

Conference of the Swiss Association for Gender Studies (SGGF/SSEG)

**«Violent Times, Rising Protests. Structures, Experiences, and Feelings»**

12/13 September 2019, University of Bern

**TRACK 4**

13 September 2019

09:15 – 10:45

**Panel 1**

Room 006, Chair: Christelle Rigual

**Gender and Violence in Global Politics**

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**«From Protection to Participation: Gender Expertise on Women, Peace and Security»**

**Elisabeth Prügl**, Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva, Switzerland

UN Security Council Resolution 1325 introduced a broad array of topics through which gender considerations could be infused into international security agendas. Ever since its passage in 2000, the forms of implementation of the resolution have been the object of intensive debate, not only in the agencies tasked with implementation, but also among academics and activists that monitored it. In the proposed paper, I approach the debates about the implementation of 1325 as a matter of contestation among differently positioned gender experts. The shift in the agenda from an emphasis on protecting women from the impacts of war and from sexual and gender-based violence to an emphasis on women's participation in peace building has been variously observed and constitutes the paper's point of departure. Based on a coding of policy and research papers, briefs, guidelines, and training materials produced by gender experts in the UN and in INGOs, I seek to make visible contestations among them and assess the productive effects of the identities they construct and the policy logics they develop.

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### «Decolonising feminist knowledge production through border thinking: lessons from Nepal»

**Rahel Kunz**, University of Lausanne, Switzerland

This paper investigates the broader implications of the emergence of gender expert professionals and gender expertise knowledge in terms of the continued gendered «coloniality of power» and explores decolonising strategies. Much of the critical literature focuses on the politics of professionalization and challenges the role of expertise knowledge in the depoliticisation of feminist knowledge. I draw on post/decolonial feminist theories to critically analyse the reproduction of unequal power relations through gender expertise knowledge and practice, and to explore the multiple forms of alternative gender knowledge and practices that exist around and beyond gender expertise. Inspired by these theories, the analysis mobilises the concept of border thinking to explore these alternative forms of knowledge and practices as a fertile site of decolonising. The analysis focuses on the context of Nepal, drawing on in-depth conversations and discussions with people working on gender issues within and beyond the field of gender expertise. I suggest that decolonising the production and circulation of knowledge on gender is necessary to decolonise gender politics and advance the goals of social justice. Indeed, these processes are already ongoing in various sites off the radar of much feminist writing.

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### «Sustaining or Weakening Peace? Gender and Post-conflict Peacebuilding in Indonesia and Nigeria»

**Christelle Rigual**, Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva, Switzerland

Since the adoption of UNSCR1325 in 2000, an important body of the Feminist Security Scholarship has focused on the way in which the WPS agenda travelled, translated and adapted from international UN arenas to localized contexts. Concepts and typologies on norms circulation, such as translations, vernacularisation, and rejection, provide fruitful insights and frameworks to explore these encounters. Building upon extensive research in Indonesia and Nigeria, exploring and contrasting IOs' programming on gender and peacebuilding with community-based activism for peace, this article contributes to complexify the landscape on gender and peacebuilding by asking the following questions: how is gender informing peacebuilding practices, not only in International organizations such as UN Women or UNDP, but also in post/conflict affected communities, and how are these perspectives complementing or conflicting with each other's? Drawing upon analysis documents and interviews with IOs programme officers and peace activists in post/conflict-affected regions in Indonesia and Nigeria, this article suggests that 1) conceptions and priorities on gender and peacebuilding in IOs fluctuate widely from country to country, and are highly dependent on donor's priorities; 2) top-down approaches to peacebuilding run the risk of invisibilising existing resources for peace and of neglecting community-based concerns for peace; 3) in spite of recent calls for «sustainable peace», international logics for agenda settings and funds allocation (in particular the recent shift to Countering Violent Extremism programmes) can have concrete (negative) impacts on peacebuilding sustainability.

