

# Artifacts of Collaboration at the National Museum of the American Indian

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**ABSTRACT:** Contemporary museum anthropology is collaborative anthropology. Illustrated through the case study of the National Museum of the American Indian's process of community curating for its inaugural exhibitions, this account provides a window into the everyday practice of collaborative anthropology in museum practice through ethnographic attention to an exhibition in the making. Artifacts that are not from the collection come to the fore – artifacts of collaboration, like text panels, which signify Native voice. An attention to authorship reveals the process of collaboration between museum curators and Native community members developing the *Our Lives* gallery, including how exhibition contributors imagined their audiences differently and experienced the challenges and rewards of mediating (self)representations of contemporary Native identity for public consumption.

**KEYWORDS:** Museum Anthropology, Collaboration, National Museum of the American Indian, Kalinago

## Contemporary Museum Anthropology

Contemporary museum anthropology is collaborative anthropology.<sup>1</sup> In the current paradigm of museum practice, collaborating with those who are represented in the museum is expected (Thomas 2010). Collaboration has become a major theoretical interest in the field and the main form of ethical

practice when working with indigenous peoples. I focus on the process of “community curating” at the National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI) to illustrate the everyday practice of this kind of collaborative anthropology. I argue here and elsewhere (Shannon 2009, 2014) that training in cultural anthropology theory and methods – such as participant observation, interviewing and qualitative analysis – is essential to contemporary curatorial work and creating exhibitions about indigenous peoples, or any constituent community, in museums. Through a case study of one indigenous group's collaboration with the NMAI, I also caution against viewing indigenous (self-)representations in museums solely through the lens of identity politics or as a form of “tactical museology,” and instead

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suggest that the museum has much to gain from Native participation.

Museum anthropology is a diverse field that includes both practice-oriented and critical theoretical scholarship. Critical museology is considered to be an outcome of the “new museology,” a movement rooted in the social movements of the 1960s and 1970s that introduced questions of power to the analysis of museums and is derived from cultural studies, critical social theory, and anthropological theory (Kreps 2003; Shelton 2001:146-147; Witcomb 2003:129; see also Vergo 1989). As Christina Kreps (2003:n.p.) explains, “To new museologists the ‘old museology’ was too concerned with museum methods and techniques, and did not pay enough attention to the purposes and interests museums serve in society. Conventional museums were seen as object-centered. The ‘new museum’ was to be people-centered, action-oriented, and devoted to social change and development.” In short, the terms “critical museology” and “new museum theory” (Marstine 2006) point to changing forms of analysis and new expectations for museums in recent decades.

By changing the museum from a temple to a forum, critical museology advocates for the democratization of museums and greater accountability to visitors. This has been interpreted as a shift in emphasis from objects to stories (Macdonald and Silverstone 1992), from collections to audiences. Shelton (1995:6) explains that, as a result of critical museology, “museums have the ability to empower rather than dominate, to forge dialogical rather than monological relations with their publics and to reveal and encourage the transformation of contemporary realities rather than masking them.” The museum has increasingly been envisioned as an educational space and more recently as an institution for civic engagement (American Association of Museums 2002) and social change (Sandell and Nightingale 2012). Rather than a dusty place where knowledge is bestowed upon visitors and research is conducted behind closed doors, the museum is reconceived as a participatory space (Simon 2010).

The democratization of museums also includes greater inclusion and accountability to communities whose items are housed in museums. Accordingly,

anthropology curators argue that they have changed with the times: “the isolated scholar and manager becomes a facilitator and collaborator who shares, rather than represents, authority” (Nicks 2003:24). Christina Kreps (2003:n.p.) explains that there is a “new reality that curators and curating can no longer be defined solely on the basis of their relation to objects. Just as the museum has become more people- and socially-oriented, so too has curating.” Consequently, Kreps suggests that we view “curating as social practice” to “become more aware of how curatorial work is relative to particular cultural contexts.”

The term “decolonization” has become quite common in museum and anthropological practice and discourse, where it points to efforts in Native communities, museums, and social sciences more broadly to acknowledge the past and to engage in ethical research, representation, and writing practices in the present. Decolonizing the museum can be seen as part of a larger movement to decolonize Native communities, Native minds, and non-Native research practices (see, for example, Atalay 2006; Bowe chop and Erikson 2005; Kreps 1988; Phillips 2000; C. Smith 2005; L. T. Smith 1999; Waziyatawin and Yellow Bird 2012; Wilson and Yellow Bird 2005).

US government assimilation policies, scientific racism (Thomas 2000), and salvage anthropology empowered museums to collect Native ancestors and cultural artifacts, some of which are considered to be breathing, living beings in need of ritual feeding or other kinds of “traditional care” (Cobb 2005; Rosoff 1998).<sup>2</sup> Consequently, Native communities are spiritually, culturally, and ideologically invested in, committed to, and connected to museum collections. Collaboration with Native communities has become a key aspect of the movement to decolonize

<sup>2</sup> Salvage anthropology or salvage ethnography refers to the practice of collecting Native American objects and knowledge (songs, stories, language) as quickly as possible; researchers in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries assumed that Native American peoples and/or their cultural knowledge and lifeways were disappearing and needed to be recorded and preserved for posterity – in other words, salvaged like cargo from a sinking ship. However, the posterity imagined here was not the Native peoples themselves but Euro-Americans. The preservation efforts removed objects and knowledge from Native communities and placed them in museums and universities, while cultural preservation within communities was thought to be futile and acculturation inevitable.

the museum; it has also been described as a commitment to “restorative justice” in light of this history (Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2007:111). Decolonizing practices in museums like the National Museum of the American Indian, for example, include returning ancestors’ remains and sacred objects, hiring Native staff, incorporating Native voices and perspectives into exhibits, and collaborating with those whose objects are housed in the museum and whose cultural knowledge and images are placed on display.

There are many reasons that museums collaborate with originating communities, whether they are Navajos, Kalinagos, World War II veterans, people of the African diaspora, or Holocaust survivors. Collaboration can enhance participation in the museum, improve community-museum relations, help provide research resources, and ensure content accuracy. But there are other reasons as well. As a matter of politics, when working with Native peoples in particular, those interested in decolonization want to enhance the originating community’s rights and public visibility. Museum professionals also want to maintain a positive public image and avoid political protests, although some have driven positive changes in museum practice over time.<sup>3</sup> Ethically, we want to empower Native people to have control over how they are represented to the public, we want to redress past injustices, and include originating communities that have been represented and yet often silenced in the museum. We want the museum to serve the communities whose objects they house. Finally, epistemologically, we value other ways of knowing the world around us and do not want to continue to privilege only Western ways of knowing the world and Western views of Native objects and Native life experiences.<sup>4</sup>

Historically, the non-Native public has considered museums and anthropologists as competing, and

often more-valued, sources of authority or recognized expertise about Native Americans than the Native people themselves. In 2004 the National Museum of the American Indian, dedicated to the living indigenous cultures of the Western hemisphere, opened in Washington, DC. It was significant that this museum referred to Native community members as “experts” on their own experience, cultures, and histories and as “co-curators” of the exhibits. By using these terms, NMAI staff clearly aimed to refigure the authority of Native peoples in museum representation and practice, a key component to decolonizing the museum. This language is at the heart of NMAI museology, which has changed over the years but has maintained the centrality of Native knowledge as authoritative and Native voice as the main vehicle for this knowledge. The foundation of this turn to collaboration, and subsequent emphasis on community curating, is an outcome of both Native activism as well and the critique of representation and power in the field of anthropology.

