

Undoing settler colonialism

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Introduction

While racism is often discussed within a black and white binary, settler colonialism enabled the racialization and discrimination of many other groups of people. Indigenous nations of Northern America are among those the most vulnerable to them. Throughout 500 years of the European colonization of America(s), they experienced genocide, land expropriation, forced displacement, the prohibition of practicing their cultures and languages, and forced assimilation. The image of “The Vanishing Indian” as one of the main myths of American colonization is so deeply embodied in the American culture that such practices as celebrating Thanksgiving or Columbus Day or turning Native Americans into mascots are rarely questioned.

Moreover, the legacy of colonialism shapes and impacts the lives of Indigenous communities even today. They face harsher discrimination day by day such as the struggle for tribal recognition, reparations, and repatriation of cultural, sacred objects and human remains. Additionally, Native Americans are the most poverty-stricken population in the U.S. and are currently facing a severe health crisis as results of the global pandemic.

However, discriminative and racist occurrences exist not only in the United States. In Germany, the legacy of colonialism led to emergence of hobbyism and Indianthusiasm, as Hartmut Lutz calls the fascination Germans have with Native Americans. From 40,000 to 100,000 Germans are actively participating in hobbyist events such as powwows, summer camps, maintaining and replicating what is deemed to be Native American traditions, religious rituals, and art. Many of them are members of so-called “Indian Communities” while some people of non-Indigenous descent even identify themselves as Natives. Also, the commercial usage of Native artifacts, sacred objects, and human remains (as happened in Karl May’s Museum) and gaining profit from stereotypical Native-related items (as with German Carnival or thematic amusement parks) are still happening in Germany. Reinforcing the notion of the vanishing race, these activities also add to an essentialist and stereotypical understanding of “Indianness”, while current struggles and issues of the Indigenous nations as well as their voices regarding these practices are ignored and neglected, sometimes deliberately.

This project is a result of group work of students participating in a Project-tutorial “The Legacy of Settler Colonialism: From Cultural appropriation to Environmental Racism” in Winter Semester 2021-2022. The tutorial was focused on the following research question:

How does the legacy of settler colonialism in the U.S. and Germany impact Native cultures?

During the semester we tried to approach this question from different perspectives, analyzing certain cases and events as well as our own biases and limitations.

Research projects presented in this Zine aim at raising awareness of the legacy of settler colonialism and colonial power relations from the perspective of cultural appropriation and Indigenous identity theft and environmental justice.

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The tutorial took place at the American Studies department of the Humboldt University of Berlin in winter semester 2021-2022. It was developed and facilitated by Diana Martsynkovska and supervised by Prof. Dr. Eva Boesenberg.

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BOY SCOUTS OF AMERICA AND CULTURAL APPROPRIATION

A note on how the Boy Scouts of America is harming indigenous communities of America today

PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS

Von Aiyanna Becker

As this article is concerned with the collective appropriation of the Indigenous peoples of the Americas, I will refer to such peoples as 'Native Americans'. However, I recognize that this name is reductive as it does not convey the intricacies of the over 500 indigenous nations living and breathing in the United States today. In lieu of this, I welcome any member of the indigenous community to offer alternatives that better communicate the eminent multifariousness of the Indigenous peoples of the Americas.

The appropriation of Native Americans by the Boy Scouts of America is not an isolated phenomenon. It has and continues to occur in the context of the violent history of colonialism, as well as the U.S. government's long history of mass genocide and efforts of cultural genocide in the assimilative practices of 'Christianizing' and 'civilizing' Native Americans, stripping them of their culture. The Boy Scouts of America is a historically white, Christian organization that has its beginnings rooted in the claiming of Native American culture and identity starting in 1902. Native Americans did not obtain U.S. citizenship until 1924 with the Indian Citizenship Act. Their right to vote was repressed up until 1965 with the Voting Rights Act. Their religious and cultural practices were not protected until 1978 with the American Indian Religious Freedoms Act (1).

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“CULTURAL APPROPRIATION ADDS TO THE MESSAGE WE CONSTANTLY GET AS NATIVES THAT OUR CULTURE IS DEAD, AND THAT OUR EXISTENCE IS AN INCONVENIENCE FOR SOCIETY...BY PRESENTING OUR CULTURES AS THAT OF A DYING/EXTINCT SOCIETY, IT LEAVES NO SPACE IN THE MODERN WORLD FOR NATIVE AMERICANS TO EXIST”(2).

