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Looking Several Ways

Anthropology and Native Heritage in Alaska

by James Clifford

The ambivalent legacy of anthropologists' relations with local communities presents contemporary researchers with both obstacles and opportunities. No longer justifiable by assumptions of free scientific access and interpersonal rapport, research increasingly calls for explicit contract agreements and negotiated reciprocities. The complex, unfinished colonial entanglements of anthropology and Native communities are being undone and rewoven, and even the most severe indigenous critics of anthropology recognize the potential for alliances when they are based on shared resources, repositioned indigenous and academic authorities, and relations of genuine respect. This essay probes the possibilities and limits of collaborative work, focusing on recent Native heritage exhibitions in south-central and southwestern Alaska. It also discusses the cultural politics of identity and tradition, stressing social processes of articulation, performance, and translation.

James Clifford is Professor of History of Consciousness at the University of California, Santa Cruz, and founding director of the university's Center for Cultural Studies (Santa Cruz, CA 95064, U.S.A. [jcliff@ucsc.edu]). Born in 1945, he was educated at Haverford College (A.B., 1967), Stanford University (M.A., 1968), and Harvard University (Ph.D., 1977). Among his publications are *Person and Myth: Maurice Leenhardt in the Melanesian World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), (edited with George Marcus) *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), *The Predicament of Culture: 20th-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988), and *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late 20th Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998). The present paper was submitted 25 iii 03 and accepted 30 vii 03.

Gone are the days when cultural anthropologists could, without contradiction, present "the Native point of view," when archaeologists and physical anthropologists excavated tribal remains without local permission, when linguists collected data on indigenous languages without feeling pressure to return the results in accessible form. Scholarly outsiders now find themselves barred from access to research sites, met with new or newly public suspicion. Indeed, "the anthropologist"—broadly and sometimes stereotypically defined—has become a negative alter ego in contemporary indigenous discourse, invoked as the epitome of arrogant, intrusive colonial authority.[1]

The history of anthropological relations with local communities includes many examples of insensitive data and artifact collection. These, combined with general assumptions of scientific authority, are understood as modes of colonial domination from the other side of a structural power imbalance, and, as histories such as David Hurst Thomas's *Skull Wars* (2000) amply document, the resentment is often justified. At the same time, the sweeping condemnations of (or jokes at the expense of) anthropologists by indigenous peoples are often combined with generous words for individuals whose work has been based on reciprocity, respect, and cooperation (see, e.g., Deloria 1997:210; Hereniko 2000: 90).[2] And anthropological texts are frequently reappropriated in Native discourses, invoked in revivals of tradition. Indeed, the legacy of scientific research done in colonial situations is ambiguous and open-ended. In Malekula, Vanuatu, A. B. Deacon's research from the 1920s is recycled in contemporary *kastom* discourses (Larcom 1982, Curtis 2003). In California, the "salvage" anthropology and linguistics of the A. L. Kroeber/Mary Haas tradition at Berkeley is an invaluable resource for tribal heritage activities. If Kroeber is currently condemned for insensitively sending Ishi's brain to the Smithsonian collection of Aleš Hrdlička or for pronouncing "death sentences," in his authoritative *Handbook of the Indians of California* (1925), on tribes now struggling for recognition, he is also gratefully remembered by Yurok elders for loyal friendships and for recording precious lore. His extensive, carefully researched court testimony in the 1950s on behalf of Native claims prefigures today's advocacy roles (see Buckley 1996:294–95; Field 1999).[3]

This legacy presents contemporary researchers—Native, non-Native, "insider," "outsider," "halfie," "diasporic"—with both obstacles and opportunities. Les Field

1. The most famous salvo is, of course, chapter 4 of Vine Deloria Jr.'s *Custer Died for Your Sins* (1969)—the book title borrowed from that of a Floyd Westerman album, which includes the wickedly sardonic "Here Come the Anthros." See also Trask (1991), Smith (1999), and, in a more humorous vein, Hughte (1994).
2. Deloria (pp. 218–19) argues that for Amerindians assessments of personal ethics and integrity far outweigh professional qualifications in determining hospitality and cooperation in research. Thus, he insists, the existence of individual friendships and reciprocities should not be taken as evidence that structural power relations and colonial baggage have been transcended.
3. Kroeber's extensive notes for his testimony are in the Bancroft Library.

(1999) sees an unfinished history of "complicities and collaborations." Fundamentally altered by the political mobilization of Native communities, research can no longer be justified by assumptions of free scientific access and interpersonal rapport. Explicit contract agreements and negotiated reciprocities are increasingly the norm. In postindependence Vanuatu, for example, anthropology and archaeology were formally banned for a decade. Now research is permitted only when host communities agree and when the foreign researcher collaborates with a local "filwoka" doing heritage work for the Vanuatu Cultural Centre (Bolton 1999, Curtis 2003). In some contexts, anthropologists find themselves recruited for land-claims litigation, archaeologists for local heritage projects, linguists for language reclamation. In others, fieldwork is forbidden or subject to disabling restrictions. Faced with these new, politicized relations, scholars may regret a loss of "scientific freedom"—forgetting the structural power that was formerly a guarantee of free access and relative safety and ignoring the many implicit limits and accommodations that have always been part of field research. (Many scientists once felt authorized to remove human remains, without consent, from graves in Native communities. If this is now beyond the professional pale, it is the result of ethical and political constraints on scientific freedom.) As Native intellectuals and activists challenge academic authority, lines can harden: the current "Kennewick Man"/"Ancient One" struggle for control of an ancient skeleton is a notorious case in which unbending "native" and "scientific" positions face off in court (Thomas 2000). Even where relations are less polarized, it has become clear that local communities need to be able to say no, unambiguously, as a precondition for negotiating more equitable and respectful collaborations. In practice, the complex, unfinished colonial entanglements of anthropology and Native communities are being undone and rewoven, and even the most severe indigenous critics of anthropology recognize the potential for alliances when they are based on shared resources, repositioned indigenous and academic authorities, and relations of genuine respect.[4]

This essay probes the possibilities and limits of collaborative work, focusing on a recent Native heritage exhibition in southwestern Alaska: *Looking Both Ways*. I discuss the project's contributors, conditions of production, and occasions of reception primarily through a contextualized reading of its remarkable catalogue, *Looking Both Ways: Heritage and Identity of the Alutiiq People*, edited by Aron Crowell, Amy Steffian, and Gordon Pullar (2001). I was able to view the exhibition, which was linked with a local Alutiiq cultural festival (Tamamta Katurlluta, August 31, 2002) in one of its Alaskan venues.[5] I also discuss, more briefly, Ann Fienup-Riordan's pioneering collaborative work with Yupiit and the recently opened Alaska Native Heritage Center in Anchorage. The goal is not a complete survey of heritage activity in the region but an evocation of changing Alaskan Native identity politics touching on several different practices of cultural revival, translation, and alliance.

Heritage is self-conscious tradition, what Fienup-Riordan (2000:167) calls "conscious culture," performed in old and new public contexts and asserted against historical experiences of loss. It responds to demands that originate both inside and outside indigenous communities, mediating new powers and attachments: relations with the land, among local groups, with the state, and with transnational forces. In contemporary Alaska, "Native" identifications have been empowered by global and regional movements of cultural resurgence and political contestation. They have also been channeled and intensified by state policies, particularly the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971 (ANCSA) and its aftermath.[6] With the passage of this legislation, for the first time, perhaps, it paid to be Native. The land-claims movements of the 1960s and the formation of the Alaska

4. Deloria (2000:xvi) writes, in the Kennewick context, "Nevertheless, in most areas, scholars and Indians have worked to discover as much as possible about newly discovered remains. When scholars have gone directly to the tribes involved, much progress has been made." Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999:15, 17) argues for "reciprocity and feedback" in a range of current "bicultural," "partnership," and "multi-disciplinary" research practices. Field (1999) discusses current possibilities and constraints in research alliances, and his CA commentators offer useful complications.

5. The festival was organized by members of the Alutiiq communities in Nanwalek, Port Graham, and Seldovia, working closely with staff at the Pratt Museum, Homer, Alaska, where the exhibition was installed. I also visited briefly in the village of Nanwalek. While my perspective on the project was greatly enriched by these encounters, my analysis remains essentially that of a visitor, a consumer and critic of public performances and texts. The many limitations and perhaps a few strengths of this outsider position will, no doubt, be evident. The fact that I was unable to visit the Alutiiq Museum and Archaeological Repository in Kodiak means that an important dimension of the story is underdeveloped. Aron Crowell's "Dynamics of Indigenous Collaboration in Alaska," delivered at Berkeley in spring 2002, piqued my interest. He later introduced me to Homer and Nanwalek, and I particularly thank him, along with my gracious Nanwalek hosts, James and Carol Kvasnikoff. In preparing this essay I have consulted with Crowell and Amy Steffian primarily to verify matters of fact. Helpful comments on earlier drafts have been provided by Gordon Pullar, Sven Haakanson Jr., Ann Fienup-Riordan, Nicholas Thomas, and Anna Tsing. The specific emphases and interpretations are, of course, my responsibility.

6. ANCSA was a political compromise of several different agendas: Native land-claims agitation and a new political coalition (the Alaska Federation of Natives), the need of transnational corporations to build a pipeline across the state for oil recently discovered in Prudhoe Bay, and the desire of state and federal governments to articulate a new Native policy in the wake of the failed "termination period" of the 1950s and '60s—a policy that could definitively settle aboriginal claims, giving Native groups a stake in economic development within a capitalist context while avoiding welfare and trusteeship responsibilities. The act awarded 44 million acres of land and nearly $1 billion to 13 regional Native corporations and 205 village corporations. Eligible Native shareholders had to show a 25% blood quantum, and participation was limited to individuals born before the date of the legislation. Unique in U.S. Native policy, ANCSA reflects the specific history of Native-government relations in Alaska, which lacks a reservation system and government trusteeship over tribal lands as practiced in the lower 48 states. It has served as a model for Inuit "self-determination" in Quebec, with ambivalent consequences similar to those in Alaska, including the emergence of a Native corporate elite (Mitchell 1996, Skinner 1997, Dombrowski 2002).

Federation of Natives (AFN) made a self-determination politics based on Pan-Alaskan alliances possible. Nurtured by strengthening "circumpolar" and "Fourth World" connections, large-scale "tribal" or "national" identifications emerged, supplementing more local village or kin-based affiliations. Heritage preservation and performance have been an integral part of these changing Native articulations. The result has been more formally articulated notions of "culture" or "tradition" appropriate to changing indigenous senses of self.

For example, the people who now call themselves "Alutiiq" (and sometimes also "Sugpiaq") live in villages and towns on Kodiak Island, on the southern coast of the Alaska Peninsula, on the Kenai Peninsula, on Prince William Sound, and in urban Anchorage (figs. 1 and 2). Their somewhat uncertain status as a coherent entity in 1971 is indicated by the fact that Alutiit are dispersed among three of the ANCSA regional corporations. In fact, many individuals rediscovered or renewed their sense of "Native" identity in the process of ANCSA enrollment. Their collective history had been one of intense disruption and trauma: the arrival of the Russians in the late eighteenth century, bringing labor exploitation, massacres, and epidemics; United States colonization after 1867, with missionaries, boarding schools, and intense military presence during World War II; devastation and displacement by a series of seismic disasters and the *Exxon Valdez* oil spill. While a great deal of local tradition had been lost or buried, there were surviving subsistence communities, kinship networks, a thriving Native religion (syncretic Russian Orthodoxy), and a significant, if dwindling, number of individuals who could speak Sug'stun, the Eskimoan language indigenous to the region. Under the impetus of the identity politics sweeping Alaska, affiliations partially consolidated by ANCSA, people were inspired to research, reclaim, and transmit their "Alutiiq" heritage (see Pullar 1992 and Mason 2002).