### Artifacts of Collaboration at the National Museum of the American Indian

As founding director Rick West has explained about the NMAI, “to put it in the most basic way, we insist that the *authentic Native voice* and perspective guide all our policies, including, of course, our exhibition philosophy” (West 2000:7, emphasis added). The museum more recently defined Native voice as a “partnership with Native people” that is “based on the belief that indigenous people are best able to teach others *about themselves*. Their understanding of who they are and *how they present themselves* to the world is what the museum calls ‘Native voice.’”<sup>5</sup> The museum’s original mission statement includes both a commitment to “collaboration” with Native people, and a recognition that the museum has both a con-

3 Protests of the exhibits *The Spirit Sings: Artistic Traditions of Canada’s First Peoples and Into the Heart of Africa* (discussed in Phillips 2000), the controversy over the *Enola Gay* exhibit (discussed in Dubin 1999), and others show that exhibitions and their subject matter cannot be divorced from the political and social context in which they are made. For an example of “counter-labels,” or interventions in museum displays, see Strong 1997.

4 For an excellent discussion of the epistemological reasons for collaboration with indigenous communities, see Wylie 2008. While she is referring to archaeology, her argument is applicable to knowledge making in general.

5 From NMAI 2006 changing gallery exhibition titled, *Listening to Our Ancestors: The Art of Native Life along the North Pacific Coast* (emphasis added). This explicit definition of Native voice may have been prompted by negative critical reviews of the inaugural exhibitions, reviews that some staff felt were perhaps a result of the audience not understanding or being well prepared for what they saw in the exhibits. Staff speculated that the visitors did not understand the process or the philosophy behind Native voice and its centrality to the making of the inaugural exhibitions.

stituency – “Native communities,” and an audience – the “non-Native public.”<sup>6</sup>

In June 2003, as a contract researcher for the gallery *Our Lives: Contemporary Life and Identities*, one of the three permanent galleries then in development at museum, I conducted a final exhibit script review with a group of Inuit community curators in Igloolik, Nunavut. I asked them, considering that up to 4 million people per year would read their introduction to the exhibit, what did they most want people to know about them? Their resounding response: “We don’t live in Igloos anymore!” We all broke down laughing because it seemed silly to us to have to put it in writing, but they insisted that they knew their audience, and that *that* was what the world needed to know. Apparently, that was the question they would most often get from non-Inuit people. So the conclusion to the introductory panel to their exhibit reads precisely that (fig. 1).

Another example of a text panel in the museum’s inaugural *Our Lives* exhibition is from the urban Indians of Chicago exhibit and is based on what was originally a note in a fieldworker’s notebook from a meeting with Native community curators (fig. 2). And another example demonstrates a common representational strategy at the museum: an individual’s quotation associated with a group-authored statement by the “Kalinago Curators” (fig. 3). These signed

6 NMAI Mission Statement ca. 2002, from personal files: “The National Museum of the American Indian shall recognize and affirm to *Native communities and the non-Native public* the historical and contemporary culture and cultural achievements of the Natives of the Western Hemisphere by advancing – *in consultation and cooperation with Natives* – knowledge and understanding of Native cultures, including art, history and language, and by recognizing the museum’s special responsibility, through innovative public programming, research and collections, to protect, support and enhance the development, maintenance and perpetuation of Native culture and community.” The mission statement was later shortened around 2004 to read: “The National Museum of the American Indian is committed to advancing knowledge and understanding of the Native cultures of the Western Hemisphere – past, present, and future – through partnership with Native people and others. The museum works to support the continuance of culture, traditional values, and transitions in contemporary Native life” (NMAI Community Services 2007).



Figure 1: Introductory panel to the Igloolik exhibit in the *Our Lives* gallery. Reproduced with permission of the National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution.

text panels are what I call “artifacts of collaboration” between the museum and Native peoples. They are ubiquitous in the museum and index Native participation in the exhibitions.

I ask, then, a very basic question: How were these authored text panels, so ubiquitous through the museum, created? In other words, what does “Native voice” mean *in practice*? And what does authorship mean in this context? I approach these questions ethnographically, and consider the answers to be located at the intersection between museum professionals and Native community members struggling with how to portray Native identities to a greater public. These artifacts are products of collaboration in exhibit making at two levels: in the meetings where Native American community curators discussed the content of the exhibit (which I focus on in this essay), and in the museum institution where museum specialists worked together to transform Native community discussions into exhibit text (which I have focused on elsewhere; see Shannon 2009). Accordingly, there is a wider “circumference of authorship,” to borrow a term from Mario Baggioli (2006), than simply those named on the text panel.

I use Barry Dornfeld’s (1998) concepts of the “social organization of authorship,” the “ideology of

authorship,” and the “imagined audience” to frame my attention to the community curating process at the NMAI. Some additional motivating questions are: What does it mean to be an author in this process? What does the name below an exhibit text signify? Who counts for an author, and what role did he or she have in preparing the text? Ultimately, my intention here is to illustrate how collaborative anthropology works in practice, and what attention to authorship can do to illuminate practices of self-representation and how representations of contemporary Native identity are produced for public consumption.

First I want to situate this particular account in the wider scope of my research about the NMAI, which exemplifies two aspects of museum anthropology: examining the use of anthropological methods in museum practice, through the anthropological study of museums. In my work I highlight that the museum is not only an institution of cultural production but also a bureaucratic place of work and a form through which the representations of Native peoples are mediated. My research focused specifically on the making of the community-curated exhibits in the *Our Lives: Contemporary Life and Identities* gallery curated by Dr. Cynthia Chavez (San Felipe Pueblo/Hopi/Tewa/Navajo).<sup>7</sup> Taking seriously NMAI references to Native American community members as “co-curators,” I framed my ethnographic research as a multi-sited ethnography of “experts.” I conducted two years of fieldwork from 2004 to 2006, and before that I was a researcher in the NMAI’s curatorial department from 1999 to 2002. Therefore I have a particular kind of “situated knowledge” (Haraway

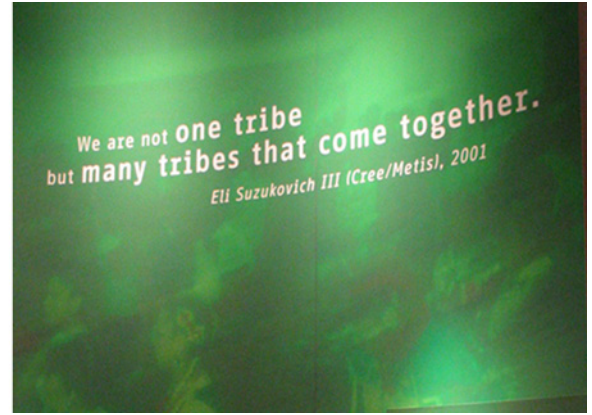


Figure 2: Large photograph and “pull quote” text on the wall of urban Indian community of Chicago exhibit. Reproduced with permission of the National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution.

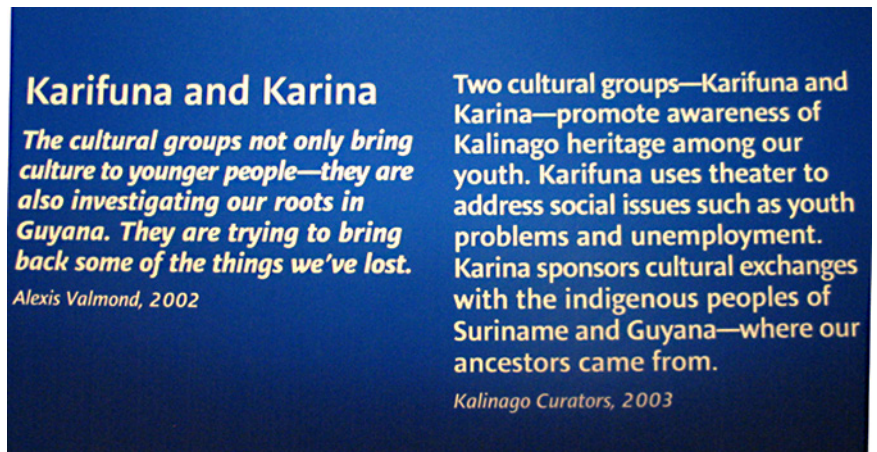


Figure 3: Text label in the Kalinago exhibit. Reproduced with permission of the National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution.

1991) with respect to exhibit making at the NMAI. For my fieldwork, I spent six or more months living and volunteering in three of nine communities involved in the making of the *Our Lives* exhibition. The many locations of my field site defined by the making of the exhibition included workplaces, professional conferences, indigenous communities, the museum institution, and the gallery space itself. I tracked the exhibition from its inception to its installation to its reception.

The three communities with whom I conducted my research were the museum staff and two of eight Native communities featured in the *Our Lives* gallery. Specifically, I worked with the museum professionals at the NMAI, including Native and non-Native workers at the museum; the American Indian community of Chicago, a multitribal community residing throughout a large city; and the Kalinago community

<sup>7</sup> Now Dr. Cynthia Chavez Lamar. There are also “NMAI curated” introductory sections to the inaugural exhibits, but I do not attend to them here. I focus on the collaboration between the museum and the communities as represented through the community centered exhibits.

(or Island Caribs) who live on a “reserve” – that they prefer be called the Carib Territory – in which about four thousand people are administered by the Carib Council and chief on the island of Dominica in the Caribbean West Indies. It is beyond the scope of this essay to address equally the Kalinago and Chicago communities’ experiences of community curating; I go into more detail here about the Kalinago case and provide some points of comparison with the Chicago case.

Refiguring fieldwork as an anthropology with experts (a characterization that came *from* the field site rather than being applied *to* it), I basically went into the field and talked to community curators and museum staff about this collaborative process. I also conducted participant observation and life and career histories with my interlocutors because I was interested in learning how these particular individuals came to be selected for this kind of work and what kinds of roles they served in their communities. In choosing the exhibition to organize my field site and focusing on knowledge production, I considered the exhibition to be a “third” figure in the fieldwork relation. In other words, the exhibition process was something that the participants in my research could look at, reflect on, and study *with* me.

In many ways, this (re)orientation to the ethnographic subject, as something the ethnographer and her interlocutors puzzle over together, resonates with the Neo-Boasian approach to anthropology that Matti Bunzl (2004) proposes in his critique of the Malinowskian model for fieldwork. Writing against the notion that anthropological knowledge must be produced through a distance between the ethnographic Self and Native Other (or a studying of the Other), thus reifying and sustaining a hierarchy of difference, Bunzl combines Boasian ethnography with Foucauldian genealogy and proposes that both insiders and outsiders to a culture have a common “epistemic position” with respect to the “ethnographic subject,” which he suggests to be a “history of the present” (Bunzl 2004:438). The Neo-Boasian approach, Bunzl (2004:440) suggests, “would thus follow Boas in turning our attention to” the production of historical differences, and their “ethnographic reproduction”; in short, rather than simply “finding”

cultural differences and boundaries, look to how they were produced (including through anthropological practice). In this case, it is the exhibition (or the history and making of the exhibition) that becomes our shared focal point of analysis.

This shared epistemic position of ethnographer and ethnographic subject can be seen as a form of collaboration.<sup>8</sup> With this in mind, I want to provide the context for my current attention to authorship as part of a wider commitment to present museum ethnography that is not focused solely on objects or their creation, circulation and valuation. In general, the broader work upon which this account is based can be characterized as an ethnography of collaboration as a particular form of representational practice. Over the last twenty years, collaboration has emerged as a solution to issues of representation in such fields as anthropology, media production, and museum studies when working with indigenous peoples; it has also been posited as “good practice” in business administration, state–citizen relations, and international development projects, among other endeavours. In the museum world, collaboration is considered to be both research method and ethical practice by Native and non-Native people alike.

Taking up collaboration as ethnographic subject means elaborating on the processes of representation – attending to issues of power and position, highlighting moments of decision making and compromise, dialogue and silence. Taking up collaboration as ethnographic subject also means looking to collaboration as an alternative organizing trope of sociality, using it as a lens through which to view social relations, knowledge production, and the representational strategies of culture producers. In other words, collaboration is a form of meaning making, represents a particular kind of belonging, and can present a heuristic concept for moving “beyond the cultural turn” to see how else we might define, represent, and work together with the participants in our research.

8 While I consider the research process a form of collaborative endeavour, this particular account was not written collaboratively. For an example of a collaboratively written account based on this fieldwork experience, see Joseph and Shannon 2009. For a discussion of ethnography in which the written product is done collaboratively, see Lassiter 2005.

## Mediating Native Voice

The Kalinago community exhibit in the *Our Lives* gallery displays few recognizable “museum objects” (some are even hidden behind cabinet doors). As a result, NMAI staff nicknamed this gallery “Our Props,” signifying the lack of museum collection objects in the exhibit; for example, there is a glass case filled with brochures. This was opposed to the nicknames “Our Loans” and “Our Objects” for the other two permanent galleries *Our Peoples: Giving Voice to Our Histories* and *Our Universes: Traditional Knowledge Shapes Our World*, respectively. One senior manager referred to the *Our Lives* gallery as “T-shirts and baseball caps” (there is actually a T-shirt folded and displayed in a glass case) – he was skeptical about whether people would appreciate these displays. More prominent are the video monitors, larger than life photographs of people, and text panels – authored text panels – seamlessly integrated into the surfaces of the exhibit. What is really on display here, I have argued, is not (primarily) objects but *reflexive subjects* (Shannon 2009).

By considering the *Our Lives* exhibits as forms of media production, we can highlight the complex interplay of authorship and mediation that occurred between the communities and the museum, and we can provide some insight into the way in which each community chose to interpret what contemporary Native identity means. In Barry Dornfeld’s (1998) ethnography *Producing Public Television, Producing Public Culture*, he analyzes the production of a PBS television series by doing ethnography with, and in the meetings among, the producers of the series. While Mazzarella (2004:350) asserts that the notion of agency is what is taken to extremes in media studies (a *theoretical* false dichotomy of agency rendered as either an over-determined cultural imperialism or an over-active audience), Dornfeld (1998:14) instead problematizes the segregation of scholarly studies of production and reception (revealing, I would argue, that underlying this theoretical false dichotomy is a *methodological* one). Dornfeld insists that, in practice, production and consumption are intertwined. He explains that the anticipation of reception, or the *imagined audience*, is part of the production process. Accordingly, while mediation is most often thought

to occur through objects and persons, one can also consider as part of this process the assumptions about the audience that guide producers’ creative decisions.

Dornfeld’s attention to the imagined audience prompted me to identify the prefigured audience as one of the external forms through which co-curators mediated the representation of themselves in order to develop an exhibit about their own identity.<sup>9</sup> This analysis revealed that the characterization of the prefigured audience was one of the conceptual fault lines separating the various experts at work on the *Our Lives* exhibition. I address these rifts later; but first, I turn to the kinds of creative decisions that were made in the process, or how authorship was produced through collaboration.

## The Social Organization of Authorship: Community Curating by Committee

Cynthia, NMAI lead curator, invited Native communities with whom she worked to develop the *Our Lives* exhibits to structure their own participation in two important ways. First, she left it to each community to determine their own appropriate method of co-curator selection, which provided insight into local practices of self-representation. For example, the American Indian community of Chicago selected co-curators through nomination and election at the American Indian Center, a familiar practice for them that they use to organize annual powwow committees. For the Kalinago in Dominica, the chief of the Carib Territory selected the co-curator committee, making sure there was representation from each hamlet, male and female members, and craft makers, political figures, and cultural group leaders. This is what I call a “representational calculus” that was essential in each community for creating a committee with the authority and legitimacy to work on behalf of the community, according to their own standards. Second, Cynthia gave the community curators basic guidelines of her vision for what an *Our Lives* exhibit “should *not* be”: a history, tourism version, or solely traditional view of the community. She then offered what “every community component *should* be”: honest, complex, and specific.

<sup>9</sup> For a discussion about the anthropology of mediation that inspired this approach, see Mazzarella 2004.

During the community curating process, NMAI staff encouraged a thematic approach to exhibit making. Therefore, co-curators were largely responsible for producing knowledge about themselves through a thematic structure; they were also tasked with creating a “main message” about contemporary identity for their exhibit. Each community curator committee represented in the *Our Lives* gallery was invited to interpret the term identity in whatever way they chose. Often the co-curators did not include in their exhibits what the NMAI staff had researched and anticipated they would. For example, in the Kahnawake Mohawk exhibit, tribal membership rules or residency requirements, and even the “Oka Crisis,”<sup>10</sup> were not mentioned.

Specific themes emerged in part as a result of the composition of each committee. The majority of the Kalinago co-curators, for example, were part of the first generation of Kalinago who went to secondary education and learned about other indigenous communities worldwide (fig. 4). In 1978 members of the committee founded the Karifuna Cultural Group which continues today to “raise cultural consciousness” about Carib people in and outside the Carib Territory. These individuals were also involved in the short lived Carib Liberation Movement of the late 1970s to raise political consciousness and promote Carib rights.

Prosper Paris, a co-curator and member of these organizations, explained that, at this time in the late 1970s and 1980s, “anyone from archaeologists [to] historians would come to Dominica – they wanted



Figure 4: Kalinago community curators Garnette Joseph, Sylvanie Burton, Irvince Auguiste, Prosper Paris, Cozier Frederick, Jacinta Bruney, Gerard Langlais, and Alexis Valmond.

to write, they wanted to... meet the Carib chief, they wanted to see what is [the] life [of a] Carib” (interview with author, July 20, 2005). This encouragement from people outside the Territory helped Caribs to realize that they had “become assets to the whole of Dominica.” Prosper said of this time period that influenced Kalinago understandings and approaches to cultural identity that “there was a new image that we should rise up as Carib people. ... People who went through education had a lot of problems, being discriminated against as being a Carib or inferior race” (interview with author, July 20, 2005; cf. Turner 1991).

Along similar lines, through a series of meetings over the course of three years (2001-3), these Kalinago committee members created the main message for their exhibit as: “The Kalinago survive despite numerous challenges.” The three main themes for their exhibit became: Cultural Consciousness, Economic Survival, and Challenges. We can see what kind of deliberations occurred to arrive at these themes by looking at a transcript of a Kalinago co-curator meeting during their second visit with the NMAI, which was represented by Susan Secakuku (Hopi) and me, as her assistant.

At this meeting on January 15, 2002, co-curators sat around a table in the Carib Council House, a hex-

<sup>10</sup> The “Oka Crisis” was a conflict in 1990 between the Kahnatesake Mohawk community and the Quebec provincial police over plans to expand a golf course onto a Mohawk sacred site and burial ground. For more information see for example the film *Kabnesatake: 270 Years of Resistance* (1993) directed by Alanis Obomsawin.



agonal structure with a meeting room that had fading yellow paint on the walls and fans turning overhead. The meeting moved forward with a fast rotation of speakers, often finishing one another's sentences, in conversation among themselves as much as in explanation to Susan.

Broadly, the co-curators expressed concerns over the impact of the outside world on youth, economy and education in the Carib Territory through the influence of television, the Dominican government, and the surrounding Afro-Dominican society. As usual, there were a lot of humorous asides in the meeting – something that unfortunately did not translate into the exhibition despite being an important and enjoyable part of working with communities. In any case, the group often returned to what they *would like* to see happen in their community in the future. For example, at one point in the meeting, Susan brings up the issue of “self identity,” saying she heard someone mention it earlier. Sylvanie Burton rephrases this as “Who you are.” Then Susan asks if she heard right from community members – that it’s a *conscious* decision to be Carib. To which Sylvanie replies that the co-curators would like to have the exhibit be “not just focusing on the past, but something in the future.”

Later in this meeting Susan again recalls something someone said to help guide the discussion to possible exhibit themes. She says, “You said something a little earlier I want to go back to about: right now, you’re an agricultural based people, right?” She asks if that is changing, to which Garnette Joseph says yes and Sylvanie states, “The pressure is on to change.” Garnette reiterates, “Pressure is on.” When Susan asks from whom, Garnette replies, “We see, well, the *global system* is at hand, and we are part of it.” He continues, “But, we’ve seen changes begin in the tourism industry, for example. For the past five years, we find organized tours coming into the Carib Territory. And around that we’ve seen changes – the craft marketing, and the *possibility* of strengthening the craft industry. So, I mean, there are very serious constraints here,” he said, then mentioned a lack of marketing and a need for increased exports of crafts. “More can be done,” he says, and Prosper repeats, “More can be done.”

### KALINAGO ECONOMY

Our problems and solutions are all tied to the economy. Bananas no longer support us.

*Andel Challenger, 2002*

Bananas have been the main cash crop for farmers in the Carib Territory for generations. But international competition has become fierce, and banana growing is now an unreliable source of income. Jobs are scarce, and Kalinago are leaving the territory to find work.

We are now trying to develop tourism as a remedy. Already, tour buses bring travelers to the territory to watch cultural groups perform and to buy crafts at roadside stands. A new tourist attraction – which replicates a traditional Kalinago village – is under development.

*Kalinago Curators, 2003*

Garnette starts again, “More can be done. Our Heritage Village – that is due to open soon, and there are possibilities around that as well.”<sup>11</sup> Susan then says, “I’m listening to you and I want to make sure I heard you right. You’re moving, you think, to more of a craft-based and tourism –” And the co-curators finish her sentence, agreeing, a “ – tourism based economy” (see “Kalinago Economy” exhibit panel quoted above). The concerns expressed in this co-curator meeting, in interviews, and in subsequent community-wide meetings, would highlight these same themes of hardship, survival, tourism, and future cultural potential.

It was important to the co-curators that the exhibit not be from their perspective alone but from a broader cross section of people from the Carib Territory. Accordingly, they held the first community-wide meeting two days later to which Prosper invited all of the prominent “resource persons” of the Carib Territory, as Kalinago refer to them. This meeting also took place in the Carib Council house, where community members were seated in rows of benches, and NMAI staff – including myself taking notes – sat at a table facing them.

<sup>11</sup> By 2006, the heritage center’s name had changed to *Kalinago Barana Autê: Carib Village by the Sea*.

After an elder offered a prayer to begin the meeting, Prosper gave a summary of the work conducted so far by the NMAI and the co-curators, saying that “it is a project of the Carib community” and he did not want people complaining that they didn’t know about it. He referred to the gallery as “Our life and time.” Susan then explained the focus of the *Our Lives* gallery to those gathered:

[The focus of ] this gallery is the identity of indigenous peoples. Contemporary identities today. I think a lot of non-indigenous peoples believe either we’re no longer around, no longer live here or exist in this world, or that we still wear feathers or, you know, live in tepees. Everybody lives in tepees, they think. And we’ve never lived in tepees [people laugh], and I know that the Kalinago never lived in tepees. Our goal is to try and *demonstrate to the visitor* coming in, saying, we are still here as indigenous peoples, but we live in a particular way, and we have different issues today than we did way back when. But we still have the same thinking and values probably that we did, that have maintained us today. So, what we’re trying to ask from you is – or get some information from you is – pretty much what does it mean to be a Carib? How do you define yourselves as being a Kalinago?... And the other...eight communities we mentioned are going for the same thing... they’re all being asked, what does it mean to be a Yakama? What does it mean to be a Mohawk? ... And all these will be put in the same room, and the visitor will decide, will hear from you directly what does it mean to be a Carib.

Prosper explained that what people said was being tape recorded and then opened up the floor to the community members. One by one, each person stood and made a passionate statement about what it means to be Carib, sometimes being called on specifically by Prosper, who insisted that everyone contribute. At one point a teacher said that this would be an opportunity for tourism: “I think it is a very good medium for Dominica on the whole *to market itself as a tourist destination*... [that] showcases indigenous people.” Later Susan and I would walk away from this meeting impressed by the candor of the community members present. Many talked of

### I AM KALINAGO

You make a choice to be Kalinago, because you could either be a Kalinago person or an Afro-Dominican. If you choose to be Kalinago, you find there are a lot of obstacles.

*Cozier Frederick, 2002*

Many of us choose to be Kalinago. To choose to be Kalinago means to accept responsibility for maintaining and promoting our culture. It requires having a strong character to withstand negative stereotypes about our people. Today, more of us are proclaiming our identity. A stronger cultural awareness is emerging every day.

*Kalinago Curators, 2003*

discrimination and insisted that they were, and that one must be, proud to be a Carib.

The second community-wide meeting, held almost exactly one year later on March 17, 2003, was basically a vetting session for the specific main message and themes the co-curators had developed in the meantime, which Susan read aloud to those gathered. At this point the main message was: “The Kalinago people make a conscious choice to be Kalinago despite numerous difficulties.” The main themes were Cultural Revitalization, Cultural Tourism, and Difficulties.

Prosper then opened the meeting up for group discussion. Some community members were concerned about the negative tone of the exhibit. Cozier Frederick, a representative for youth on the co-curator committee, suggested that they needed to “strike a balance” in the positives and negatives of the exhibition. Irvine Auguste, a tourism representative, co-curator and former chief, indicated that the museum is like an advertisement and that it is something for which they are not dependent on the Dominica government: “it’s now *our* business to develop and how we can maximize this advertisement.” Prosper indicated that the exhibit should not be too positive, such that it does not reflect reality, because then people will not be inclined to help them. In this meeting, individuals were more talking to

one other, and the discussion ranged from wanting something back from the NMAI to concerns over intermarriage and that their “race will die” in the future.

During the co-curator meeting directly after this community gathering, Prosper, responding to concerns about the negative tone of the exhibition, suggested the term “challenges” instead of “difficulties” for the main message. Susan commented that perhaps “survival” could be a more positive spin, referencing another person’s concerns. The co-curators agreed. The main message was then finalized: “the Kalinago survive despite numerous challenges.” Then the co-curators went down the list of themes, one by one, asking where particular kinds of information should be placed in the exhibit script according to the revised categories (fig. 5). It was basically a classification exercise, as they determined what kinds of community practices would go under which themes. This was not always an obvious task; for instance, Cultural Groups could have been categorized under Economic Survival because Kalinago earn money for performances for tourists, but the co-curators chose to include them under Cultural Consciousness instead.

Back at the museum – once the themes were selected and their sub-themes finalized – NMAI staff worked on the exhibit script structure (also an artifact of collaboration); a record of their collaboration can be seen in the dialogue represented in a document from the Kalinago exhibit’s development (fig. 6). The script was later transformed into a text panel that was produced through the creative work of designers and the material production of fabricators who then placed it on the curvilinear aluminum walls of the *Our Lives* gallery.

### The Ideology of Authorship: Reflections on the Exhibit Making Process

During my fieldwork I asked NMAI and community curators to reflect on the community curating process. Prosper Paris, a cultural group leader, compared the thematic approach to writing down a title for a

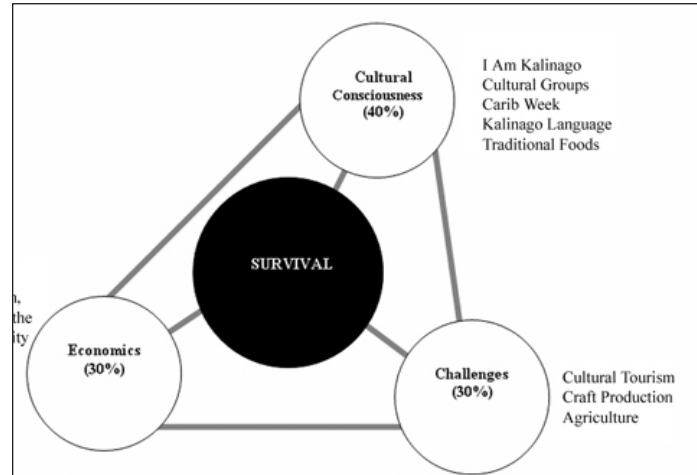


Figure 5: Kalinago “bubble diagram.” A bubble diagram is developed by NMAI curators, based on community curators’ input, to communicate to the designers the relative “weight” each content category should receive in the exhibit design.

Post 11/18 curatorial revisions  
 Last edited by MH: 1/21/04  
 Reviewed by CC: 2/13/04  
 Edited by KM: 2/24/04

	<i>Kalinago Curators, 2003</i> #
GRAPHIC: Map of Carib Territory with Kalinago place names G10.2.5.1  This is courtesy of Lennox Honychurch. This graphic is being recreated from a map he drew.	The Kalinago name for Dominica is Waitukubuli which means “tall is her body.” Map with Kalinago place-names. Courtesy of Lennox Honychurch. Waitukubuli contains several Native place-names, including Bataka and Sineku. Waitukubuli—the Kalinago name for Dominica—means, “tall is her body.”  <i>Kalinago Curators, 2003</i> #
<b>Traditional Foods</b> T10.2.6  Should this say “farina”? What is “farine” exactly?  Taryn’s note: Farine is flour made from cassava, used in different recipes	<b>Kalinago Cuisine</b>  Sometimes when I give my children Kalinago food, they tell me they want store-bought bread.  <i>Sylvie Warrington, 2002</i>  Our young people are more interested in store-bought foods, so fewer people are making traditional foods these days. But we still consider food an important part of our heritage. Traditional foods such as farine and cassava are often served at special events, celebrations, and tourist attractions.  <i>Kalinago Curators, 2003</i> #
PHOTO: Cooking cassava G10.2.6.1	A versatile root, cassava can be made into bread, pudding, and even beer. Here the root has been peeled, shredded, and the water extracted. People then add sugar to the meal and roast it on a hot iron, which produces cassava bread.

Figure 6: Kalinago exhibit “script structure” as a work in progress. At this stage deletions were still present for reference, and the wording appeared in several colors, denoting different NMAI staff members’ contributions.

song and then composing lyrics according to that title; he said it was a familiar process to him. Prosper, like former Chief Garnette Joseph, believed this approach to be successful. Garnette said it worked

because I think listening to people speak, and some of the things that they spend more time [on], I guess, that is only because it is important to them. If people keep on saying the same thing all the time, then that is how we feel most of the time. [Interview with author, April 13, 2005]

In other words, Garnette's comment points to an assumption in a thematic approach that is coupled with collaborative practice – and no doubt also reflects the responsibility of authorship by co-curators *on behalf of* a wider community: that the more people talk about something, the more important it is; that the themes should derive from what community members *talk about the most*. Prosper further noted,

I'm very satisfied that we had a good cross section of people. We had the community workers, we had people involved in tourism, in community work, farmers, boat makers, and youth and all these people... we can safely say that we had the *voice of the Carib People on tape*. [Interview with author, April 24, 2005]

At one point during a tape recorded interview with Sylvanie Burton in 2005, I asked her specifically who wrote the script. She talked about NMAI “pulling” the script out from recordings, and both of us started laughing as she detailed a process that I was engaging in at that moment. She explained that it was the community members who did the script, not the NMAI staff. She said, “Because it's *you* who said everything anyway! It wasn't *they* [the NMAI], [they were] just asking all the questions and throwing out the topics or whatever for us to discuss, and saying what do you think of this?” (interview with author, April 8, 2005). She said the script came from “meetings and discussions,” and added, “Everybody's contribution was recorded [she laughs]. And out of that, certain script was selected and then when [NMAI staff] came down we had a *consensus* on... different things.”

In sum, the selection and visual arrangement of quotations from transcripts and images and photographs were made by the NMAI staff members. Sylvanie said the NMAI “put it together in a way that *we ourselves* were really happy.” A Chicago community curator said the same for their exhibit, noting it was best that the NMAI made those choices, and not themselves, so that other community members would know it was not the co-curators who put themselves all over the walls of the exhibit.

The Kalinago community curators felt strongly that the script reflected their voices. Garnette said their job was basically to make “corrections” to the script, fact-checking names and dates (interview with author, March 17, 2005). He said he didn't change the content of the script because it came from the community and that people were already familiar with it because it was what they themselves had said (interview with author, April 13, 2005). This ideology of authorship suggests credit for the script is related to widespread community contribution, content choice, and oral statements from meetings and interviews (and paraphrases of these) inscribed in the text panels – not necessarily the practice of particular content selection and arrangement or writing the script. The process moved from oral (conversational) to textual (definitive).

I also asked a number of Kalinago people if it was usual for them to talk about their identity, in part as a measure of the impact of the museum's intervention in their community. One committee member said,

It is an everyday topic, every day people talk about Kalinago, the identity, and so on. But sometimes we have that pull between who is a Kalinago and who is a half breed or who is a negro.... So, that was kind of a little bit ticklish. That talk about Kalinago identity, and so on, it's something that everybody's talking about in the Carib Territory. But as I said, some straight hair people and some who have the real features, would look at the [laughs a little, perhaps sheepishly] you know half breed and say well you're a negro, you're not a Carib, you're not a Kalinago man, you know? You something else. That sort of thing, but we get over that and we all work together and so on. [Interview with author, April 13, 2005]

Intermarriage and race in the Carib Territory – like pan-Indianism and organizational infighting in Chicago – were topics that were spoken of in many meetings and interviews among community members, but the community curators chose not to incorporate them into the exhibit. Those topics were more a part of the process, of community members speaking to each other, than the product, or what they felt was appropriate for the public. Exercising this choice, often absent in popular culture representations of Native Americans, was key to the trust-building aspect of this collaborative process.

### Collaborative Authorship and the Imagined Audience

Attention to authorship renders the exhibit as a form of mediation that is routed through the imagined audience, the “other” that all of the contributors – the script editor, the NMAI curators, and the Native co-curators – considered as they participated in making the exhibit. Through his ethnography Dornfeld found that the imagined audience for the PBS documentary producers closely matched their own class position, life experiences, and values. In other words, they assumed an audience like themselves. For those involved in community curating for the *Our Lives* gallery, this seemed to follow for the script editor but not necessarily for the co-curators.

The script editor and curatorial staff had very different interpretations of best practice in how to represent communities in the museum. Briefly, the script editor/writer, associated with the Exhibits Department in the museum, presented a visitor-centered perspective and emphasized his expertise of “translation”; the curatorial staff espoused a community-centered perspective and emphasized their intimacy with, and advocacy for, Native communities being represented within the museum (Shannon 2014). One way of understanding these different orientations is to examine the audience that each group working on exhibits imagined and wanted to speak to through their work. It was widely thought among museum staff that the Curatorial Department looked to the “constituency” (or tribes), while the Exhibits Department looked to the general visitors (or non-

Native public): two different audiences mentioned in the original NMAI mission statement.

Cynthia, the *Our Lives* lead curator, expressed great anxiety in the course of making *Our Lives*. She worried over proper representation of the communities as well as what she called the “*huuuuge* and endless sort of subject” that contemporary Native identity is. She said of her beginning weeks on the project, “a lot of the advice I was getting was to sort of create a framework for identity. And I’m thinking, ‘How can you create a framework for identity?!’” (interview with author, July 29, 2004). Her anxiety was also related to her imagined audience, which was the *community curators with whom she worked* – a group of particular persons to whom she felt accountable.

Although I do not elaborate on the script editor’s role here, briefly, his imagined audience was the non-Native visitor. NMAI staff members commented to me that the editor did not know “Indians 101,” but he told me this made him a better translator for the visitor, who was in the same boat. Cynthia and at least one group of co-curators involved in the *Our Lives* exhibition noted that after the script editor’s influence, all the exhibits seemed to have a “happy go lucky” tone about them. More generally, the public-oriented departments imagined their audience as National Air and Space Museum overflow, “streakers” in museum-speak, who they believed did *not* want to read a lot of text (as opposed to “scholars” or “studiers,” as they are called in museum studies, who are the expected audience of, for example, the Holocaust Museum).

While the public-oriented staff insisted that their expertise was essential in translating community-produced knowledge to the museum audience, what they perhaps missed was that the communities had their own audiences in mind as they worked on the exhibits. The Chicago main message was: “Native peoples from different tribes come together in Chicago and maintain a supportive community network.” As Joe Podlasek (Ojibwe/Polish), a co-curator and director of the American Indian Center, told me one day, he wondered how other tribes would respond to their exhibit: “I’d be really interested in getting some feedback from somebody that *hasn’t*

been to Chicago, to our community ... maybe from a rez [or] from another urban Indian community” (meeting with co-curators, October 11, 2005). This imagined audience of *other tribes* is reflected in the more retrospective perspective of their exhibit: the emphasis on the longevity of the Chicago community, the descriptions of institutional support for maintaining Indian identities, and the demonstrated tolerance for different tribal traditions. The Chicago community appreciated being included in the NMAI and the sense of acknowledgment of their identity and presence that comes with this kind of national visibility, perhaps in particular because of the reservation versus city antagonism that can occur about who is a “real Indian.” (Keeping in mind that more than half of all Native Americans in the US live in cities, this was the first time I am aware of when an urban community was treated equally to reservation communities in a museum exhibition).

The Kalinago, on the other hand, imagined their audience to be *potential tourists* as they constructed their exhibit. Prosper said people felt they were “talking to the world” (interview with author, April 24, 2005). Their exhibit maintained a future perspective, hoping that their audience would see the exhibit and visit and participate in their local economy. This perspective was also reflected in their highlighting a “model village” that did not open until 2006, Carib week, and cultural groups (in co-curator meetings they said were lacking in recent years) – but all these things, they felt, had potential for a greater awakening of cultural consciousness in their community.

For the Kalinago, consensus on exhibit content was not so much the challenge as was doing the exhibit “the right way.” Perhaps this was because the Kalinago were practiced at defining themselves to outside audiences as a whole; Garnette, the former chief, once said to me, “I’ve been representing people half my life” (interview with author, April 13, 2005). It seemed the most difficult task in the process for the Kalinago was the local politics of representation: who was on the committee, where the money from the museum went, how co-curators were perceived as benefiting from the process, and staving off jealousies, apathy, or false accusations from others. The most important aspect the Kalinago co-curators stressed was making sure that

a wide swath of the community was represented on the committee, that the wider community was involved in producing exhibit content, and that the community felt *ownership* over the project.

In contrast, for the Chicago community the consensus building around a concept of identity for a multitribal community, or the content of the exhibit, was what was most difficult in the process. Few co-curators were practiced at representing this community as a multi-tribal whole besides Joe, the director of the American Indian Center. In fact, the greatest challenge of the co-curator meetings – beyond getting people to come, as liaison Rita Hodge (Navajo) told me – was respecting one another’s very different tribal traditions in the course of making an exhibit about identity. Rita explained, “Because we were from many different nations, we couldn’t just represent *one* nation over the other. So I think that was probably one of the most challenging things that we had to work with, is to be respectful, to be mindful of the other nations, their traditions, their cultural traditions and so, that was really challenging” (interview with author, November 29, 2005). This struggle and ethical commitment within the Chicago committee, in the end, became the main message about the community itself. And rather than focus on specific tribes, the exhibit presented the main institutions of support for all tribal peoples in the community.

We can see that, through their exhibit, the Kalinagos made a case for economic need and a call for tourist engagement; they promised a renewed cultural product would be waiting for these potential visitors (fig. 7). The Chicago community made a case for longevity and support of tribal identities despite living in a city, and they have mentioned being in the NMAI in grant applications among other things. No doubt in both cases these usually marginalized communities, often written about by academics or considered by surrounding societies as somehow less Native than others (through assimilation due to a devastating history, racial mixing, or being in greater contact with a dominant society) – appreciated the validation and symbolic capital gained through their representation at the NMAI alongside the more familiar forms of Native identity and life.



Figure 7: Kalinago exhibit hall with “craft house” photo collage. Reproduced with permission of the National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution.

The Kalinago approach to exhibit making and their particular imagined audience as tourists may appear to reflect what Ivan Karp and Gustavo Buntinx refer to as “tactical museology” in the latest edited collection by Karp and others titled *Museum Frictions* (2006). Among other things, this volume considers the museum in the globalized world and economy. They write in the introduction about the tensions in contemporary museums, which are striving to be simultaneously “community-based, national, regional and *global*” (Karp et al. 2006:8). They explain that communities have “sought the legitimacy conferred by museums for themselves, not necessarily to display themselves for others” (Karp et al. 2006:11). And they introduce the concept of “tactical museology” (Buntinx and Karp 2006:207) in which groups take advantage of the symbolic

capital of the museum or employ it for legitimizing a group identity, particularly in community museums. Keeping in mind that NMAI director Rick West has described the NMAI as more like a community museum than a national one, it would seem that this idea of tactical museology may apply to what I have presented here. But I would caution against coming to that conclusion.

I want to emphasize that it is the NMAI that gains symbolic capital from these artifacts of collaboration. It is a two way street. Recall director Rick West’s promise of authenticity through Native voice; it is these artifacts, these indexes of community participation – the faces, the signed text panels – these are the evidence of collaboration and are what give the *museum* legitimacy in the eyes of both its audience *and* its constituency.

## Collaborative Anthropology in the Museum

Native communities' participation in museum practice is a way for them to access a wider public sphere in which a struggle over what it means to be Native has all too often been controlled and defined by people outside of their experience. Patricia Erikson describes "autoethnography" as Native communities' "representations of themselves that engage with dominant cultural systems yet still have a degree of local control" (Erikson et al. 2002:66). The *Our Lives* gallery, then, is in many ways eight autoethnographies assembled by museum and community experts. Therefore collaborative anthropology is not only a form of exhibition making, but it is also on display in the museum. However, far from creating a multivocal exhibit as NMAI staff had predicted in 2000 during an early vetting session about the gallery premise, through the process of community curating, collaborative authorship, and the *committee form* that relied on a consensus approach to knowledge production, what resulted instead were artifacts that presented a group authoritative voice, and uniform thematic content for each community.

In addition, the artifacts of collaboration elided a number of producers involved in their making. Ironically, while the exhibits are about the Kalinagos or American Indians of Chicago, their everyday life and identity seemed far less defined by the museum than were the lives of those who worked at the NMAI. While the communities might experience exhibit making sporadically for a number of days every few months or so when NMAI staff visited with them, exhibit making was an ongoing and frenetic experience at the museum. It was more the case that the researchers' and curators' lives and sense of identity revolved around working on this exhibit. In other words, the exhibition was not just about the lives of the co-curators but also about the lives of the NMAI staff: their competence, ingenuity, and the future of their careers.

Authorship, as Mario Baggioli (2006) explains in his analysis of bylines in scientific papers, is about credit and responsibility; we can see that the credit and responsibility for the content of the exhibits did indeed reside in the co-curators: they developed

the themes, and their names were on the panels. However, in contemporary museum practice with Native communities, I would add that authorship – particularly collaborative authorship developed through these (para)ethnographic methods – is especially about ethical practice and a commitment to more accurate representations. Like the NMAI itself, the co-curators had both a constituency (their neighbors, family, and friends) and an audience (other tribes or potential tourists). And just as the museum felt collaboration with Native peoples was the best practice for making exhibits about them, so too did the co-curators emphasize collaboration within their own communities to arrive at an appropriate exhibit about themselves.

Like the *Childhood* documentary in Dornfeld's (1998:5) ethnography, the museum exhibit was also filled with "media texts" that "viewers grapple with and reproduce understandings of cultural identity and cultural difference." It seems that a dominant metaphor today is culture as "resource." Terry Turner (1999:6) explains that "culturalism" is on the rise, and the more sophisticated approaches to culture in anthropology are often reduced to "identity" beyond the walls of academe. Turner writes that culture has "tended to replace nationalism as a political resource in struggles for states and empowerment within a nation-state," and cultural identities become an avenue through which to assert social power and to struggle for collective social production. "This is a struggle for social production in the broadest sense," he writes, "not merely 'cultural' politics at the level of 'discourse' or 'imagination.'" Perhaps this is a way to view the Kalinago exhibit: that they represented their own identity through their economic need, and they recognized that their survival was tied to an economic future that depends on the production of cultural difference. Their hopes for tourism and concerns over intermarriage are indeed about the social (re)production of their own community.

Through attention to the everyday practices of collaboration, we can see how these representations about Native identity are debated, produced, and interpreted and become additional representations through which local life is expressed and understood. The turn to collaboration in museum anthropology,



## CAUGHT IN THE WAVE OF TOURISM

We hope to develop our own type of tourism. We don't want to preserve our culture just so people can come and see us. It must be for our own identity.

*Garnette Joseph, 2001*

We need to organize tourism in Carib Territory so we benefit more directly from it. The Carib Model Village will help us do so. Tourists will learn about Kalinago crafts, food, dance, and music at a site based on our traditional architecture.

*Kalinago Curators, 2003*

illustrated in detail through this case study and its analysis, depends on the methods and theoretical perspectives in collaborative anthropology – they are essential and foundational to the movement toward reflexive and accountable relationships between museums and indigenous communities. In short, the museum is now a major site – and one of the most publicly visible venues – to highlight the practice and display of collaborative anthropology. However, issues of representation and power imbalances remain, and the anthropological perspective will always be associated with a colonial past. Although collaboration is often an attempt at redressing these issues, there is always a negotiation among research and museological goals; commitments to the scholarly community; Native community desires and responsibilities to community members; and the social and institutional constraints under which we work together. Collaborative anthropology remains our best approach, under the current paradigm, to acknowledging past injustices, working together, and providing more accurate representations of indigenous peoples in museums and consequently more accurate representations of anthropologists in Native communities.

As a final note, when I returned to Dominica in 2005 to begin my fieldwork, during the second week I was there I was at a cultural performance by

the Karifuna cultural group. Two busloads of white-haired older tourists from the United States arrived from a cruise ship. They came as part of a “Carib Indian Tour” (as opposed to the “Rainforest Tour”). As they wound their way upstairs into the resource center where the performance would take place, I noticed a woman wearing a Pamunkey Indian Tribe T-shirt. It turned out that not only was she Pamunkey but she was also carrying around in a ziplock bag two photos of the *Our Lives* Pamunkey exhibit: one of her two grandchildren's photos in the display, and the other of the text panel with the name of the tribe and its introduction. She had seen the Kalinago exhibit while at the NMAI and had told her friends from California they too should take this tour to see the Carib people. After the performance, I introduced her to Sylvanie and she showed Sylvanie the photos. Sylvanie later told me she felt encouraged that the exhibit really was having an impact, that people were seeing it and coming to visit.

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