Shelby Rowe, Chickasaw, co-chair of the Indigenous Peoples Committee for the American Association of Suicidology

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Temporality and Agency

Native American Hobbyism is reductionist, simplifying the complexity of the culture through its extraction of the material aspects whilst omitting the context. In doing so, casting the entire culture as one of mere folklore — that which is of the past, incompatible with the modern world save for its relevance in the imagined American identity. This narrative is derivative of the colonized romance of the Noble Savage and the Modern Man — noble, authentic indigeneity, contrasted with voracious modern, capitalist development — who are dichotomously incompatible. Indigenous being and Settler becoming, Indigenous stasis, and Settler dynamism. Settler societies remain caught in these tragic colonial dynamics (3). It is now a binary that when fulfilled, confirms the narrative and the story of the world in which each side feels safe.

Authenticity in settler-indigenous relations is a conception of the Enlightenment projected onto the indigenous person in the form of the constructed ‘Noble Savage’. This figure appears at once imminently desirable and incompatible with modernity. White American culture requires that the Native American remains in their prescribed status as representatives of an ‘authentic’ American culture that retains indigenous knowledge and wisdom of the American lands (4).



This image of the Native American as static allows for white American culture to progress, whilst connecting with an indigenous past. It confirms the linear conception of history, wherein the settler is the future status of the indigenous, who are the past of the settler. In this conception of history, the concept of the indigenous being integrated in modern society does not comply. The indigenous identity of the Native American is thus commercialized and mass produced, to keep their culture and them in the past, as something to draw meaning and connection from in the modern day.

This stems from a pattern of assimilation and destruction that has persisted for two hundred years, due to the cognitive dissonance of white Americans in approaching the Native American. D.H. Lawrence once noted that “no place exerts its full influence upon a newcomer until the old inhabitant is dead or absorbed,” arguing that in order to gain an intimate connection with the American lands and truly be Americans, Native Americans would have to either be assimilated or exterminated. The issue with this conception that resulted in an ‘indeterminacy’ in white Americans, is that it was only the indigenous peoples of America who could teach them such ‘aboriginal closeness’ (3). Then again, if the land was to be theirs, the indigenous peoples could not remain. The United States government proceeded with ambivalence, a trifecta of assimilation, extermination, and cultural theft.

The approach was under the logic that they could achieve control of the land and simultaneously take indigenous knowledge and wisdom as their own. The cultural identity of the Native American is thus instrumentalized to foster the connection of the white American to the American lands. This adoption of Native cultural identity can be seen as clustering around two primary epicenters in time: the Revolution and modernity. This article is concerned with the latter, which instrumentalized 'Indianness' to connect with the 'authentic' alongside the increasingly imminent anxiety of modern life (3). One specific expression of this is the creation of boy's youth wilderness camps.

Instrumentalization and Appropriation

Such instrumentalization of the Native American identity can be traced back to a youth organization founded in 1902 by Ernest Thompson Seton, the Woodcraft Indians, created with the intention of

exposing young boys to Indian customs as a means of fostering values of patriotism, self-reliance, and individualism. All in lieu of the rising concern of a loss of these vital values in the emerging cityscape. By the 1920s-30s, 'Indianness' had grown to be central in the formulation of the American youth camp culture. The youth camps adopted Native American mythology, including that of 'Blackfeet Indian Stories' and 'Pawnee Hero Tales' as their own, and used them to create games and other social activities, recreating scenarios of the imagined history of frontier life (5). The Woodcraft Indians would later go on to merge with the Boy Scouts of America (6), which has grown to be one of the greatest perpetrators of cultural appropriation.

One of the most overtly recognizable appropriations of Native culture in the Boy Scouts is the Order of the

Arrow (OA), which claims Native traditions, ceremonies, and regalia as a stepping stone to completing one's 'Brotherhood' (7).