Throughout Native Alaska, new forms of cultural/artistic production have been devised, along with new alliances of Native and non-Native interests and new sites of performance and consumption. Today these range from regional elders' conferences and syncretic revivals of midwinter dancing to language classes, carving and boat-building workshops, tribal museums, "native tours," and model villages for cruise-ship visitors. New

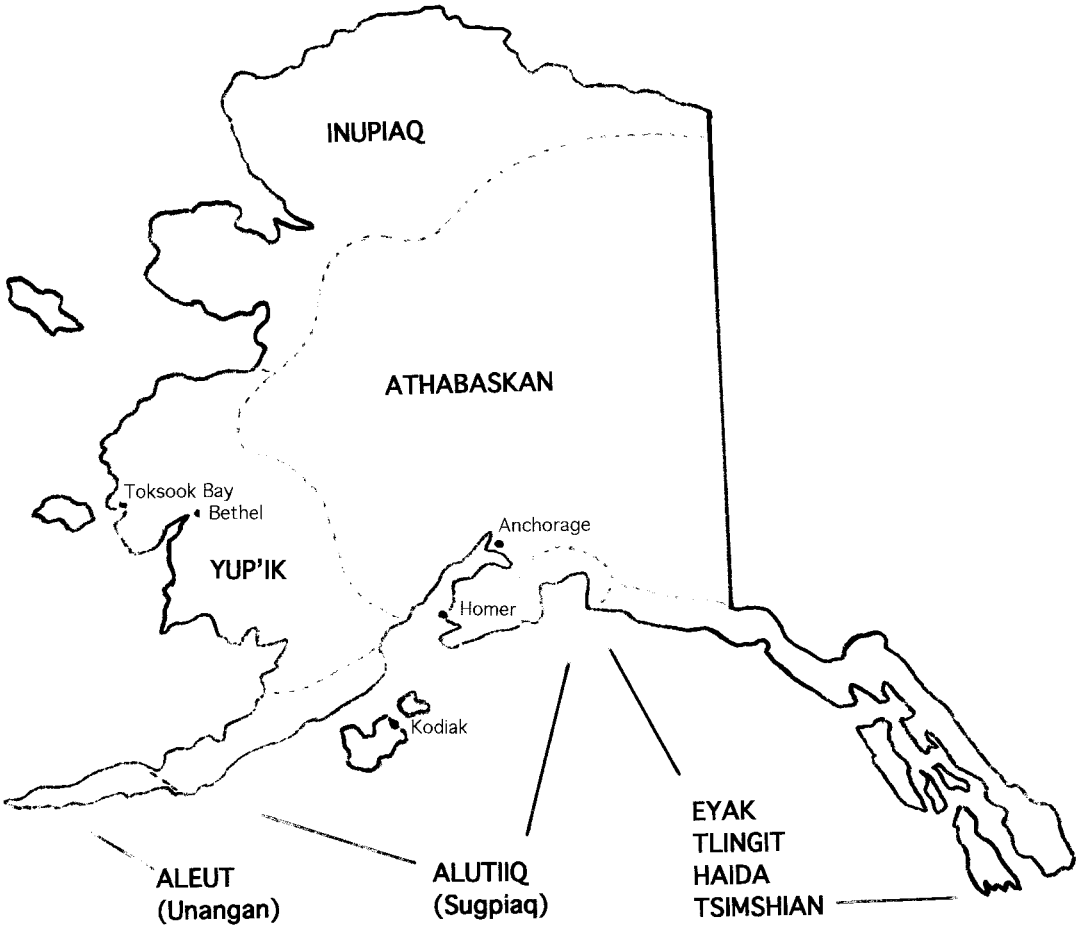

FIG. 1. *Distribution of native languages in Alaska.*

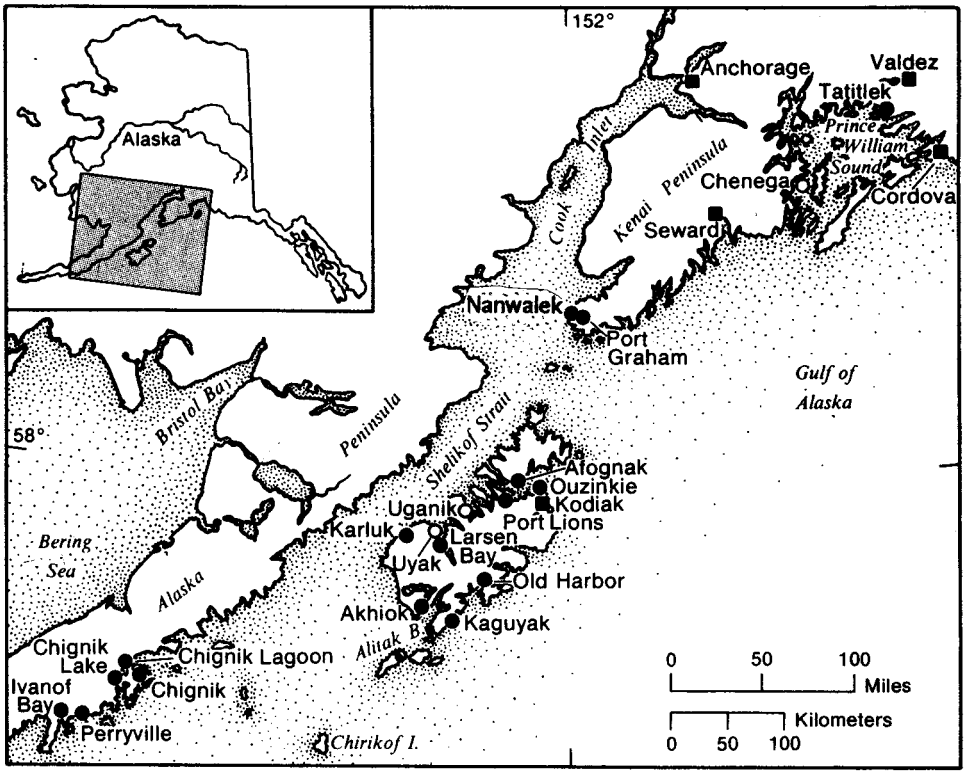

FIG. 2. *Alutiiq villages (adapted from Damas 1984:198).*

cohorts of ethnically defined entrepreneurs, community leaders, and cultural brokers have emerged. Older forms of social, political, and religious authority are simultaneously recognized and transformed, selectively translated in changing situations. How these practices take hold in local contexts varies considerably, depending on demographics and ecology, the timing and force of colonial and neocolonial disruptions, possibilities and pressures for resource extraction, and ongoing struggles over subsistence. Works like *Looking Both Ways* and the other heritage projects discussed below are specific coproductions in a complex social/economic/cultural conjuncture that both governs and empowers Native life.

Broadly defined, heritage work includes oral-historical research, cultural evocation and explanation (exhibits, festivals, publications, films, tourist sites), language description and pedagogy, community-based archaeology, art production, marketing, and criticism. Of course, such projects are only one aspect of indigenous self-determination politics today. Heritage is not a substitute for land claims, struggles over subsistence rights, development, educational, and health projects, defense of sacred sites, and repatriation of human remains or stolen artifacts, but it is closely connected to all these struggles. What counts as "tradition" is never politically neutral (Jolly 1992, Briggs 1996, Clifford 2000, Phillips and Schochet 2004), and the work of cultural retrieval, display, and performance plays a necessary role in current movements around identity and recognition. This essay works to keep in view multiple producers and consumers of Native heritage, stressing the constitutive processes of political *articulation*, contingent *performance*, and partial *translation*.

Heritage projects participate in a range of public spheres, acting within and between Native communities as sites of mobilization and pride, sources of intergenerational inspiration and education, ways to reconnect with the past and to say to others: "We exist," "We have deep roots here," "We are different." This kind of cultural politics is not without ambiguities and dangers (see Hewison 1987, Harvey 1990, Walsh 1992). Heritage can be a form of self-marketing, responding to the demands of a multicultural political economy that contains and manages inequalities. Sustaining local traditions does not guarantee economic and social justice; claiming cultural identity can be a palliative or compensation rather than part of a more systematic shift of power. In postindustrial contexts heritage has been criticized as a form of depoliticized, commodified nostalgia—ersatz tradition. While such criticisms tend to oversimplify the politics of localism, as Raphael Samuel (1994) has argued, pressures for cultural objectification and commodification are indeed often at work in contemporary heritage projects. But to conclude with a moral/political "bottom

line" of objectification and commodification is to miss a great deal of the local, regional, national, and international meaning activated by heritage work.[7]

The politics of identity and heritage are indeed constrained and empowered by today's more flexible forms of capitalist marketing, communication, and government. While recognizing these pressures it is crucial to distinguish different temporalities and scales (Tsing 2000) of political articulation (local, regional, national, international), performativity (linguistic, familial, religious, pedagogic, touristic), and translation (intergenerational, cross-cultural, conservative, innovative). Global cultural and economic forces are localized and to a degree critically inflected through these processes. Indeed, the connections affirmed in Native heritage projects—with land, with elders, with religious affiliations, with ancient, unevenly changing practices—can be substantial, not "invented" or merely simulacral. And for indigenous people, long marginalized or made to disappear, physically and ideologically, to say "We exist" in performances and publications is a powerful political act. In the past several decades, at regional and international scales, an increasing indigenous presence has been felt in many settler-colonial and national contexts. This *présence indigène* is reminiscent of the Présence Africaine movement of the early 1950s, an assertion of cultural identity inseparable from political self-determination. Today's indigenous movements, like earlier anticolonial mobilizations, complicate dichotomous, arguably Eurocentric conceptions of "cultural" versus "political" or "economic" agency.[8]

Of course, the conditions of "self-determination," of "sovereignty" are different a half-century after the great wave of postwar national liberation movements. Under conditions of globalization, self-determination is less a matter of independence and more a practice of managing interdependence, inflecting uneven power relations, finding room for maneuver (Clifford 2001). Subaltern strategies today are flexible and adapted to specific post-/neocolonial, globally interconnected contexts. This is not an entirely new predicament: indigenous movements have always had to make the best of bad political-economic situations. In a relatively liberal settler-colonial milieu such as contemporary Alaska—where Native groups, a real political presence, control significant land and resources—basic power imbalances persist. The spaces opened for Native expansion and initiative are circumscribed, and key conditions attached to the apparently generous ANCSA settlements can be shown to serve dominant interests (Dombrowski 2002). At the same time, the social and cultural mobilizations now partially articulated with state and corporate multiculturalism in Alaska predate and potentially overflow the prevailing structures of government. Heritage work, to the extent that it selectively preserves and updates cultural traditions and relations to place, can be part of a social process that strengthens indigenous claims to deep roots—to a status beyond that of another minority or local interest group. My discussion of *Looking Both Ways* makes this guarded positive claim. The long-term political and economic effects of recent Alutiiq cultural mobilizations remain to be seen, but the outcome will necessarily be compromised and uneven.

In the next section I introduce the *Looking Both Ways* project and juxtapose it with other heritage exhibitions and publications that have responded to the changing Native situation in Alaska. Having presented a range of experiences, I return to the troubling question of how Native presence in the post-ANCSA period should be historicized. The subsequent section focuses on the Alutiiq project's portrayal of an emergent multi-accented history and identity. In a concluding discussion I return to the limits and possibilities of collaborative heritage work for anthropologists, archaeologists, and linguists forging new relationships with Native communities.