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**«From Armed State Opponents to «Peacebuilders from the Home» for a New Country?  
Feminist Ethnographic Insights into Ex-combatant Reintegration  
and Local Practices of Citizenship in Colombia»**

**Mia Schöb**, Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva, Switzerland

Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration programs have become an integral part of peace and state building approaches, and Colombia's reintegration program excels among the most sophisticated worldwide. But what kind of citizen emerges therein for the post-conflict state under construction? I draw on ethnographic fieldwork with over 300 participants, conducted between 2017 and 2018 in three Colombian regions, to confront this question from a feminist, intersectional perspective: reintegration practices transform guerrilla and paramilitary ex-combatants into individualized local-level peacebuilders whose agency as political subjects is limited but well placed to trigger larger processes of peace construction and social transformation from the ground up. Disarmed as warriors and part of a perceived collective threat to human and state security, ex-combatants are re-armed and arm themselves with a painting pistol, pen or pan and a peaceful mind akin to non-violent conflict resolution to act as «peacebuilders from the home», the workplace, or the community. Although their agency as citizens is delimited by context-specific socio-economic, gendered, classed and ethnic patterns of marginalization and social stigma related to their ex-combatant past, some become exemplary citizens in the bottom-up construction of a less militarized and more civic post-conflict state. From a feminist approach that takes micro-level experiences and practices seriously, the paper complexifies the global concept of reintegration, demonstrating that what top-down IR perspectives commonly consider «implementation failures» are better understood, through ethnographic insights, as creative forces with both positive and negative effects for peace and state building from the bottom up.

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**«Violence Against Genderqueers in Armed-Conflict: The Case of ISIS in Syria»**

**Ceren Bulduk**, Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva, Switzerland

Across the world, many armed groups in conflict-affected contexts have directed violence against individuals due to their sexual orientation and/or gender identity. Since 2014, the Islamic State (ISIS) militias have reported their executions of persons accused of homosexuality in Syria and Iraq totalling 39 people between 2014-2016. Likewise, al Mahdi (the Mahdi Army) and Saraya al-Ghadhab (Brigades of Wrath) have warned those they killed through pamphlets that they should either 'fix' their sexual orientation or be killed. The Mahdi Army has executed and tortured many Iraqi lesbian and gay people through their cleansing campaigns. During Colombia's decades-long civil war, both Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia—FARC) and paramilitaries declared a war against gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transsexual Colombians through their 'social cleansing' campaigns. The violence against genderqueer individuals in times of conflict, particularly the violence of ISIS in Iraq and Syria, have provoked the first United Nations Security Council debate on the issue in August 2015. Instead of focusing on the destructive nature of violence; this paper examines the productive potential of violence against genderqueers in times of armed conflict and analyses the ways in which the violence of ISIS against Syrian genderqueers produces embodied subjects.

## Panel 2

Room 007, Chair: Veronika Magyar-Haas / Susanne Nef

### **De-/Legitimierung von Gewalt: Zwischen Tabuisierung und Emotionalisierung**

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#### **«Zur Gewalt der Beschämung und die Vulnerabilität des Selbst»**

**Veronika Magyar-Haas**, Fachbereich Erziehungswissenschaften, Institut für Sozialpädagogik und Erwachsenenbildung, Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main, Germany

In phänomenologischen Analysen steht Scham für die «Fragilität unserer Existenz in der Begegnung mit den anderen» (Meyer-Drawe 2009, 48). Sie lässt sich als leibliche Antwort auf Verletzungen bestimmen: auf die Verletzung der Grenzen des Selbst, seines Körpers, seiner Intimität. Scham ist dabei keineswegs «zerstörerisch»; sie sucht die eigene Integrität zu beschützen, indem sie von der Verletzung des Selbst Zeugnis ablegt und darin einen Appell an den Anderen formuliert. Als genuin «zerstörerisch» hingegen erweist sich die Beschämung, welche auf die Schutzlosigkeit des Selbst und auf seine Würde abzielt – und darin die Angewiesenheit Anderer instrumentalisiert. So zeugt das Gefühl der Scham davon, der Gewalt der Anderen unterworfen zu sein, welche Macht über das Selbst hatten, es zu demütigen. Die Abhängigkeit von Anderen, welche in feministischen vulnerabilitätstheoretischen Perspektiven mit der ontologischen Verletzbarkeit in Zusammenhang gebracht wird, lässt sich sowohl als Bedingung der Macht als auch als «das Thema jedes Machttagierens» (Ricken 2006, 147) ausweisen. Im Beitrag soll zum einen aufgezeigt werden, auf welche Weise Scham und Macht in der Angewiesenheit auf Andere und Anderes verflochten sind; zum anderen wird dargelegt, inwiefern im Phänomen der Scham Macht und Gewalt legitimiert und – aufgrund des Appell-Charakters der Scham – zugleich delegitimiert werden.

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#### **«Was heißt Kontingenz jenseits von «anything goes»: Über sexualisierte Gewalt und Macht in digitalen Öffentlichkeiten sprechen und schreiben»**

**Jennifer Eickelmann**, Institut für Soziologie, Fakultät 12 Erziehungswissenschaft, Psychologie und Soziologie, Technische Universität Dortmund, Germany

Sogenannte «Hate Speech» im Netz avanciert zunehmend zu einer Herausforderung demokratisch verfasster Gesellschaften: Abwertungen auf der Grundlage sozio-medialer Kategorien (Gender, Race/Ethnicity, Class) sind Alltag in unterschiedlichen digitalen Teilöffentlichkeiten und darüber hinaus. Die staatspolitischen Bestrebungen zur Regulierung sogenannter «Hassrede» und «Fake News» in der BRD zeigt, dass es gerade die Unkontrollierbarkeit digitaler Daten ist, die uns in ein Denken zwingt, das jenseits starrer Entweder-Oder-Logiken (Hassrede vs. Redefreiheit sowie Löschen vs. Lassen) operiert. Ausgehend davon stellt der Vortrag (mittels der Synthese der Schriften von J.

Butler, K. Barad und D. J. Haraway) eine theoretisch wie methodisch rückgebundene Konzeptualisierung ‹mediatisierter Missachtung› im Netz vor, welche die Kontingenzen internetbasierter Adressierungen und die Produktivität von Dissens betont. Es geht darum zu zeigen, dass die wissenschaftliche Auseinandersetzung mit ‹Hassrede› im Netz insbesondere deswegen offene, kontingenzorientierte Perspektiven benötigt, um Möglichkeitsräume für widerständige Praktiken ausloten zu können. Eine noch weiterzudenkende Konzeptualisierung, die Dissens im politischen Sinne produktiv macht, kommt allerdings nicht umhin, neue Grenzen zu ziehen und sich der Frage zu stellen, wie sich dissidente Formen der Auseinandersetzung so konkretisieren lassen, dass Herabsetzungen und Diffamierungen eben nicht als konstitutiver Teil von Dissens beschreibbar werden, sondern als gewaltvolle Festschreibungen.

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### «Schriftliche Legitimation von Gewalt gegen Kinder und Jugendliche in Tagesdokumentationen der stationären Eingliederungshilfe»

**Friederike Lorenz**, Arbeitsbereich Sozialpädagogik, Fachbereich Erziehungswissenschaft und Psychologie, Freie Universität Berlin, Germany

Die schriftliche Dokumentation des alltäglichen Tuns ist eine Anforderung an Professionelle in verschiedenen sozialpädagogischen Handlungsfeldern. Inwieweit kann in diesem institutionell gerahmten Schreiben Gewalt legitimiert werden? Der Beitrag geht der Frage nach, wie pädagogische Fachkräfte im professionellen Schreiben eine Selbsterzählung über ihr Tun verfassen können, in der Gewalt de-thematisiert und legitimiert wird. Der Hintergrund ist eine Untersuchung über einen Fall von mehrjähriger, systematischer Gewalt in Wohngruppen der stationären Eingliederungshilfe für Kinder und Jugendliche. Diese sind in Deutschland strukturell zwischen Jugendhilfe und Behindertenhilfe verortet, durch die Trägerschaft des Sozialamtes und der Aufsichtstätigkeit des Landesjugendamtes. Legitimiert wurde die Gewalt gegen Kinder und Jugendliche in diesem Fall mithilfe der Deutungsangebote, Handlungslogiken und Termini eines verhaltenstherapeutischen Ansatzes (IntraActPlus). In der Degradierung einzelner Bewohnerinnen und Bewohner sowie in den Normalisierungsversprechungen an die Eltern werden seitens der Fachkräfte geschlechtsspezifische Zuschreibungen an die Kinder und Jugendlichen formuliert, auf welche im Vortrag fokussiert wird.

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### «Häusliche Gewalt: Ringen um (Be-)Deutung»

**Susanne Nef**, Kollegiatin des Graduiertenkollegs Gender Studies Universität Basel sowie wissenschaftliche Mitarbeiterin an der Zürcher Hochschule für Angewandte Wissenschaften, Soziale Arbeit, Institut für Vielfalt und gesellschaftliche Teilhabe, Switzerland

In diesem Beitrag wird der De-/Legitimierung häuslicher Gewalt im Rahmen von Interviews nachgegangen. Fokussiert wird darauf, wie Gewalt von den interviewten Betroffenen erfahren wird. Die Rekonstruktionen geben Aufschluss darüber, was als Gewalt angesehen wird und wie die Gewalterfahrungen von den Betroffenen gedeutet werden. Dadurch werden die sinnstiftenden Prozesse offengelegt, die die Betroffenen der Gewalt verleihen, indem sie diese (Be-)Deutungen von

Gewalt sozial herstellen. Der Schwerpunkt wird auf Gewalt als nicht nur Gegenstand leiblicher Erfahrung, sondern vor allem auch Gegenstand sozialer, intersubjektiver Deutungs- und Aushandlungsprozesse gesetzt. Exemplarisch vertiefend wird die De-/Legitimierung sexualisierter Gewalt in Beziehungen betrachtet. Daran wird aufgezeigt, wie die Befragten die Legitimität der erfahrenen Verletzungsverhältnisse über normative (Geschlechter-)Bilder herstellen, welche als Rechtfertigungs- und Legitimitätsordnungen fungieren. Zur Reifizierung und Normalisierung von (Macht-)Asymmetrien trägt auch die Norm der sexuellen Verfügbarkeit bei. Dabei wird von den Interviewten die Paarbeziehung als wirkmächtigster Erfahrungsraum entworfen. Paarbeziehungen werden ihrerseits als «natürliche» und «legitime» Räume für Sexualität konzeptualisiert, sodass sie in Kontrastierung zu normativen Gewalt- oder Täterbildern (z.B. der Vergewaltiger als der unbekannte Täter im öffentlichen Raum) einen «Nicht-Raum» für sexualisierte Gewalt darstellen.

### Panel 3

Room 106, Chair: Patricia Purtschert

## Othering and Reproduction of the Colonial Self

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### «Naturalization, Enslavement and Gender around the 1800's»

**Jovita dos Santos Pinto**, IZFG, University of Bern, Switzerland

This paper makes a microanalysis of a litigation about the naturalization of Samuel Buisson, «illegitimate son» of Pauline Buisson, an enslaved woman, who was brought from Haiti to Yverdon (CH) by her «owner» in 1776. Based on this material, I will look at the naturalization practice of Switzerland after the Ancien Régime (1798) and before the establishment of the Swiss federal state (1848) by means of three questions: 1) The social status of Pauline Buisson as enslaved, undocumented Person, unmarried mother and Black woman is discussed repeatedly. In light of this, I ask how civil belonging in Switzerland was negotiated around social class, gender, and race. 2) How can this litigation be situated within a global, entangled history of liberal citizenship? Considering the global impact of the Haitian and French Revolutions, in what way has citizenship around 1800 always also been negotiated against the backdrop of a colonial enslavement economy (Scott/Hébrard 2014). 3) As Fatima El-Tayeb states, colonial amnesia has led to a dominant narrative, in which Black and other People of Colour have been situated outside of Europe's historiography, as «eternal newcomers, suspended in time, forever «just arriving» (El-Tayeb 2011, xxv). This narrative also pervades the historiography of the Swiss state building. Hence, I ask, how the reconstruction of the biographies of Pauline and Samuel Buisson, open a space for a decolonial feminist critique of this writing of history.

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**« La pratique du « madamoto » à l'époque du colonialisme italienne.  
La réification sexuelle de la femme noire comme conquête territoriale »**

**Laura Sugamele**, doctorante en études politiques, département de science politique Université «La Sapienza», Italy

Dans les années Trente, pendant la campagne militaire italienne de conquête en Afrique, le « madamoto » était une pratique répandue en Érythrée et en Libye, terme qui désignait la relation temporaire entre un citoyen italien et une femme colonisées: la « madama », qui pouvait encore être adolescente. L'objectif de cette proposition est, donc, de réfléchir sur le lien entre le colonialisme et la féminisation des territoires conquis à travers la signification symbolique du corps de la femme étrangère et noire dans les conquêtes coloniales. Spécifiquement, ma proposition est une tentative d'analyse la conceptualisation culturelle et patriarcale du corps, en particulier, du sujet colonisé. Dans cette perspective, il est pertinent de considérer la violence sexuelle sur la « madama », comme un outil de contrôle et invasion métaphorique du territoire étranger. Et, la possession du corps féminin représentait la narration publique de la domination sur les territoires colonisés, avec des conséquences idéologiques et politiques. Alors, comme la construction-narration du corps se connecte au colonialisme? Le corps est l'objet d'une construction artificielle, adaptée aux besoins du colonisateur pour consolider l'idéal colonial masculin de la prévarication et d'une narration symbolique du corps féminine comme réalité sexuelle. Pour cette analyse, il sera important de se référer à la pensée féministe postcoloniale et aux études culturelles pour comprendre la conceptualisation virile-masculine de la domination sexuelle et raciale des corps, et comment Homi Bhabha observe, le colonialisme produit une image spécifique de l'homme et de la femme colonisée, en tant que, réalité sociale et sexuelle.

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**«Of Things not Seen and Heard. Addressing and Denaturalizing Intersectional Violence»**

**Vanessa E. Thompson**, postdoctoral researcher, Institute of Sociology, Goethe-University Frankfurt, and visiting lecturer at GeStiK (Gender Studies), University of Cologne, Germany

**Alexander Vorbrugg**, postdoctoral researcher, Institute of Geography, University of Bern, Switzerland

Our presentation draws on and brings into conversation two rather different research projects and activist fields: One is concerned with the coloniality of policing and its intersectional implications in Germany, Switzerland and France, the other with the concurrence of open military confrontation and more drawn out, less spectacular forms of social, economic and political crisis and gendered violence in contemporary Ukraine. Rather than comparing forms of violence, we explore common ground by bringing together the conceptual, representational and political challenges in these projects. In both of them, we encounter forms of violence that often seem to remain strangely elusive for those who do not encounter or experience them directly, and sometimes difficult to communicate in political work. We reflect on different forms of elusiveness here, and elaborate on the ways in which activist projects address them as a representational and political challenge. We discuss different ways and means of addressing violence, and focus particularly on digital technologies and methods, intersectional forms of memory making and witnessing, and their potential to turn violence visible

and to connect intersectional stories and struggles across time and space. Finally, we discuss in how far such struggles and analyses do and should reach beyond violence in order to not further naturalize it, and to work towards nonviolent possibilities and futures.

## Panel 4

Room 107, Chair: Elizabeth Kukorelly

### Interrupting Archon's Violence: After the Event

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#### «Making Amends for Archival Violence: Queer Subjects in Eighteenth-Century London»

**Erzsi Kukorelly**, Chargée d'enseignement, Département de Langue et Littérature Anglaises, Université de Genève, Switzerland

In the early eighteenth century, there was a veritable gay panic in London. Under the impulsion of the recently formed Society for the Reformation of Manners, self-appointed moral policemen denounced homosexual behaviour, using entrapment and spying in order to bring men to trial for sodomy. Some of these men practiced regular cross-dressing; some of them could even be described as trans women. The trials were recorded in court archives, and these proceedings were also printed, bringing to public knowledge the practices and habits of a nascent subculture. Alongside these court proceedings, pamphlets and other printed artefacts began to pour off the press, first describing in salacious detail and then forcefully condemning all deviations from heteronormativity. Taken together, these texts describe a hegemonic discursive hammer, with which to beat all deviant sexuality out of society. The texts make for difficult, unbearable reading; indeed, if we read them with respect and affection for the subjects they describe, they are enough to make one cry. In this paper, my intention is not to look at these texts from a gender-historical perspective, nor from the perspective of a history of sexuality. My interrogation stems from a desire make some sort of amends for the violence of this archive, the only evidence we have of eighteenth-century queer behaviour. In this process, I am informed and inspired by Judith Butler's theories about precariousness and vulnerability, as she wrote about them in *Frames of War* (2009). I am interested in the ethics of scholarship as much as scholarship itself, and I extend my empathy, my affectionate consideration, to these long-dead lower-class queer subjects.

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#### «B-side Feminism»

**Angela Marzullo**, artist, Geneva, Switzerland

My current and ongoing project, *B-Side Feminism*, consists in the preservation, transcription, and artistic interrogation of an audio archive of 1970s Italian radical feminists' consciousness-raising sessions. This archive consists of a couple of shoeboxes full of audio tapes and I received it in an act



of *affidamento*, an Italian feminist practice that consists in an older woman entrusting something to a younger one. I have drawn on these cassettes for a number of artistic productions, such as two films (*Listen, Radical Feminism*, 2018, *A Replay of Trying to Make the Personal Political: Feminism and Consciousness - Raising*, 2018), a publication (*How to Take Care of Radical Feminism*, 2018) a series of “Transcription Marathons” (in Geneva and Bern, 2018), a seminar given at the HEAD art school in Geneva (2018). Further activities are planned for 2019 in Switzerland, and 2020 in Italy. My feeling is that in working with this archive, I am involved in a practice of radical archival preservation. The act of *affidamento* that precipitated this project depended on the existence of the tapes; their preservation up till that moment was radical in the sense that it was effected by removing the tapes from the domain of a potentially violent – because dismissive – masculine archive.

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**«It makes us think of a dance and a fête as much as of war (of violence)»**

**Doreen Mende**, curator and theorist, Berlin/Geneva; Professor and Head of the CCC Research Program, Département Arts Visuels, HEAD Genève, Switzerland; Harun Farocki Institut, Berlin, Germany

For more than ten years, I store a photograph of a Palestinian-Lebanese freedom fighter who is resting on bed in a hotel room in Beirut while reading a book on photography from the GDR. The scene has been captured by an East-German photographer during the early 1980s who collaborated at that time with a group of freedom fighters/photographers to develop a new image-language to internationalise the Palestinian Cause. The photograph, one could argue, marks the transition from the revolutionary image to the humanitarian image in the geopolitics of the Global Cold War. It is a document of friendship, solidarity, care and revolution as well as of patriarchal order, violence and war. As an image-motif, it would easily attract attention in an exhibition; it fits excellently in the art world's «archive mania» (Suely Rolnik, 2011). However, in relation to my position, both, as a curator for contemporary art from East Germany and an Europe-based, white and female academic for visual cultures, the image refused to be exhibited or made public. It is an «incurable image» (Tarik Elhaik, 2014). For the contribution to this panel, I will engage with «the law of confrontation» (Denise Ferreira da Silva, 2014/15), which could be approached otherwise as «learning the double bind» (Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, 2013) with regard to violence as a condition that we cannot escape. The photograph will operate as an interlocutor to rehearse the confrontation by reading recent texts of Tina Campt, Denise Ferreira da Silva, Yates McKee, Fred Moten, and Saidiya Hartman.

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**«MMIWG2S: Interrupting the Violence of the Settler Colonial Archon»**

**Patrizia Zanella**, SNSF Doc.CH doctoral candidate, Département de Langue et Littérature Anglaises, Université de Fribourg, Switzerland

As Cree-Métis scholar Emma LaRocque highlights, Indigenous people and academics have to contend with «an overwhelming presence of Eurocentric and hate material in our archives, histories, literatures, schools textbooks and cultural productions» (*When The Other Is Me*, 4-5). Whether in

libraries, museums, state institutions, media, or the cultural affairs and arts sectors, the archive is frequently «a space of looting [...] where a lot of stolen knowledge has been maintained [...] often to the exclusion of the people from whom that knowledge was stolen» (*Justice*, «Decolonial Library» 34'38''-34'58''). My paper will focus on the ongoing violence of the settler colonial archon, specifically in connection with MMIWG2S, missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, queer, trans, and two-spirit people, in North America. It will not only question the violence of existing archives but current archival practices by the state, the police, and academia mindful of what Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang have criticized as «acquisitive ethics of research, the archives of data» (*Decolonizing Studies in Education*, xvi). The paper will elucidate the link between violence against MMIWG2S and the settler colonial archon, and interrogate how can we interrupt these violent archival practices.