The Order of the Arrow's lodge in Austin, Texas is entitled the Tonkawa Lodge. The Tonkawa are a Native American tribe, indigenous to present-day central Texas (10). This appropriation of Native names is not limited to the OA lodges, but rather is the status quo. Regional Boy Scouts summer camps also uphold the expected 'native-theme', naming the camps the Kia Kima Scout Reservation, or the Boy Scouts of America Chickasaw Council to name a few, entitled with the intention of embodying the "spirit of



Native American culture"(8). This use of Native American names is indicative of the relentlessly present European paradigm of thought, in which ownership is a central principle. The appropriation of Native names is not alone in exemplifying the harmful practices originating in the

white paradigm. Many of these camps for white boys are given the title of 'reservations.' This word, which is drenched in the tears of the Native Americans who were displaced, killed, and stripped of their culture, is now being used somehow with the intention of 'honoring' them, with no consideration of the voice of Native American communities. Furthermore, what occurs on these lodges is the recitation of speeches by the teens, welcoming the audience to their 'sacred ground' on 'behalf of [their] tribe' while wearing faux war bonnets and fringed leathery (2). What such white young boys may be unaware of, is that this land on which they stand posing as Native Americans, this land which they claim is their sacred land, is not land on which there was this romantic adventurous colonial fantasy, though it was propagated to them as such. Instead, it is the land whose soil was sated by the blood and tears of Native Americans as the settlers killed them, displaced them, ravaged them and took their culture from them.

There is an apparent ignorance of the extent of the trauma that lies in the history of the lived experience of the Native American and how that trauma translates to the lived experience today. This offense to Native American peoples may not, and likely is not something that is understood by its creators. Certainly, if it was known exactly who they were playing, they would not play them anymore.

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“FINALLY, I HAD HAD ENOUGH AND ASKED HER IF SHE THOUGHT SHE WOULD HAVE WANTED TO PLAY INDIAN WHEN OUR PEOPLE WERE BEING MASSACRED ON THE PLAINS IN AN EFFORT TO DEAL WITH THE INDIAN PROBLEM OR WHEN OUR CHILDREN WERE BEING RIPPED FROM THE BOSOMS OF THEIR MOTHERS, THEIR COMMUNITIES, AND THEIR TRIBES, AND PLACED INTO RESIDENTIAL SCHOOLS WHERE THEY WERE BEATEN, RAPED AND STARVED ALL WITH THE INTENT TO KILL THE INDIAN TO SAVE THE MAN” (2).

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The colonial inventory — authenticity, modernity, universalism, the linear conception of history, liberalism — is sedimented into the settler paradigm of thought which has not yet been deconstructed (4). It will take a deconstruction of this paradigm for progress to take hold.

Going Forward

IllumiNative is a non-profit organization geared towards challenging and changing the narrative of Native Americans. IllumiNative’s research demonstrates how different acts of cultural appropriation including dressing up in Native regalia, red face, reenacting native ceremonies, and other practices are harmful to native peoples, as they foster the reproduction of false narratives, invisibility, and the erasure of Native peoples (9).

Rather than honoring Native cultures, these practices are conduits of misinformation, bias and racism. IllumiNative is one organization that seeks not to punish those groups that have appropriated them, but rather to facilitate change. Inspired by the findings of Reclaiming Native Truth (RNT) which concluded the roles of pop culture, media, and K-12 education in “perpetuat[ing] the negative stereotypes and myths” which has “led to the erasure of Native peoples”, IllumiNative seeks to change the narrative of Native Americans with and through Native American voices (9). Boy Scouts of America, though a private organization, plays a significant role in the psychological development of young — prominently white — boys in America. This implicates tremendous responsibility for the organization in creating an inclusive space, absent of harmful narratives. If Boy Scouts of America would earnestly like to honor Native cultures, they can proceed with humility and listen to the Native communities with respect, renounce policies, programs and practices that are deemed harmful, and “partner with tribes, Native educators, organizations and communities”(2). All in the effort to foster the creation of a new curriculum which honors Native Americans, their history and their culture with specific attention to the contemporary expressions of that history and culture, as well as the impacts of cultural appropriation and other harmful practices still ringing true from settler colonialism.

Below: Native American Steve Morales Dallas joins others in protest outside of an NFL football game between the Washington Redskins and Dallas Cowboys in Arlington, Texas, Oct. 13, 2013.▲10



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When Smoking Cigarettes Becomes Cultural Appropriation

Discussing the harm of commercial tobacco products using traditional Native American imageries for marketing



Commercial tobacco companies and the „mystique of Indianness“

When you buy cigarettes from a major tobacco brand, it often comes with racialized and gendered imageries of Indigenous people. No matter if it is about the 'peace pipe', stories of 'Cowboy and Indians' or other depictions that emphasize the 'natural' or display war bonnets: They all draw from problematic, stereotyped ideas of Indigenous people using tobacco for spiritual, ceremonial and cultural purposes (see fig. 1).