Native Presence: Recent Heritage Projects

CONTEXTS: *LOOKING BOTH WAYS*

Looking Both Ways, a sign of the changing times, is the culmination of two decades of Native reorganization and renegotiated relations with academic researchers. Two archaeological negotiations epitomize crucial aspects of the process. In 1984 the Kodiak Area Native Association (KANA), under the new presidency of Gordon Pullar, entered into a partnership with the archaeologist Richard Jordan to involve Native youth and elders in an excavation in the village of Karluk. Local people were deeply moved by confronting carved wooden masks, stone tools, and spruce-root baskets from their ancestral past. One woman's face "reflected both confusion and sadness. Finally speaking, she said, 'I guess we really are Natives after all. I was always told that we were Russians' " (Pullar 1992:183). The Karluk project, with its Native participation and local dissemination of results, would become a model for subsequent excavations in Alutiiq communities (Knecht 1994). In 1987 the Kodiak Island community of Larsen Bay petitioned for the return of ancestral bones and artifacts collected in the 1930s by the physical anthropologist Aleš Hrdlička and preserved in the Smithsonian Institution's collections. After four years of sometimes bitter struggle, the materials were returned and the skeletal remains reburied (Bray and Kil-

7. This essay extends an earlier discussion of the "heritage debates" and their application (in the work of Kevin Walsh and David Harvey) to transnational contexts (Clifford 1997:213–19). How are we to understand the paradoxically globalizing and differentiating functions of widespread claims to "culture" and "identity" (Friedman 1994, Dominguez 1994, Wilk 1995)? I have argued that the paradox should not be reduced to an effect of globalizing or postmodern power structures (Clifford 2000). Something excessive is going on in these diverse, proliferating movements. Hodder (1999:148–77) clearly portrays the complex determinations at issue.

8. A strong argument in this vein was provided by the Kanak independence leader Jean-Marie Tjibaou (1996), who insisted on an organic connection between Melanesian heritage affirmations and a broad range of self-determination struggles. On recent arguments that portray "merely cultural" movements as divorced from the "real politics" of structural transformation, see Judith Butler's (1998) riposte.

lian 1994). The Larsen Bay repatriation was a landmark in the wider renegotiation of relations between United States Indian communities and scientific institutions that resulted in the Native Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) of 1990, and it was a rallying point for the dispersed Native peoples on and around Kodiak Island who were coming to see themselves as custodians of a distinctive "Alutiiq" history and culture.

During the 1990s Smithsonian policy, particularly at its Arctic Studies Center, directed by William Fitzhugh, moved decisively in the direction of collaboration with indigenous communities. KANA, formed in 1966 during the period of land-claims activism, had already added a cultural heritage program animated by the archaeologist Richard Knecht. This initiative would develop during the 1990s into the Alutiiq Museum and Archaeological Repository, first directed by Knecht and now by the Alutiiq anthropologist and activist Sven Haakanson Jr. By the end of the decade the museum had moved into a new facility in Kodiak, built with *Exxon Valdez* oil-spill compensation funding. It has expanded rapidly and now sustains a full range of educational, community archaeology, arts, and curatorial programs.[9] Its board of directors is composed of representatives from KANA and from eight Alutiiq village corporations, and it sponsors projects throughout the Kodiak Island area. While the museum is Native-centered, its staff represents diverse heritages and works to reach the very mixed current population of Kodiak Island: Alutiit, U.S. Americans, Filipinos, Pacific Islanders, Central Americans.

The Alutiiq Museum board hesitated before agreeing to cosponsor *Looking Both Ways*. Memories of the Larsen Bay repatriation were fresh and suspicion of the Smithsonian still strong. Aron Crowell, director of the Alaska office of the Arctic Studies Center, with help from museum staff, eventually secured support from the board members, who recognized that a well-funded traveling show on Alutiiq heritage was a chance to "put Alutiiq on the map." For the Smithsonian, collaboration with the museum was critical to the project's success. Local networks from more than a decade of KANA-sponsored heritage work could be activated, two crucial elders' planning sessions could be organized, and an appropriate Native venue would be available. At the opening, four generations of an Alutiiq family cut the ribbon, and visitors who had traveled considerable distances to attend were met by a team of well-prepared youth docents who had acquired specialized knowledge of specific parts of the exhibition. Speeches, a Russian Orthodox blessing, traditional dancers, and a banquet made the opening a ceremony and a celebration (see *Alutiiq Museum Bulletin* 7[1]).

The exhibition was built around artifacts lent by the Smithsonian, most of them collected by William J. Fisher, a German-born naturalist and fur trader, during the last two decades of the nineteenth century. Masks, clothing, and items of daily and ceremonial life were exhibited, along with prehistoric and historic specimens from the Alutiiq Museum's archaeological repository. While the presentation was strongly historical, enlarged color pictures of individuals (drying salmon, picking berries), video recordings, and images of contemporary villages reminded viewers of the present moment—of whose heritage this was. The exhibition themes—"Our Ancestors," "Our History," "Our Way of Living," "Our Beliefs," and "Our Family"—sustained a focus on community. The old objects, returning after a century and still linked with specific places and people, provoked emotional reactions—sadness, recognition, gratitude, kinship. Texts accompanying the artifacts included both scholarly contextualizations and quotes from elders recorded at planning meetings.

Works of traditional art, old and new, were juxtaposed. A breathtaking skin hat once worn by shamans and whalers, collected on the Alaska Peninsula in 1883, had been "embroidered with caribou hair, yarn, and strips of thin painted skin (probably esophagus), and further embellished with puffs of ermine and sea otter fur" (Crowell and Laktonen 2001:169). The centrality of human-animal relations was artfully, sensuously manifested in many of the objects. Perhaps the most stunning object was a ground-squirrel parka sewn in 1999 by Susan Malutin and Grace Harrod of Kodiak Island after studying an 1883 example in the Fisher collection in Washington, D.C. "It is made from ground squirrel pelts and accented with strips of white ermine along the seams. Mink and white caribou fur are used on the chest and sleeves. The tassels are of dyed skin, sea otter fur, and red cloth with ermine puffs" (Crowell and Lührmann 2001:47). The exhibition also included an example of the decorated Russian Orthodox Christmas star that is paraded from house to house during midwinter rituals of visiting and gift exchange made for the exhibition by students at St. Innocent's Academy in Kodiak. (A color photo of the young men, grinning and looking very "Russian," accompanied the 3-foot star.) A mask carved by Jerry Laktonen, now a successful Native artist, commemorated the *Exxon Valdez* disaster that had forced him to quit commercial fishing and take up sculpture (see www.whaledreams.com/laktonen.htm).

The diverse mix of objects, texts, and images gathered for the exhibition signified a complex Alutiiq heritage and identity. Cultural continuity through change was manifested by juxtaposing ancient, historical, and contemporary objects and images. The explicit messages were straightforward—historically descriptive, evocative, and celebratory. The exhibition's catalogue offers considerably more diversity of perspective in its accounts of cultural and historical process. Extensive and beautifully produced, it contains hundreds of historical and contemporary illustrations, with detailed chapters on culture, language, and history, on archaeological research results and collaborations, on contemporary identity and subsistence practices, on spiritual life and religious traditions, on elders' recollections and hopes. The volume's dedication quotes Mary Peterson, a Kodiak Is-

9. See the Alutiiq Museum web site for a description of its diverse projects: www.alutiiqmuseum.com.

land elder: "To all the new generations. They will learn from this and keep it going."

The catalogue—the term hardly captures the book's scope—explores a wide range of old and new places, crafts, and social practices. Heritage is a path to the future.[10] The late Sven Haakanson Sr., a Kodiak Island elder, inspired the project's title: "You've got to look back and find out the past, and then you go forward." Haakanson was speaking at an elders' planning conference held in 1997, when men and women from the Alutiiq culture area gathered to talk about the old days and ways forward: childhood experiences in the 1920s, parents and grandparents, subsistence hunting and fishing, religion and social values, elements of a transformed, transforming way of life. The catalogue contains many excerpts from this meeting, as well as testimony from Alutiiq activists, community leaders, and scholars. Diverse Native voices are juxtaposed with contributions from non-Native scholars.

Perhaps the most striking feature of *Looking Both Ways* is its multivocality. In the very first pages we encounter the names of 51 elders who participated in the exhibition or are quoted in the book. The final chapter is composed of nine extended statements. The remaining sections are written/assembled by scholars who have worked closely with local communities. One of the volume's editors, the Native activist and educator Gordon Pullar, contributes an illuminating chapter entitled "Contemporary Alutiiq Identity" (2001). Virtually every page juxtaposes quotations, images, and short essays. The textual ensemble makes space for some 40 individual "authors"—Native and non-Native writers of free-standing essays or sources of extended testimonies. Quotations from individual elders are scattered throughout. No one holds the floor for very long, and the experience of reading is one of constantly shifting modes of attention, encountering specific rhetorics, voices, images, and stories, and shuttling between the archaeological past, personal memories, and present projects.

In the midst of a chapter called "*Súgucihpet*—'Our Way of Living' " (Crowell and Laktonen 2001), a page begins: "Fishing sets the pace of the subsistence year. In summer, five varieties of salmon gather in the bays or ascend rivers to spawn." The following page: "I remember in the summertime my dad would wake my sisters and me up early to go fishing." The first tells us about kinds of fish and how they are dried, smoked, and canned. The second recalls the chore of cleaning the catch while being swarmed by vicious flies (pp. 176–78). Interspersed illustrations show (1) contemporary commercial fishermen netting salmon, (2) "Iqsak—Halibut hook," from about 1899, and (3) an ivory lure in the shape of a fish, ca. A.D. 600–1000, found in an archaeological site on Kodiak Island. "In *Looking Both Ways*," Aron Crowell writes, "the commitment has been to diversity of perspective, depth of inquiry, and genuine collaboration among scholars, Elders, and communities" (2001: 13). The book's five pages of acknowledgments, mentioning many institutions and an enormous number of individuals, are integral to its message. But if the general strategy is inclusive, it is not synthetic. Differences of perspective are registered and allowed to coexist. The volume's three editors represent the range of stakeholders in the project.

Crowell, director of the Alaska office of the Smithsonian's Arctic Studies Center, came to the *Looking Both Ways* project from prior work in the archaeology and postcontact history of the region (e.g., Crowell 1992, 1997) and is currently pursuing collaborative archaeology with Alutiiq communities on the Kenai Peninsula. As project director he arranged the loan of artifacts, raised grant money, and served as primary orchestrator/negotiator of the exhibition and the text. He is the author or coauthor of four chapters in the catalogue. Crowell's ability to work both as a Smithsonian insider and as a long-term field researcher enmeshed in local collaborations and reciprocities was instrumental in facilitating the project's coalition of diverse interests.

Gordon Pullar has been a leader in Alutiiq heritage projects since the early 1980s, and it was his early conversations with William Fitzhugh of the Smithsonian, followed by Crowell's presentation of artifact photos to a 1988 conference on Kodiak Island, that led to concrete plans for bringing the old Alutiiq objects to Alaska. Pullar chaired the *Looking Both Ways* advisory committee and served as political liaison to various groups and organizations. He and other Alutiiq activists and elders whose ideas influenced the project were much more than "Native consultants" recruited after the basic vision was in place; they were active from the beginning in an evolving coalition.

The archaeologist Amy Steffian, currently deputy director of the Alutiiq Museum, works on collaborative excavations with communities on Kodiak Island. In the wake of the Larsen Bay repatriation struggle, Steffian requested and received tribal permission to resume study of the Larsen Bay sites. Her experience established that intense local suspicion of archaeology and anthropology did not preclude research collaborations in situations where trust could be established. Moreover, the fact that the Alutiiq Museum is an archaeological repository institutionalizes the idea that excavated heritage can be made available for study while remaining under local control. Along with other museum staff members and community supporters, Steffian helped insure that *Looking Both Ways* would be a broadly based gathering of people as well as an impressive collection of artifacts.

The project's success depended on bringing together Native authorities, skilled professionals, and institutional sponsors. Primary financial donors included the Smithsonian Institution, the National Endowment for the Humanities, Koniag Inc., the Alutiiq Heritage Foundation, the Anchorage Museum of History and Art, and Phillips Alaska. Additional support was provided by an

10. In Pacific Island contexts tradition (*kastom*) is often articulated with "development." On this complex temporality, a traditional "anticipation of the future," see Wagner (1979), other versions appear in Sahlins (2000:419) and Kame' eleihiwa (1992:22–23). Tilley (1997) offers a provocative Melanesian case of what Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998) calls the "second life" of heritage.

impressive cross-section of Alaska institutions, public and private, and nearly two dozen Native regional and village corporations. As I have suggested, the project's collaborative expression of "Alutiiq heritage and identity" reflects an open-ended moment of cultural emergence, weaving together discussions, struggles, and accommodations sustained over more than two decades in a shifting context of power. A look at several precursors and allied projects may provide a better sense of that context—a dynamic conjuncture that, while locally particular, has analogues elsewhere.[11]

PRECURSORS: *CROSSROADS* AND *AGAYULIYARARPUT*

In 1988 Fitzhugh and Crowell edited the major Russian-American-Canadian collaboration *Crossroads of Continents: Cultures of Siberia and Alaska*. Prehistory, history, anthropology, archaeology, and art criticism came together in a richly documented and illustrated account of the transnational world of Beringia. Small Siberian and Alaskan Native groups were shown to be part of a larger, dynamic indigenous region with a deep history of interconnection and crossing that had been obscured by national projects and cold war partitioning. The project brought together for the first time many powerful and evocative artifacts collected in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and preserved in Washington, D.C., St. Petersburg, New York, and Ottawa. The effect was revelatory not simply for students of cultural flows but for Native Alaskans, who rediscovered lost aspects of their tribal histories and a deep transnational context for new "indigenous" alliances. In *Looking Both Ways*, Ruth Alice Olsen Dawson, chair of the Alutiiq Heritage Foundation, recalls her encounter with the *Crossroads* exhibition at its Alaskan venue, the Anchorage Museum of History and Art (2001:89):

> For the first time we saw "snow-falling" parkas made out of bird skins and decorated with puffins' beaks. We saw ceremonial masks, regalia, baskets, rattles, pictures, and drawings. The impact for me was overwhelming. The exhibit sparked the start of the first Native dance group in Kodiak in years. And instead of wearing European calicos, we wore snow-falling parkas, shook puffin-beak rattles, and wore beaded head-dresses. It was a revelation.

There are no voices like Dawson's in *Crossroads of Continents*, and this may be the volume's most striking difference from *Looking Both Ways*. All the contributors to the earlier collection are non-Native academics, and the contemporary lives of Koryak, Chukchi, Yup'ik, Aleut, Tlingit, and others appear only at the very end in two surveys of current history in Russia and Alaska. Named individuals emerge in a brief final section on 18 Alaskan Native artists. There are no photographs of living people, whereas in *Looking Both Ways* they are everywhere, mixed with historical photos and Mikhail Tikhanov's fabulous early-nineteenth-century portraits (prominent in both volumes). Seven years after *Crossroads* opened, Fitzhugh and Valerie Chaussonnet of the Arctic Studies Center, recognizing the original exhibition's limited audience, designed a smaller, less cumbersome version for travel to local communities on both sides of the Bering Strait (Chaussonnet 1995). In this project images of contemporary populations are featured, along with writings and quotations by indigenous authorities.

In 1996 a major exhibition entitled *Agayuliyararput (Our Way of Making Prayer)* opened in the heart of Yup'ik country—Toksook Bay, Nelson Island. In its subsequent travel to the regional center, Bethel, and then to Anchorage, New York, Washington, D.C., and Seattle, the exhibition of Yup'ik masks reversed the itinerary of *Crossroads*, starting in venues accessible to indigenous people and moving to more distant urban "centers." Masks acquired by U.S. and European museums during the late-nineteenth-century frenzy of "salvage collecting" now traveled back to their places of origin. Ann Fienup-Riordan, an anthropologist whose long-term fieldwork on Nelson Island has been part of oral-history projects sponsored by Yup'ik authorities, conceived the exhibition in dialogue with elders. Its success depended both on this local commitment and on the cooperation of museum professionals in Alaska and in Washington, New York, Seattle, and Berlin. The exhibition catalogue, *The Living Tradition of Yup'ik Masks: Agayuliyararput (Our Way of Making Prayer)* (Fienup-Riordan 1996), is a model of richly documented collaborative scholarship and stunning visual presentation. While the anthropologist appears as its author, large sections of the text are strongly multivocal, built around quotations from elders' recorded memories and interpretations of the masks.

In *Hunting Tradition in a Changing World*, Fienup-Riordan (2000) reflects on her changing relations with Yup'ik communities over the years. She traces an evolution from assuming scholarly "independence" toward something more like alliance anthropology and toward textual forms that manifest the collaborative nature of the work.[12] *Hunting Tradition* moves beyond systematic quotation to intersperse among its essays seven free-standing texts written by Yupiit. Along with clustered accounts of Yup'ik Christianity and extended urban-rural networks, Fienup-Riordan provides an illuminating analysis of the mask exhibition's origins and especially of its significance in different venues (pp. 209–51). The name chosen by the Yup'ik planning committee, *Agayuliyararput*, fused old and new meanings. In the pre-Christian past *agayu* referred to performances honoring animals or

11. Quick equivalences are risky, however, and the devil is in the (historical) details—colonial, post-, and neocolonial. A more systematic comparison of Alaskan Native identity politics with similar phenomena elsewhere would require work at a different scale from that of this essay.

12. It is arguable that her choice to remain unaffiliated with any university or governmental institution has given her the flexibility to pioneer collaborative styles of work, engaging in relations and projects which might have seemed "unprofessional" before they became, under pressure, the norm.

persons who were providers, and it has since taken on the Christian sense of "praying." "Our Way of Making Prayer" thus articulates a process of historical translation. (It was not guaranteed that priests and conservative Christians in the local communities would approve of the paganism associated with the renewed enthusiasm for mask making and dancing. In fact they did, with enthusiasm.[13]) Fienup-Riordan describes how, as the exhibition traveled beyond Yup'ik communities, the name *Agayuliyararput*, rich in local significance, diminished in prominence, becoming a subtitle.

In Toksook Bay and Bethel the most important meanings of the masks centered on who had made them and where they were from. Place (rather than theme or style) was the organizing principle determined by the local steering committee. It was also decided that Yup'ik language had to appear prominently in the exhibition's name and in the elders' interpretations, painstakingly transcribed and translated by Marie Meade, a Yup'ik-language specialist, teacher, and traditional dancer (see Meade 2000). These vernacular materials were featured in a specially printed bilingual catalogue that preceded the lavishly illustrated English-language version. Available at Toksook Bay and Bethel, the "Yup'ik catalogue" sold out quickly and was adopted in school curricula teaching local culture and history.[14] The exhibition opening coincided with an already established dance festival, a gathering of hundreds of people flown in from remote villages by light aircraft, and thus it became part of an ongoing tradition of midwinter gatherings.

In Anchorage, Alaska's largest urban center, where significant Native communities live more or less permanently, the masks were seen as part of a wider pan-Alaskan indigenous heritage. In New York, at the National Museum of the American Indian, the masks were contextualized less in terms of local Alaskan practices than as contributions to great Native American art. In Washington, D.C., and Seattle, formalist, "high art" presentations predominated. Fienup-Riordan portrays these contexts not as distortions but rather as aspects of a potential range of Yup'ik meanings in the late twentieth century. The "centering" of the exhibition—its planning and opening in Toksook Bay—reflects a crucial priority for a renewed politics of indigenous authenticity. It is not, however, the sole priority, and the local is actively defined and redefined in relationships with a variety of "outsides" and scales of belonging. A "worldwide web," in Fienup-Riordan's provocative expression (2000: 151–82), of Yup'ik kinship and culture obliges us to consider a range of overlapping performative contexts, tactical articulations, and translations: rural/urban, oral/literate, family/corporate, Alaskan/international.

Hunting Tradition concludes with a recent visit to the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde by a group of Yup'ik elders accompanied by the anthropologist (Fienup-Riordan 2000:252–70). The discussions there were governed by Yup'ik protocols and agendas. The goal was not the return of traditional artifacts preserved in Germany. The visitors expressed gratitude for the museum's curatorship, since in the old days it was customary to destroy masks after use. They were primarily interested in the return of important stories and knowledge renewed through the encounter with the old masks, spears, and bows. What mattered was not the reified objects but what they could communicate for a Yup'ik future. Understood in this historical frame, museums, as the elder Paul John put it, were "part of God's plan."

The Living Tradition of Yup'ik Masks (Fienup-Riordan 1996) looks both ways: to a recollected past and to a dynamic present-becoming-future. The catalogue portrays Yup'ik cultural production enmeshed in specific contact histories: colonial (Russian and American) and now post-/neocolonial (indigenous resurgence). The translated renditions of the masks' meanings and uses are not located solely or even primarily in traditional (pre-1900) contexts. The catalogue emphasizes contact histories of collecting (including aesthetic appropriation of the dramatic masks by the surrealists), periods of missionary suppression, and recent movements of revival in Catholic, Orthodox, and Moravian communities. The perspectives of different generations on rearticulated currents of spirituality and aesthetics are kept in view. The collaborative genesis of the exhibition and its local significance are stressed from the outset in a chapter titled "Our Way of Making an Exhibit."[15]

It is instructive to compare *The Living Tradition of Yup'ik Masks* with an earlier Smithsonian-sponsored catalogue and exhibition devoted to similar objects and histories from the same region. *Inua: Spirit World of the Bering Sea Eskimo*, by William Fitzhugh and Susan Kaplan (1982), was an innovative project for its time. Like the later exhibition, it returned objects held in Washington museums to Alaskan venues, though not to Native homelands. Its focus was a collection of artifacts acquired in the late 1870s by Edward William Nelson in western Alaska. The narrow time period, contextualized in a broad historical/archaeological/natural frame, gave the exhibition a temporal/social specificity that separated it from more common "cultural" or "primitive art" approaches. A final section of the catalogue, "Art in Transformation," provided a glimpse of later develop-

13. The Oregon Society of Jesus web site (http.www.nwjesuits.org/ignati/nwjf9508.htm) proudly recounts Fr. Rene Astruc's role in lifting the Catholic Church's ban on Yup'ik dancing and encouraging its revival. "The dancing priest" was an active agent in the social and cultural rearticulations that made *Agayuliyararput* possible.

14. An interesting contrast is provided by Julie Cruikshank's (1998: 16) account of Athabaskan elders' insistence that their recorded stories and memories be published in English: "What emerged . . . was a strong commitment to extend communication in whatever forms possible, writing being one way among many. There was also optimism—probably a result of a history of self-confident multilingualism—that English is just one more Native language, in fact the dominant Native language at the end of the century." The Yup'ik and Athabaskan linguistic situations differ, and notions of cultural "authenticity" need to be grounded in specific limits and possibilities of translation and communication.

15. Fienup-Riordan's deepening collaborative work will be manifested in two forthcoming publications (2004*a*, *b*) the latter complemented by a bilingual version for local use.

ments: the discovery of representational ivory carving and the emergence of individual "Eskimo artists" who would develop new graphic styles and carving traditions for an expanding art market. Except for these last pages, however, contemporary populations were absent from the book. An "Eskimo" voice—unattributed quotations from recorded myths—appeared as a kind of chorus.

If *Inua* seems dated today, this is a comment less on its substantive achievements, which remain considerable, than on rapidly changing times, identifications, and power relations. The lack of visible participation by Yup'it and Inupiat in the exhibition process contrasts with the explicit collaborations described by Crowell and Fienup-Riordan. Moreover, the earlier exhibition's focus on "the Bering Sea Eskimo," including under this rubric both Yup'ik and Inupiaq, would today be ruled out by the disaggregation of "Eskimos" into Inuit, Inupiat, Yupiit, and Alutiit, an outcome of Alaskan and Canadian Native identity politics during the 1980s and '90s. This process was significantly (though not solely) driven by the struggles surrounding ANCSA, whose politics of Native regrouping were making headway at the time *Inua* was produced. Subsequent decades would see many articulations of Fienup-Riordan's "conscious culture." The Native corporations created after 1971 offered new leadership roles and sources of funding for cultural/heritage projects such as the Alutiiq Museum, other cultural centers, and education and language initiatives. Local, regional, and international dance/art/storytelling festivals, Native studies programs in universities (sometimes including "elders in residence"), Native participation in resource management, teacher training programs, the growth of indigenous art markets, and cultural tourism—all these contributed to a sharply increased Native presence in Alaska public culture.

A full historical—political, social, economic, and cultural—account of the increased Native presence and heritage activity in Alaska after the 1970s is beyond my present compass. However, a few reflections on how these movements are related to the social and economic contexts created by ANCSA may be useful. The relations are intimate, partial, and overdetermined. Recent studies argue that the Native corporate structure through which the U.S. Congress "settled" aboriginal land claims has had ambiguous and in some cases disastrous consequences. Ramona Ellen Skinner's survey *Alaska Native Policy in the Twentieth Century* (1997) shows how a law intended to foster indigenous self-determination became recognized as a recipe for eventual termination, limiting "Native" status to those born before 1971 and ultimately allowing unfettered sales of tribal assets. Amendments to the law attempting to correct its temporal limit on corporate participation and slowing the transfer of stock to non-Natives have only partially dealt with its fundamental problems. ANCSA, from this perspective, is a pact with the devil of capitalism. By making Native assets indistinguishable from other private property, the law has significantly expanded participation in the Alaskan and international economy. But this "development" comes at the cost of extinguishing aboriginal title to land, creating Native capitalist elites, and forcing shortsighted, profit-motivated decisions about resource management. Kirk Dombrowski's recent discussions (2001, 2002) are particularly informative on these effects, particularly in the timber-rich south.

Overall, the economic situation of Alaska's Native corporations is quite uneven, and ANCSA's articulation with the new identity politics has taken different forms in different Native contexts, depending on resource wealth, extractive pressures from powerful corporations, and degree of urbanization and acculturation. It is obviously important to distinguish the community-based heritage education and revival practiced by institutions like the Alutiiq Museum, the midwinter Orthodox "starring" ceremonies and Yup'ik dance festivals in Toksook Bay, pan-Alaskan institutions like the Alaska Native Heritage Center, and the Indian villages maintained for cruise-ship tourists along the South Alaska Inland Passage. In each case, one needs to ask what old and new cultural and social elements are being articulated, what audiences are being addressed by specific performances, and what are the social/linguistic relations and tradeoffs of translation. Such questions are critical for a nonreductive understanding of a complex historical conjuncture.

Native Alaska is caught up in a local/global constellation of forces that can be roughly characterized as post-1960s/neoindigenous and corporate/multicultural. Heritage projects reweave diverse social and cultural filiations in ways that are aligned by this conjuncture while also exceeding it. Multiple historical projects and possible futures are active. In Dombrowski's ethnographically nuanced analysis (2001) and the related but more functionalist account of Kodiak capitalism by Arthur Mason (2002), cultural politics appears as largely a matter of corporate ideology, commodified tribal symbols, and tourist spectacles: an Alaskan "identity industry." In this perspective, which brings Native class and status differences into view, the state and corporate capitalism ultimately call the shots. I would argue for another view of determination in which capitalism and state power do not "produce" indigenous identities, not at least in any global or functional way, but set limits and exert pressures (Williams 1977:83–89). Struggles over indigenous practice occur, as Dombrowski rightly puts it, "within and against" Western institutions and hegemonic ideas such as "culture."

All of the heritage work discussed here is connected to capitalism in variously configured relations of dependency, interpellation, domination, and resistance. As Marx said, people make history but not in conditions of their choosing. This observation has always been brutally relevant to Native peoples' experiences of conquest, resistance, and survival. Yet Marx also affirmed that, in conditions not of their choosing, people do make history. The unexpected resurgence of Native, First Nations, Aboriginal, etc., societies in recent decades confirms the point. And while indigenous heritage and identity movements have indeed expanded dramatically during the recent heyday of corporate liberalism, this conjuncture does not exhaust their historicity. Native cultural poli-

tics builds connections extending before and potentially after the current moment. I am inclined to see the "praxis of indigenism"[16] in Gramscian terms—as a contingent work of positional struggle, articulation, and alliance.

INTERACTIONS: THE ALASKA NATIVE HERITAGE CENTER

The Alaska Native Heritage Center in Anchorage is a prominent sign of the expanding Native presence in Alaska. Its heritage work at several scales and its multiple audiences, community ties, and corporate connections contrast and overlap with the Yup'ik and Alutiiq exhibitions. Opened in 1999 as a "gathering place" for all Alaska Native groups, the Center functions as a site of cultural exchange, celebration, and education. Entirely Native-run and not dependent on academic experts, it draws its funds from a broad range of sources—tribal, corporate, and touristic. All of its programs are approved by a college of elders representing the principal Native regions. Dialogue among indigenous peoples is promoted, and communication with visitors, a high priority, is on Native terms. The Center sometimes enters into contracts with non-Native scholars and facilitates collaborative projects. For example, its staff worked with the Smithsonian's Arctic Studies Center to produce a pedagogical video and web site for *Looking Both Ways*. Housed in a new complex on the outskirts of Anchorage, the Center maintains links with local and regional Native authorities while cultivating "partnerships" with a broad range of sponsors.

The Alaska Native Heritage Center is not a museum focused on a collection but something more like a performance space, featuring face-to-face encounters. Everything is designed to facilitate conversations between different tribal Alaskans and between Natives and non-Natives. At the door, visitors are personally greeted. The central space is a stage where every hour dancing or storytelling is presented. In the Hall of Cultures, visitors are encouraged to talk with Native artists and "tradition bearers"[17] about their work. All of the artifacts on display are newly made traditional pieces—masks, drums, kayaks, parkas, boots, button blankets, headgear. Outside, around an artificial lake, five houses represent the past lifeways of Alaska's principal indigenous regions. Everywhere, young Native men and women act as hosts and interpreters, actively engaging visitors. During the summer months, tourists visit in large numbers, including regular busloads of cruise-ship passengers—a lucrative market that the Center has successfully pursued. Workshops and gatherings support its yearly themes (for example, boat-building, health and Native medicines). In winter, school visits, art demonstrations, and workshops are organized ("*Exxon Mobil* master artist classes," in which one can learn to make Tsimshian hand drums, Alutiiq beaded headdresses, Aleut model kayaks, and other emblematic Native artifacts). The Center also arranges "cultural awareness workshops" funded by Wells Fargo Bank and adapted to the needs of diverse clients such as the Girl Scouts, the FBI, the army and the air force, Covenant House, and various government agencies.[18]

Like most Native heritage projects, the Center addresses diverse audiences—local, regional, state, and international. The performances, alliances, and translations vary according to the context. For tourists and other visitors with limited time, the Center provides a clear vision of Alaska Native presence and diversity. Color-coded maps and labels identify five principal Native cultures/regions—Athabascan Yup'ik/Cup'ik, Inupiaq/St. Lawrence Island Yup'ik, Eyak/Tlingit/Haida/Tsimshian, and Aleut/Alutiiq—each endowed with a stylized image or logo. The five traditional house types reinforce the taxonomy. A message of current vitality is reinforced by face-to-face contacts, especially with young people. For Alaskans of various backgrounds, specialized performances and educational events offer more sustained encounters with Native artists and tradition bearers. The agenda of gathering and cultural communication specifically addresses Native people of all ages from many parts of Alaska who are employed at the Center or attend its events. Its work thus contributes to a loosely articulated Native Alaskan identification following from the widespread post-1960s indigenous revival movements and the difficult but largely successful alliances leading to the ANCSA land settlement.

Native resurgence, a complex process of continuity through transformation, involves articulation (cultural and political alliance), performance (forms of display for different "publics"), and translation (partial communication and dialogue across cultural and generational divides). All are clearly visible in a Center publication that documents and celebrates one of its annual themes and summer workshops: *Qayaqs and Canoes: Native Ways of Knowing* (Steinbright and Mishler 2001). Teams of "master builders" and "apprentices" gathered at the Center over a period of five months to construct eight traditional boats: two Athabascan birch-bark canoes, four styles of kayak (Aleut, Alutiiq, and two Central Yup'ik), a Northwest Coast dugout canoe, and a Bering

16. The phrase is Dombrowki's (2002). My perspective is, with differences of emphasis, consistent with the analytic approach to contemporary indigenism that he and Gerald Sider project for their new book series "Fourth World Rising" (see Dombrowski 2001).

17. The public status of "tradition bearer" is a relatively recent development in North American indigenous heritage politics. It denotes individuals of deep cultural experience who are not (yet) elders. The latter designation depends on traditional usage and local consensus—which may, of course, include disagreement. Tradition-bearer status is more closely linked with the politics of heritage, and it can include people of more or less mixed background who in recent decades have returned to Native tradition, reactivating old crafts, languages, stories, and lifeways. It thus denotes an active commitment to transmitting community values and knowledge and recognizes the translation and education functions of individuals mediating between (deeply knowledgeable) elders and (relatively ignorant) youth. Its emergence is evidence that heritage activism extends beyond the goal of simply salvaging endangered lore.

18. The Center web site (www.alaskaNative.net) provides details on programs and sponsors.

Straits open skin boat. Only the last-mentioned boat type is still actively made and used; the others have entered the relatively new category of what might be called "heritage objects"—specially valued material sites of remembrance and communication. (Such traditional objects can, of course, be recently made as long as their connection to past models is recognizably "authentic"—for example, the squirrel parka from *Looking Both Ways* mentioned above.) In the primarily first-person accounts of boat building, elders, heritage activists, youth, and other participants in the workshop offer perspectives on keeping the skills alive in changing times.

A range of "Native ways of knowing" come together in *Qayaqs and Canoes*: oral transmission from experienced elders, library and museum research by Native and non-Native builders, aspirations to identity by younger apprentices. In a variety of team contexts, young family members learn from older master builders; men learn seal-skin stitching (a traditional woman's task); women participate in kayak framing (formerly a man's job); an Aleut activist of mixed heritage (an Anchorage police detective who has rediscovered his Native past through kayak research and construction) teaches the art to a young man of Inupiaq background and to a young Alutiiq woman from Kodiak Island; an 88-year-old Athabaskan elder works in close collaboration with an anthropology doctoral student (originally from North Dakota) recording traditional tools and techniques; an Alutiiq activist and tradition bearer learns kayak construction from a young New Englander who, through research and dedicated practice, has become expert in the craft, and they both find out about waterproof stitching from a woman of Cup'ik ancestry now living on Kodiak Island; the Aleut and Alutiiq groups observe the Yup'ik teams who are guided by more knowledgeable elders; extended networks are activated ("Got a call from my dad in Chignik saying he had a good tip for me on dehairing skins").

Participants recall old stories of travel and contact among different Alaskan populations, and they see their interethnic encounters at the Center as renewing this tradition. There are repeated references to a sense of expanded Native affiliations, the linking of different, newly related heritages. Alutiiq participants recall listening to spoken Yup'ik and getting the gist. Elders find ways to translate knowledge rooted in specific local hunting and gathering practices for younger apprentices raised in more urban conditions. The performative nature of contemporary heritage projects is visible across a range of occasions: the public accomplishment of painstaking crafts and the final, exuberant celebrations, dramatic launchings on Kachemak Bay with traditional dancers, Orthodox prayers, formal speeches.

Different contexts of performance—the technical demonstrations and talk that pervaded the workshop, the intertribal exchanges, the public displays and celebrations, the circulation of an evocative, elegantly illustrated book—activate different audiences and situations of translation. In their commentaries, the participants recognize that tradition is being renegotiated for new situations. Young women express satisfaction at doing work formerly restricted to men. Elders adjudicate what practices are bound by rules and what can be pragmatically altered. In an atmosphere of serious fun, people work within while pushing the limits of tradition. Grace Harrod, who taught the Alutiiq team waterproof stitching, offers a humorous and far-reaching anecdote (Steinbright and Mishler 2001:87):

> I called my mom on the phone in Mekoryuk. I said, "Mom, I'm going to sew a kayak." Over the phone she just hollered, "You don't know how." So, my dad, Peter Smith, got on the phone, and I said, "Dad, I'm going to sew a kayak." He said, "It's going to sink" in Eskimo. He started laughing. I said, "Dad, it's going to be in a museum. They're going to put it in a museum when I'm done with it." He said, "Go ahead, sew it. It won't sink in a museum."

One might be inclined to interpret this kayak as a "traditional" object belonging to a nostalgic, postmodern culture—a thing with meaning only as a specimen and a work of art, artificially separated from the currents of historical change (thus "unsinkable," in its museum). But this would privilege the authenticity of objects over the social processes of transmitting and transforming knowledges and relationships. It would miss the multiaccented, intergenerational work of articulation, performance, and translation that goes into the kayak's production and interpretation. Similarly complex, open-ended social processes are at work in the identity formations of those who have recently come to be known as Alutiiq.

Emergence and Articulation

Looking Both Ways documents an identity rearticulated in new circumstances, a historical process of emergence. The name "Alutiiq" does not appear in *Crossroads of Continents*, where the people south of the Yup'ik are primarily described as "Pacific Eskimo," and even in her most recent book Fienup-Riordan (2000:9) writes of a "larger family of Inuit cultures, extending from Prince William Sound on the Pacific Coast of Alaska . . . into Labrador and Greenland." Linguistic form here overrides differences of subsistence, history, and environment. But the former "Pacific Eskimo" now reject identification with the Inuit/Inupiaq/Yup'ik cultural "family."

Another long-standing term for the people represented in *Looking Both Ways* is "Aleut." ("Alutiiq" was, in fact, an adaptation of the Russian "Aleuty" in the sound system of Sug'stun.) A Russian misnomer for the chain islanders (who generally now prefer to be called Unangan), "Aleut," in its expanded usage, registers common historical experiences (Russian colonization, exploitation, massacres, religious conversion, intermarriage) as well as shared maritime hunting economy and coastal subsistence. Linguistically, however, the chain islanders and people of Kodiak differ markedly, and while cultural and kinship ties are still significant, there has been a strong

recent tendency to distinguish "Aleut" from "Alutiiq." Tactical name changes—reflecting new articulations of resistance, separation, community affiliation, and tribal governance—are familiar and, indeed, necessary aspects of decolonizing indigenous politics.

Looking Both Ways makes serious attempts not to freeze these processes by objectifying Alutiiqness. Its strong archaeological and historical emphases keep many tangled roots in view. For example, early explorers plausibly related the inhabitants of Kodiak Island to Greenland "Eskimos," to Siberians, to Aleutian islanders, and to "Indians" (Athabaskans and Tlingit). In their archaeological, anthropological, and historical survey of "Alutiiq culture," Aron Crowell and Sonja Lührmann (2001) provide evidence that at different moments each of these connections made sense. Later, Russian influences were strong, and the Orthodox religion would sink deep, tangled Native roots. In the late 1800s Scandinavian immigrant fishermen influenced local practices and were absorbed by kinship networks. The catalogue's historical sections offer a multivocal, nonessentialist account of a fundamentally interactive tradition. Gathering together much historical and archaeological evidence that has been widely dispersed and never before made accessible to Native communities, Crowell, Lührmann, Steffian, and Leer attempt the difficult task of telling a coherent Alutiiq story for the first time without merging past and present into a seamless "culture." Since documentary evidence, in Crowell and Lührmann's words, is "partial and imperfect at best" (p. 30), they complement the written record with Alutiiq oral narratives.

Patricia Partnow, an ethnographer who has just published *Making History: Alutiiq/Sugpiaq Life in the Alaska Peninsula* (2003), is the only contemporary non-Native cultural anthropologist represented in the volume. (Jeff Leer, a linguist who has produced Kodiak Alutiiq dictionaries, pedagogical grammars, and place-name records, also makes important contributions.) Partnow acknowledges her "mentor," the late elder Ignatius Kosbruk, and many Alutiiq "teachers." Until recently she served as vice president of education at the Alaska Native Heritage Center. These relations indicate the kinds of involvements that make anthropological research possible in a region where only a decade ago, as Gordon Pullar recalls, "anthropologists were beginning to wear out their welcome" (2001:78). Partnow reports her Alutiiq hosts' lack of concern with definitive origins and sharp ethnic borders. By identifying themselves as Alutiiq, she writes, "they were privileging one part of their genetic and cultural background and underplaying their Athabaskan, Russian, Scandinavian, Irish, and Yup'ik parts" (2001:69). Alutiiq identity is a selective rearticulation of diverse connections, a sense of continuity expressed in elders' traditional stories, both "mythic" and "historical." (Partnow appears to confirm Julie Cruikshank's [1998] penetrating view of Athabaskan elders' narratives less as records of a past than as reconnections of fragmented realities and reframings of current issues.) Partnow identifies five core elements of identity: (1) ties to land, (2) a shared history and continuity with the past, (3) the Alutiiq or Sug'stun language, (4) subsistence, and (5) kinship. These are not prescriptive elements of a cultural essence, a check-list of authenticity. In today's conditions of social and spatial mobility it is seldom possible to "exemplify all five points equally. Instead, people accentuate different parts of their Alutiiqness at different times and in different places" (p. 69). "Alutiiq" is a work-in-progress, a way of managing diversity and change. Each one of Partnow's five elements has undergone transformation since the Russians and, a century later, the Americans established colonial dominance. The changes continue through the intensifying indigenous movements of the 1960s and the land settlements and corporate reorganizations of the '70s and '80s.

ALUTIIQ "TIDES AND CURRENTS"

There is nothing ready-made about Alutiiqness in the chapter on contemporary Alutiiq identity written/assembled by Gordon Pullar. He begins by invoking his mother, who resolutely identified herself as Russian even though her nearest truly Russian ancestors were eight generations distant. He, by contrast, growing up in the cold-war 1950s, had rejected this historical identity but without a clear alternative. He cites others who, at the time of ANCSA enrollment in the early 1970s, resisted pressures to identify themselves as Alutiiq—some because they felt that a Native identity would diminish a hard-won "Americanness" and others like his grandmother, who commented: "Are they trying to make an Aleut out of you?" (2001:74).

Pullar and the elders he cites make it clear that "Alutiiq" identification is something more than a return to an essential, continuous Native tradition. Considerable disconnecting and reconnecting was involved in the processes out of which "a new unity was forged." Clarifying fuzzy borders with near neighbors involved specific realignments and a good deal of confusion. Pullar quotes Margaret Knowles at the 1997 elders' conference that guided *Looking Both Ways* (2001:81):

> I realized that we are *not* the true Natives and the fact remained that we really didn't even know who we were. And that really bothered me. It angered me because I . . . well, who are we? . . . I was embarrassed when I'd be around other groups, Yup'iks, who absolutely knew who they were and where they were from, . . . and I didn't. I didn't know. And they said, "Well it depends on what anthropologist you talk to." I always believed I was Aleut and then somebody said, "No, you're really Koniag." And, "No, you're really Pacific Eskimo," "No, you're Sugpiaq." "No, you're really more related to the Yup'ik."

Pullar traces the emergence of "Alutiiq" during the 1970s as a series of reidentifications in a specific historical conjuncture, the chaotic/creative aftermath of ANCSA.

Looking Both Ways represents an unusually clear and

perhaps extreme example of constitutive political articulations that are active, to varying degrees, across the spectrum of Alaskan Native identities and traditions. The elder Roy Madsen invokes long lists of Russian and Scandinavian names, comparing Alutiiq tradition to "bits and pieces" of seaweed and twigs in swirling waters where the ocean tide meets a stream. The culture, he writes, "has been pushed, shoved, jostled and propelled from the time of our earliest ancestors to the present day." Madsen recalls the several languages he heard as a child (including Slavonic at church) and his father's knowledge of English, Danish, German, and seven Eskimo dialects. In the "tides and currents" of historical change, "the homogeneous culture of our ancestors has been transformed into the heterogeneous culture that we experience today, mixed, mingled, blended and combined with those many other cultures, retaining some of each but still with some recognizable and acknowledged aspects of the culture of our Alutiiq ancestors" (2001:75).

Madsen's vivid image of a culture in flux and recombination imagines not a traditional "core" resisting change but rather a series of combinations of ancestral and foreign influences contributing to the survival and adaptation of a Native people (indigenous Russian Orthodoxy is perhaps the most striking example). Robert Lowie once famously described culture as "a thing of shreds and patches." Roy Madsen and many of the contributors to *Looking Both Ways* give this conception an indigenous historical specificity. If people are devoutly Orthodox, it is because in the early years of brutal colonial exploitation a degree of safety could be found in religious conversion, which brought with it Russian citizenship. If the Alutiiq (or Sug'tsun) language is endangered, it is because of intense disruptions and all-too-familiar boarding school prohibitions. If some have felt reluctant to embrace Native identity, it is because memories of bitter events (such as Grigorii Shelikhov's massacre of Kodiak Islanders at Refuge Rock, a constitutive trauma that Pullar highlights) have led to intense psychic repression and a "sense of hopelessness brought on by decades of dependency on outsiders" (Pullar 2001:76). But if indigenous memory, coming to terms with a sad history, tells and retells horror stories, it does so, in *Looking Both Ways*, to clear the way for a more hopeful future. Pullar and many others tell a story of struggle and renewal.

Elders remember their confusion and outrage when in 1931 Aleš Hrdlička arrived on Kodiak Island to dig up human remains for his research collections at the Smithsonian. *Looking Both Ways* contains a photograph of hundreds of boxes filled with bones awaiting reburial at a 1991 ceremony presided over by Alutiiq elders and Orthodox priests. Pullar notes that the Larsen Bay repatriation movement "came at a time when the search for identity and cultural pride was underway on Kodiak Island. It became a symbol for tribal self-determination" (2001:95). Here, as elsewhere in Native communities, repatriation has been a crucial process of healing and moving on. John F. C. Johnson, chairman of the Chugach Heritage Foundation, contributes an essay on the return of masks and other artifacts looted from caves in Prince William Sound. He writes: "A cultural renaissance is now sweeping across Alaska like a winter storm. Native cultural centers and spirit camps for the Native youth are being built across this great land and in record numbers" (2001:93). Repatriation is a critical part of these heritage movements. It establishes indigenous control over cultural artifacts and thus the possibility of engaging with scientific research on something like equal terms. Repatriation is not, Johnson stresses, "the end to the thirst for knowledge, but is a new starting point in building trust and cooperation. . . . Cooperation and partnership with science is important if we want to understand the full picture of human history" (p. 92).

Dawson (2001) discusses the establishment of the Alutiiq Museum and Archaeological Repository and describes current archaeology programs that include youth internships, elder participation, and the return of all discoveries to the community. "Children from the Kodiak schools now come to the museum to touch our past and learn about our people. The museum has helped turn around local prejudices about being Native. And the researchers now must come to Kodiak to study the collections, instead of us begging for them" (p. 90). As Steffian points out, archaeology's important role may be partly due to the fact that Alutiiq—swiftly conquered in the eighteenth century by the Russians, devastated by diseases, and for centuries participants in the capitalist world system—preserved relatively less "traditional" culture than other Alaskan groups (2001:130). People concerned with their Alutiiq heritage have needed, figuratively and literally, to dig into their past to find themselves.[19]

While this history partly explains the openness of many Alutiit to ongoing archaeological research, a shift in relations of authority and power has also been essential. Steffian suggests as much in her discussion of "partnerships in archaeology" (2001:129–34). The self-determination achieved through the Larsen Bay repatriations established new relations with institutions such as the Smithsonian and the University of Alaska. At the same time, the growth of Native-led corporations, museums, and heritage projects has provided new sites for organizing research and disseminating results. Finally, and crucially, relations of trust and respect have been sustained over the past two decades by individual scholars working in long-term, reciprocal relations with communities. Knecht, reflecting on the seminal Karluk excavation, concludes: "As archaeologists we had come to Kodiak to study Alutiiq culture but while doing so un-

19. The potential uses of archaeology by subordinate peoples "to help maintain their pasts in the face of the universalizing and dominating processes of Westernization and Western science . . . [and] to maintain, reform, or even form a new identity or culture in the face of multinational encroachment, outside powers, or centralized government" are emphasized by Ian Hodder in an important argument for "interpretive archaeology" (1991:14). Hodder also recognizes that there are no political guarantees—that heritage archaeology can be appropriated by development projects and governmental "resource management."

wittingly became an inextricable part of the very culture history we had sought to understand" (2001:134).

HERITAGE RELATIONS, CHANGING WEATHER

The relationships are not without tension. When Dawson defends archaeology, she also recognizes that "many object to archaeological research as they feel it would be better left alone. For some this may be appropriate. But for me archaeology has opened a new world. The key is that the Native people must control the research effort. Otherwise it's just another rip-off, with scientists coming in and taking instead of sharing" (2001:89–90). Power is openly an issue in the new research partnerships. Pullar (2001:78) takes a certain distance from the version of Alutiiq anthropology, archaeology, and history presented by Crowell and Lührmann:

> The results of academic research are, of course, important in describing how Alutiiq people have come to view themselves today. But at the same time, the reader must decide how the various views of Alutiiq culture and identity fit together. Listening to Alutiiq people about how they view their own history is equally important. There are times when the indigenous viewpoint is diametrically opposed to that of Western scholarship. The age-old question "what is truth?" may be appropriate in this circumstance. The proposition that there can be more than one truth is often overlooked.

Pullar does not object to anything specific in Crowell and Lührmann's discussion (which weaves together academic research findings and elders' memories) but argues more generally that academic and Native positions of authority need to be distinguished if new relations are to emerge. As do many indigenous intellectuals today, Pullar urges that traditional origin myths be given equal status alongside the findings of archaeology. The insistence is less on agreement than on respect. He traces the emergence on Kodiak Island of "codes of ethics" governing scientific research (prior community permission, direct participation, sharing of results). Of course, more than a few scholars will be reluctant to accept such limitations, withdrawing to less fraught research contexts while privately—and sometimes publicly—protesting against religious obscurantism and political censorship. Among indigenous activists a corresponding suspicion is reinforced by painful histories of "arrogant," "intrusive," or "exploitative" scientific collecting. Indeed, Pullar's appeal for equality of indigenous "myth" and Western "science" may represent, for the moment, a utopian vision, given histories of mutual suspicion and persistent power imbalances (for example, the unequal struggle of oral tradition and documentary evidence in land-claims litigation). In the face of these antagonistic legacies, *Looking Both Ways* proposes a space in which, as Pullar says, "the reader must decide how the various views of Alutiiq culture and identity fit together." Crowell, in his introductory chapter, traces changing academic practices and argues for the specificity and thus partiality of "all ways of looking at culture—from both the outside and the inside" (2001:8). Part genuine coalition, part respectful truce, *Looking Both Ways* offers varied perspectives that need to be adjusted, weighed, and assembled. What is proposed by all contributors to the volume is not a take-it-or leave-it vision of scientific versus Native truth but a pragmatic relationship: live-and-let-live where there is opposition, collaboration in the considerable areas of overlap.

Lines are drawn around heritage and identity but not hardened. Sven Haakanson Jr., a recent Ph.D. in anthropology from Harvard and currently director of the Alutiiq Museum, offers a pointed meditation on the predicament of the "Native anthropologist." He gives no absolute privilege to "insider" knowledge (his own academic fieldwork was among Siberian reindeer herders) and asks why the Native anthropologist is always, in effect, required to speak from an "emic" rather than an "etic" position. "Is not the whole purpose of research to learn, including the exploration of different approaches to knowing (hermeneutics)? If Natives cannot write from *both* Native and scientific perspectives then what is the purpose of doing anthropology?" (2001:79). Citing the examples of Knud Rasmussen (Greenlandic Inuit/Danish), Oscar Kawagley (Yup'ik), and Alfonzo Ortiz (Tewa), Haakanson argues that "Native approaches to the field," while not necessarily better, "are just as valid as any others." As do many others in *Looking Both Ways*, he recognizes differential authorities while sustaining, where possible, contexts of exchange and translation.

The Alutiiq heritage visible here is not a single thing, with sharply defined "insides" and "outsides." In Pullar's words, it is "defined by a mosaic of historical events and overlapping criteria" (2001:95). Inflexible measures of belonging such as the blood quantum required for ANCSA enrollment in practice exclude many who cannot be sure of their exact ancestry. *Looking Both Ways* emphasizes "kinship," including alliance as well as blood (pp. 95–96). This relational way of being Alutiiq depends on participation in Native life: residence in a village, Orthodox religious practice, language use, subsistence activities, heritage revival and transmission. Alutiiqness is thus something constantly rearticulated in changing circumstances and power-charged relations with relatives and outsiders. Indeed, one is left with the impression that the political label "Alutiiq," although it is becoming institutionally entrenched (with the help of projects like *Looking Both Ways*), cannot be a definitive "tribal" or "national" name. In some communities "Aleut" is still favored, and whereas "Alutiiq" strongly suggests Pullar's historical mosaic, an alternative ethnonym, "Sugpiaq," evokes ties with older, pre-Russian traditions. People use more than one term, depending on the audience and the occasion.

In *Looking Both Ways* descriptions of traditional forms of life (archaeological and ethnographic artifacts, interspersed with elders' statements) evoke facets of a distinctive style: "our way of living." To call this way of living "Alutiiq" consolidates and marks off a discrete

identity. Scholars have understood similar processes of social differentiation as "ethnic" boundary-marking (Barth 1969), the processual "invention" of culture (Wagner 1981), and "ethnogenesis" (Roosens 1989, Hill 1996). Each of these approaches captures something of what is going on.[20] All assume that selective, creative cultural memory, border policing, and transgression are fundamental aspects of collective agency. Culture is articulated, performed, and translated, with varying degrees of power, in specific relational situations. Economic pressures and changing governmental policies are very much part of the process, and so are changing ideological contexts (for example, post-1960s cultural movements and the development of global "indigenous" politics). Components of "tradition"—oral sources, written texts, and material artifacts—are rediscovered and rewoven. Attachments to place, to changing subsistence practices, to circuits of migration and family visiting are affirmed. None of this suggests a wholly new genesis, a made-up identity, a postmodernist "simulacrum," or the rather narrowly political "invention of tradition" analyzed by Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983), with its contrast of lived custom and artificial tradition. If "authenticity" means anything here, it means "authentically remade."

I have proposed articulation, performance, and translation as components of an analytic tool kit for understanding old/new indigenous formations. Since no single vocabulary can account for all the attachments, displacements, and changes, we need to employ terms tactically and in combination. Still another dimension is suggested by a language of "diasporic" (dis)connections. In *Looking Both Ways*, Mary Jane Nielsen (2001) and Marlane Shanigan (2001) write about villages abandoned (because of economic pressure or seismic catastrophe) and express a renewed desire to return. Diasporic identifications are salient for dispersed urban populations living in Fienup-Riordan's tribal "worldwide web." For example, the *Looking Both Ways* web site (www.mnh.si.edu/lookingbothways) has received an extraordinary number of hits. Who are these visitors? Where are they? What is their relation to the traditional Alutiiq villages featured on the web site? Unfortunately, there is no feedback or chatroom capacity that might suggest an answer.[21]

The multiple connections at work in *Looking Both Ways* offer a provocative context for thinking in a nonabsolutist way about heritage. Alutiiq history has been a story of intense disruptions, interactive survival, and flexible strategies for self-determination. These pragmatic responses, struggles within and against changing hegemonies, can be hidden by the abstract, all-or-nothing language of "sovereignty." Alutiiq heritage and identity are most concretely understood not as past or revived "traditions" but as ongoing "historical practices" (Laforet n.d.). Of course, "historical" is a term that requires translation, and in this context I find myself still grappling (see Clifford 1997:343) with a statement made by the Alutiiq elder Barbara Shagnin: "Our people have made it through lots of storms and disasters for thousands of years. All the troubles since the Russians are like one long stretch of bad weather. Like everything else, this storm will pass over some day" (quoted in Chaussonnet 1995:15).

One might understand Shagnin as positing an ancient cultural identity or tradition that is impervious to history's destructive storms. Indeed, feeling for this kind of deep continuity with a "prehistoric" past is always part of the indigenous *longue durée*. But there is surely more to the metaphor. As Craig Mishler's contribution to *Looking Both Ways*, "Kodiak Alutiiq Weather Lore" (2001:150–51), makes clear, weather in places like Kodiak Island is never something that happens to you; storms happen, and you are part of the happening. People who live exposed to winds and tides, whose everyday livelihood depends on them, have a detailed and exact knowledge of the changing weather. They know what is happening or is about to happen: they act and choose not to act accordingly. Thus when Shagnin says that the arrival of the Russians in the eighteenth century began a long bad spell, she is not invoking something external to Alutiiq life. History's weather, its disasters and clearings, are an order that is neither "natural" nor "cultural" but, simply, given existence. Events in time occur in cyclic patterns which are both familiar and uncontrollable. From this perspective, the Russian bad weather (which brought epidemics, forced labor, creole kinship, the Orthodox religion) and the American bad weather (missionaries, boarding schools, World War II, land claims, ANCSA, identity movements) become part of an unfinished indigenous history.

Collaborative Horizons

When *Looking Both Ways* opened in Kodiak it drew on the community-based heritage work of the Alutiiq Museum and Archaeological Repository. The return of traditional artifacts from the Smithsonian, albeit on loan (what Fienup-Riordan calls "visual repatriation"), offered a powerful symbolic reconnection with the past. When the exhibition traveled to Homer, on the Kenai Peninsula, it was coordinated with the biannual cultural festival, Tamamta Katurlluta, celebrated by the Alutiiq villages of Nanwalek, Port Graham, and Seldovia. At Homer, kayaks (recently built in Nanwalek) arrived on the beach to be greeted by Kodiak Island dancers and an Orthodox prayer. Then, at the Pratt Museum, a large

20. The ethnogenesis approach is particularly relevant to Alutiiq experience. In Hill's definition, "ethnogenesis is not merely a label for the historical emergence of culturally distinct peoples but a concept encompassing peoples' simultaneously cultural and political struggles to create enduring identities in general contexts of radical change and discontinuity" (1996:1). The perspective builds on Edward Spicer's (1980, 1982) pioneering work on "enduring" indigenous societies across centuries of colonial dominance.

21. Indigenous web sites have proliferated in the past decade, and a comparative study, if one does not already exist, is overdue. The sites vary widely in sophistication, and they range from externally oriented self-representations (often specifically directed at tourists and audiences in broader national and international public spheres) to sites that archive tribal knowledge and are primarily used in local education. Most are specific mediations of the two poles.

potluck/potlatch feast, featuring salmon and seal delicacies, was shared, and there were plant walks, "Eskimo Olympics" (feats of balance, tug-of-war, leg wrestling), and seal sampling (scientific dissection and data recording for subsistence monitoring). The crowd—Native elders, activists, and youth, Homer inhabitants, museum donors and staff, visitors, and a robed priest from Nanwalek—flowed in and out of the exhibition. While the festival's "gathering of tradition" was rich, it was not all-inclusive. Many in Nanwalek did not attend. Some could not afford air travel across the bay. Others were busy with the salmon run—capturing, smoking, and drying fish. The run had recently been restored, thanks to a tribally organized spawning project in the local river and its upstream lakes—another kind of "heritage" work.

Alutiiq tradition was performed in several ways that evening at the Homer High School auditorium. Nick Tanape Sr.—a crucial Alutiiq organizer of the festival—presented Gale Parsons of the Pratt Museum with a gift in recognition of her work with local Alutiiq communities. Two dance groups, in their distinctive styles, enacted the "looking both ways" theme. A group of school-age children, the Kodiak Alutiiq Dancers, dressed in old-style snow-falling parkas and beaded headdresses, performed well-rehearsed traditional dances to a drumbeat. The mood was earnest and respectful. The evening ended with the exuberant Nanwalek Sugpiaq Dancers, in their teens and twenties. Their dances, newly improvised on old patterns were inspired by *maskalataq*, syncretic masking dances performed during the Orthodox New Year with considerable room for individual invention and play. In Jeff Leer's words, "The Nanwalek Dancers purposefully use . . . knowledge [of *maskalata*] to create new dances, asking themselves what this or that movement originally represented, perhaps the surfacing of a seal or the flight of a fowl. Therefore, although the dances are newly invented, they are built around the bits and pieces of traditional Alutiiq culture that the new generation have been able to mine from the tradition-bearers of the village" (2001:219). To the twang of an electric guitar, the dancers—some in tall Dena'ina (Athabaskan) feather headdresses—mixed gestures and rhythms from Native tradition and contemporary pop or hip-hop. The effect was joyful, serious, and comic, and by the end of the evening much of the audience was gyrating on the stage. The next stop for *Looking Both Ways* was Anchorage, and at its opening celebration the Nanwalek dancers again brought down the house.

Events and books like *Looking Both Ways* are inherently celebratory. The good news of survival and public recognition ultimately prevails over the bad news of colonialism, historical decimation, ongoing economic marginality, and cultural losses. Smallpox, forced labor, contemporary alcoholism, poverty, and high suicide rates are seldom part of the redeeming vision. This selection and purification is evident in the uplifting pedagogical presentations at the Alaska Native Heritage Center. *Looking Both Ways* actually presents a more ambivalent historical story, shadowed by Russian massacres and labor regimes. Elders regret the passing of customary skills and recall language prohibition in American boarding schools. But the overall message is, appropriately, hopeful: We are still here, looking back to go forward. The good news is reinforced by many smiling portraits and by superb color photos of artifacts and places; even the massacre site at Refuge Rock makes stunning Alaskan scenery.

As we have seen, the hopeful story told in *Looking Both Ways* also features a vision of reciprocity in academic research (primarily archaeology but also historical/cultural anthropology and linguistics). The shape of the project (and, no doubt, its broad financial support) depended on well-established collaborative work. What sort of a model for postcolonial research practices does it offer? The question may be clarified with reference to an important essay by Ruth Phillips (n.d.). Drawing on experience directing the University of British Columbia Museum of Anthropology, she poses several critical issues for community-museum collaborations.

Phillips distinguishes two basic models. In the "community-based" exhibition, indigenous authorities determine the selection and interpretation of materials. Museum curators function as facilitators, and a unified Native perspective is the goal. This is primarily an exhibition by and for a specific community, sometimes producing displays not sufficiently contextualized for general audiences. The second, "multivocal" model juxtaposes Native and non-Native perspectives. The goal is to display different interpretations of the same event or text based on a negotiation of shared authority between the participants. When the differences of perspective are too sharp, audiences expecting a coherent explanation can be confused. Phillips thinks of her two models as ideal types that in practice are often mixed. It is worth distinguishing them, she argues, because misunderstanding and tension can arise when participants in a project are working with incompatible models.

Looking Both Ways reflects a specific negotiation of agendas. The book, as we have seen, leans toward the multivocal, juxtaposing voices without seeking to express a single, coherent "Alutiiq" or "scientific" perspective. The exhibition tends toward the other model. Overall it reflects community self-images, seamlessly aligning academic (historical and archaeological) knowledge with elders' memories and visions. (The same can be said of the web site, www.mnh.si.edu/lookingbothways, which adopts an insider rhetoric—"our history," "our family," "our beliefs," etc.—featuring photos of families and local villages, juxtaposed throughout with archaeological artifacts.) The exhibition was probably most "community-based" at the times it merged with Native-directed heritage events and institutions—the opening at Kodiak and the Tamamta Katurlluta Festival at Homer. Understood as a spectrum of performances, the *Looking Both Ways* project is a combination of Phillips's two agendas.

The book, designed to be a work of historical reference and inspiration for both cultural insiders and outsiders, may well achieve something like canonical status—for

better and worse. As a collaboration, its successful mediation of potentially divisive agendas reflects, as we have seen, a specific history of Alutiiq (re)emergence and the work of individual scholars, activists, and culture brokers to maintain reciprocity. Overall, the project aligns oral traditions with scientific evidence, playing down discrepancies. Where this is impossible, Pullar's "different truths" coexist.

Alliances such as *Looking Both Ways* require compromise on all sides, patient listening, careful consultation, and—the key words—equality and respect. Clearly, in situations of ongoing oppression and acute political antagonism their resolution will seem utopic, and indeed it is utopic, or at least strategic, in the current Alutiiq context. One may wonder who is not included in its polyphony. Is there a privileging of certain activists and spokespersons, particular elders and tradition bearers? One occasionally glimpses the limits of this multivocality: for example, Native opponents of archaeology are answered but not quoted. (The resistance tends to be found among the very old, who believe that remains should be left alone and that buried objects may have been polluted by shamans.) Responses to the exhibition by the many Natives who attended have been enthusiastic, but we are limited to anecdotal accounts. Since travel to the exhibition's venues can be expensive, it is clear that many economically marginal Alutiiq in dispersed villages cannot have participated and may well have little interest in heritage or tradition performed on this public scale. Thus, while recognizing the project's remarkable inclusiveness and range of perspectives, it is important not to lose sight of the partiality and contingency of its achievement. Through its polyphony, new positions of tribal and academic authority are claimed; tradition is textualized for public consumption, and local arguments and sensitive topics are inevitably glossed over.[22]

Placing *Looking Both Ways* and *Agayuliyararput (Our Way of Making Prayer)* in a wider political context, it is worth citing cautionary statements by the museum curators Aldona Jonaitis and Richard Inglis (1994) and by Ruth Phillips. Jonaitis and Inglis reflect on the limits of collaborative museum work (p. 159):

> Today it is de rigueur for curators to involve [Native people]—as advisors, consultants, or co-curators—in museum representations of their culture. This is certainly an improvement over the situation in the past when a white, usually male, curator decided by himself the theme and content of an exhibition. It does not, however, solve the problems of the situation of Native peoples in the contemporary world. Museums have far more relevance to the powerful—those capable of acquiring and housing art and artifacts—than they do to the disempowered. Moreover, there is no such entity as the Native voice, one that speaks with authority for the entire community. There exist many voices, some of which speak for upholders of cultural traditions, others that address band and tribal politics, and still others that concern themselves with social issues. . . . The encounter of different values, different priorities, often creates problems that can only sometimes be resolved.

While the proliferation of tribal institutions such as the Alutiiq Museum complicates their equation of museums with dominant power, Jonaitis and Inglis keep us aware of persistent inequalities and conflicting interests that can only be partially mitigated through collaboration. In a similar vein, Ruth Phillips (n.d.) interrogates "the role that museums play in processes of social change": "Put simply, does the growing popularity of collaborative exhibits signal a new era of social agency for museums, or does it make the museum a space where symbolic restitution is made for the injustices of the colonial era in lieu of more concrete forms of social, economic and political redress?"

These assertions are not meant to discredit either collaborative heritage work or the community-based activism of tribal museums. Their authors do, however, insist on realistic expectations and the absence of guarantees. In this they reinforce the perspective of Native scholars like Vine Deloria Jr. (1997), who, while seeing new possibilities for joint projects, never loses sight of ongoing structural inequalities. Genuinely impressive works like *Looking Both Ways* need to be appreciated as fruitful, contingent coalitions rather than as performances of postcolonial virtue.

Phillips's question about the degree to which cultural celebrations may, in practice, substitute for other forms of politics does not admit of a simple answer. As I have suggested, much depends on specific political contexts and possibilities. A symptomatic critique of heritage work may see it as occupying a comfortable niche in postmodern "multicultural" hegemonies: every identity gets its exhibition, web site, coffee-table book, or film. I have argued that this view, while partly correct, misses a great deal of indigenous cultural process and politics. The old/new articulations, performances, and translations of identity are not enough to bring about structural socioeconomic change. But they reflect and to a real extent create new conditions for indigenous solidarity, activism, and participation in diverse public spheres. When they are understood as part of a wider politics of self-determination, heritage projects are open-ended in their

22. Arthur Mason (2002) proposes a class analysis of the heritage alliances between Alutiiq corporate leaders and academic scholars during the 1980s. His historical account of the return to tradition and Native identity by an "Alutiiq cohort" is illuminating but sketchy in its published form so far. He rightly underlines the role of academic participation in Alutiiq heritage work. Linguistic maps, excavations, and museum objects have been used, he argues, for the development of identity and cultural legitimacy—"imagined community" making of the sort described by Benedict Anderson (1991). The participation of archaeologists, linguists, and anthropologists is, however, not adequately explained by Mason's "new class" perspective. Looking beyond the individual intentions—more or less idealistic—of academic heritage partners, an analysis of concrete interests might better understand collaborative praxis as a way of maintaining professional status, pragmatically continuing field research in politicized situations while asserting a new ethics of scientific knowledge.

significance. To reduce the Alaska Native Heritage Center to a cultural theme park and cruise-ship destination would miss its intertribal and public education agenda, its Native youth participation, its arts programs. