. Art is making one's political claims in the present – how close can we get to affect's wisdom? – because to recognize this is to understand that in the unfolding now, in ongoingness, we are figuring out life. It is here that we are radically recalibrating, speculatively dreaming and instituting otherwise.

Quoted text from "Extraction: Abolition Geography and the Problem of Innocence" by Ruth Wilson Gilmore (2015), "Poetry is Not a Luxury" by Audre Lorde (1977), *Wayward Lives, Beautiful Experiments by* Saidiya Hartman (2019), and *Cruel Optimism* by Lauren Berlant (2011).

The following are some of the friends, thinkers and artists who have informed this text and to whom I'm grateful: Lauren Berlant, Ama Josephine Budge Johnstone, Binna Choi, Imtiaz Dharker, Kris Dittel, Saidiya Hartman, NK Jemison, Olivia Laing, George Lipsitz, Audre Lorde, Carnisia Lubrin, Liang Luscombe, Cannach MacBride, and the CJC editorial working group.

About the Climate Justice Code

The Climate Justice Code was first drafted by an editorial committee, alongside a steering committee, for Casco Art Institute's second Assembly for commoning art institutions in October 2019. This draft was intended to inform and lobby policy in the Dutch cultural sector. All participants of the public assembly in Utrecht contributed to editing the code. Throughout 2020 it was further developed by a working group of trans-oceanic artists, activists, and facilitators across the creative fields, based predominantly in Europe, with the intention that it be adopted and adapted by arts practitioners and arts organizations.

The working group intended to test ways that the code could be implemented within arts organizations in The Netherlands and other European countries with similar funding structures and histories of industrialization rooted in colonialism. In 2020, it developed a proposal for ways that organizations could work with the code to change their working structures and practices and began to discuss this with several arts organizations.

In early 2021, at the request of several working group members, the Climate Justice Code working group took a pause from this outward-facing work to focus on its internal structures because the same structural issues

that the code addresses, namely white supremacy, were also showing up in the practices of the working group. What followed was a period in which the white members of the working group met regularly to address white supremacy culture in their working practices and lives.

The Climate Justice Code working group formally closed in late 2021.

The group recognized that it did not have the capacity to fulfill the original aims and intentions of the Code, namely, to proliferate the Code as a tool for practical and accountable change within arts communities and organizations. Further, the hope for what was possible came up against the reality that European arts organizations are not ready or able to transform their working structures and practices towards climate justice.

Most of the Code's writing was completed by 2021.

In 2022, the working group agreed to publish the Code.

The Climate Justice Code encourages practitioners beyond this immediate context to take it up, adapt it, and develop it.

Colophon

In 2019, the CJC was initiated by a Casco steering committee (Annette Krauss, Ying Que, Binna Choi, Yolande Zola Zoli van der Heide with Rosa Paardenkooper) and editorial committee (Platform BK's Joram Kraaijeveld, Commons Network's Thomas de Groot and Taru Aitola, Fossil Free Culture NL's Teresa Borasino and Harriet Bergman, Code Rood's Selçuk Balamir and artist Clementine Edwards).

In 2020, the CJC was actively worked on by the following people: Alessandra Saviotti, Ama Josephine Budge Johnstone, Amy Pekal, Binna Choi, Carina Jansen, Clementine Edwards, the Community Economies Institute (Molly Mullen, Aviv Kruglanski, Leo Hwang, and Ana Inés Heras), Jessica Palalagi, Joram Kraaijeveld, Josina Calliste, Cannach MacBride, Marianna Takou, Nicole Jesse, Nish Doshi, Pau(la) Chaves Bonilla, Sina Ribak, Suzanne Dhaliwal, Valentina Vella, Ying Que, Yolande Zola Zoli van der Heide, and Zoe Scoglio.

In the framework of the Dutch Art Institute's master's program, within which Casco facilitated a 2020–21 study group, the following people also worked on the CJC: Amit Rai, Alexandra Martens Serrano, Csilla Klenyánszki, Dakota Guo, Elvis Krstulović, Emmeli Person, Liza Rinkema Rapuš, Marika Vandekraats, Mia van den Bos, and Raúl Silva.

Since 2021, the CJC was worked on by the following people: Ama Josephine Budge Johnstone, Amy Pekal, Binna Choi, Clementine Edwards,

Cannach MacBride, Marianna Takou, Nicole Jesse, Pau(la) Chaves Bonilla, Teresa Borasino, Ying Que, Yolande Zola Zoli van der Heide, and Zoe Scoglio.

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