The *mystique of Indianness*¹ is a theme that has been used since the 20th century in the United States, Canada but also many other white countries – including Germany – to distort, exploit and capitalize the lived experiences of Native Americans.



Figure 1: Examples of images used in commercial tobacco marketing²

The cultural appropriation of tobacco and its harms

Appropriating culture happens within a political space. While cultural appropriation can be defined as “taking – from a culture that is not one’s own – of intellectual property, cultural expressions and artifacts, history and ways of knowledge”³, political theorist Dianne Lalonde emphasizes the importance of a harm-based account of cultural appropriation which takes power relations into account. They state that harmful cultural appropriation occurs when it leads to (1) nonrecognition, (2) misrecognition, and/or (3) exploitation. According to Lalonde, marginalized groups are particularly susceptible to cultural appropriation because their recognition and resources are often denied in face of discrimination, social exclusion, and violence.⁴

When thinking about the cultural appropriation of tobacco and its harms, we should ask:

- (1) *Nonrecognition: Is the concerned culture rendered voiceless or invisible through structural power relations?*
- (2) *Misrecognition: Is the concerned culture labeled in a disrespectful, stereotyped way?*
- (3) *Exploitation: Is the concerned culture taken away their cultural property through loss of economic potential and commodification, while benefitting the appropriator?*

^{1, 2} D’Silva, J.; O’Gara, E.; Villaluz, N.T. (2018). Tobacco industry misappropriation of American Indian culture and traditional tobacco. *Tobacco Control*, 27, 57-64.

³ Keeshig-Tobias, L. as cited in in Marchand, P. (1992). *Dancing to the Pork Barrel Polka*. Toronto Star B6, Aug. 5.

⁴ Lalonde, D. (2019). Does cultural appropriation cause harm? *Politics, Groups, and Identities*, 9(2), 329-346.

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The cultural appropriation of tobacco and its harms (continued)

In the case of tobacco, all three aspects of harmful cultural appropriation take place. Tonio Sadik, an Anishinaabeg Indigenous person, concludes in their comprehensive literature review of tobacco that “most current knowledge about tobacco is dominated by the history of European and Euro-American tobacco use, despite the fact that the growing and harvesting of tobacco by Indigenous peoples predates the arrival of Europeans”.⁵

Since the 16th century, tobacco was commercially cultivated and exported by European colonial powers to extract economic potential from Indigenous people and wipe out the original tobacco at the same time. Oppressive policies in the United States during the 19th and 20th centuries forbid Indigenous people to engage in traditional (tobacco) practices and ceremonies. In some cases, state officials eradicated wild tobacco plants to push Indigenous people into a reliance on commercial tobacco plants.⁶

Last but not least, past and contemporary marketing images of Indigenous people using tobacco blur the boundary between traditional and commercial tobacco while displaying disrespect and stereotypes regarding the spiritual, ceremonial and cultural dimensions of tobacco use within Indigenous communities.

What we need to (un)learn about tobacco

- Traditional tobacco differs from today's commercial tobacco in many ways. In general, Indigenous people in North America have used tobacco for (1) prayers, offerings, and ceremonies; (2) as medicine, (3) as gifts to visitors; and (4) as ordinary smoking tobacco. Also, the traditional use of tobacco has often been linked to the creation stories of a respective Indigenous nation.⁷
- There are 90+ species of tobacco, seven of which there is evidence about Indigenous people of the Americas having used them historically: 1. *Nicotiana tabacum*, 2. *Nicotiana rustica*, 3. *Nicotiana glauca*, 4. *Nicotiana attenuata*, 5. *Nicotiana quadrivalvis*, 6. *Nicotiana clevelandii*, 7. *Nicotiana trigonophylla*. In commercial tobacco, you will usually find a variety of *Nicotiana tabacum* only.⁸
- While all tobacco species contain nicotine, nornicotine, anabasine and/or other alkaloids, traditional tobacco is rarely inhaled and therefore not addictive. Some varieties like the *Nicotiana bigelovi* or *Nicotiana multivalvis* from the *Nicotiana quadrivalvis* species are considered so sacred that they are not even smoked, nor is tobacco used daily in ceremonies.⁹
- There is no one way for traditional tobacco practice, but there are studies involving e.g. Indigenous Lakota Elders that describe traditional tobacco as essential to binding social ties through gifting customs and its ability to broker contracts.¹⁰
- Indigenous people smoking commercial tobacco is not necessarily a sign of cultural acceptability – keep in mind that state institutions deployed violent assimilation practices to eradicate traditional tobacco, while Indigenous people face individual and structural discrimination that lead to worse health care access and higher risk for addiction.

^{5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10} Sadik, T. (2014). Traditional Use of Tobacco among Indigenous Peoples of North America. *Chippewas of the Thames First Nation*. <https://cottfn.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/TUT-Literature-Review.pdf>

When Smoking Cigarettes Becomes Cultural Appropriation

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Indigenous-based resistance against cultural appropriation

It is important to consider the resistance that comes from Indigenous people in North America as up until now they face harm due to commercial tobacco and its marketing. One example of resistance includes a counter-marketing initiative based in California that criticizes cigarette brands using traditional Native American imagery on their packaging (see fig. 2). Health education specialist Claradina Toya, a Najavo/Jemez Pueblo Indigenous person, remarked that the packaging not only exploits their symbols and practices but also plays down the threats of smoking cigarettes, which is a major health treat especially for Indigenous communities as two out of five Indigenous people die of tobacco abuse.¹¹



Figure 2: Counter marketing billboard aimed at cigarette brands¹²



Figure 3: Flyer of The American Indian Quitline¹⁵

The twofold intoxication of commercial tobacco can also be seen through the example of the American Indian Commercial Tobacco Program (see fig. 3): Operated by National Jewish Health - an academic hospital specialized in respiratory issues - the program was “created for American Indians with input from American Indians” (note that *American Indian* is a self-chosen term here).¹³

There, Indigenous people can receive free coaching from Indigenous coaches to quit commercial tobacco in a culturally sensitive way. While traditional tobacco is seen as “vital to the future of American Indian culture and to passing traditional knowledge on to the next generations of families and community”, it is commercial tobacco that threatens to kill them.¹⁴

^{11, 12} North Coast Journal (2003). Billboards decry use of Indian images. March 27.

<https://www.northcoastjournal.com/032703/news0327.html#anchor624790>

^{13, 14} National Jewish Health (2022). Why Choose AICTP. <https://aiquitline.com/en-US/About-Program/Why-Choose-AICTP>

¹⁵ Minnesota Department of Health (2022). Downloadable Materials. <https://quitpartnermn.com/downloadable-materials/>

Indianthusiasm and the Theft of Surfing through a lens of Epistemic Injustice



To listen to the podcast:

Providing context: What is our project about? Why are we doing this project?

Our project is an epistemic analysis into the phenomenon of white cultural appropriation of indigenous practices and cultures as a decolonizing practice. We demonstrate a colonial through line in white transatlantic histories of cultural theft and appropriation using Miranda Fricker's (2007) structure and terminology of epistemic injustice.

General remarks: What do we conceive as epistemic injustice based on Miranda Fricker's definition?

In her book *Epistemic Injustice: Power and the Ethics of Knowing* Miranda Fricker coins and develops the term *epistemic injustice*, which she uses to designate a distinctive form of injustice. As she understands it, epistemic injustice is characterized by the performance of an unethical and epistemically wrong action towards someone in their capacity as a knower. This can be the case when people are excluded from knowledge production without good reason. When, for instance, perspectives, social experiences, or any other contribution to knowledge production is excluded due to a prejudice that lies in the heart of knowledge production. Prejudice is conceived here as an association between a group of people and one or more attributes. This association is resistant to rebuttals and evidence to the contrary. In the context of colonial oppression, the powerful undermine the powerless in their capacity for reason because they are hindered by an identity prejudice from taking part in rational knowledge production. The "knowledge" that is being

produced in such cases is only the knowledge that fits best the interests of the powerful, while everything that does not fit them will not only not be heard but entirely ignored and undermined.

What cultural knowledge is stolen and what prejudice is perpetuated and for what purposes?

In the context of Indianthusiasm, most German Indianthusiasts construct and reproduce an image of Native Americans that is not in accord with a truthful image of diverse indigenous peoples of North America, but an Indian fantasy Germans have. German Indianthusiasts' image of Native Americans¹ is based on fragments of indigenous cultural knowledge and fictional texts (e.g. Karl May texts). Since the knowledge, they use in order to produce such an image, is lacunary and/or false, the image of Native Americans itself is false and lacunary; it is a fantasy.

What German Indianthusiasts believe to be true is that indigenous nations of North America are like Winnetou: a noble savage, the best friend of the white German man, a strong man who lives in harmony with nature - a so called "Indianer". In other words, they construct "an idealized and romanticized fascination with, and fantasies about, Indigenous peoples of North America" (Lutz et al. 12). This fantasy is what Fricker would conceive as the prejudice that lies in the heart of the knowledge production about indigenous peoples of North America. The identity prejudice is, as Fricker generally defines it, resistant to evidence of the contrary. German Indianthusiasts are not ready to give up this fantasy even if they are confronted with counterevidence because they benefit from the Indian illusion. The ignorant and exclusionary knowledge production and the maintenance of prejudice serve their own purposes, such as purposes of profit, identity questions and escapism of modernity. To produce false and lacunary knowledge about a different culture, to construct and reproduce a false image of indigenous peoples of North America, to feel epistemically superior to indigenous peoples, is for German Indianthusiasts only possible due to the colonial and capitalistic power dynamics that have been shaping the world for a long time.

In the genealogy of surfing, Ryan looks at literature written by white Americans about a perceived decline in the practice of surfing following its intentional suppression by Calvinist missionaries as the beginning of long-term testimonial injustice – the beginning of non-Hawaiians assessing the merit of Hawaiians as practitioners of their own culture.

¹ The term Native Americans should not signal a homogenous group. I am aware that this term can be read as reductive since a lot of diverse, many-faceted indigenous nations live in the United States. That is why I want to clarify, that whenever I refer to Indigenous peoples of the Americas as 'Native Americans', I do not refer to a homogenous but heterogenous group.

What power dynamics are at work?

The engagement of prejudice as a simultaneous disabling and blinding mechanism that generates and perpetuates social control, with the balance of power always being held by white European and white North American actors. Social control is an exercise of social power that is here conceived as “a practically socially situated capacity to control others' actions, where this capacity may be exercised (actively or passively) by particular social agents, or alternatively, it may operate purely structurally” (Fricker, 13). In other words, the fundamental characteristic of social power is the opportunity for social control, regardless of the question whether the realization of this opportunity rests on individual actions or on structural features of the social environment of the specific act of control.

In the context of Indianthusiasm, colonial and capitalistic social power structures are at work. German Indianthusiasts can control how indigenous peoples of North America are perceived in Germany due to the colonial and capitalistic structures that perpetuate German power positions in the world. A false image of the “Indianer” is perpetuated while indigenous knowledge, perspectives, experiences are ignored. This is the harmful social power Germans have.

What harm is caused by taking cultural knowledge to produce “knowledge” that excludes the original owners of the looted knowledge and their perspectives etc.?

In the context of Indianthusiasm and surfing the epistemic injustice indigenous peoples experience is persistent and systemic, which can be especially harmful. To be wronged in one's capacity as a knower does not only cause epistemic harm but also ethical and social harm. Whenever one is hindered to share knowledge to partake in rationality and processes of rational decision making, which affects oneself and others, it does not only harm one epistemically but has consequences for one's everyday life; Fricker calls that practical harm. In the context of Indianthusiasm, indigenous peoples of North America are misrepresented. This misrepresentation leads to a reproducing of ignoring indigenous peoples' needs, struggles, values, traditions, and histories. Thus, considering the power dynamics that are at work, perpetuating the Indian fantasy reinforces a colonial system that ignores Native American struggles and needs and thus a system that has worked for a long time against indigenous peoples.

The West appropriates the act and culture of surfing from its origins in Polynesia. This lifting act is not in of itself harmful, but rather indicative of harm done because there is a break in lineage and a failure of western culture to reconnect the lineage of surfing to its roots; the inherently harmful colonial and capitalist forces that dominate the West reproduce colonial harms of displacement against the original practitioners.

Conclusion: Similarities/Differences between research objects –

The common threads are a break in lineage, breaks between creator and practitioner. Both research tracks trace the theft of culture and practices along a timeline that becomes visible with the use of Fricker's epistemic injustice framework. In both cases, there is a one-sided blindness to the theft, and in both cases the blindness is on the side of the oppressor. In both cases, we see colonial and capitalist structures influencing the effect and harm of the epistemic injustice, making it difficult to identify any individuals to hold responsible for the injustices.

One of the differences between the objects is that in the case of Indianthusiasm, we are tracing the wholesale appropriation of a culture, while in the case of surfing we are looking at a specific practice and tracing it historically along a timeline.

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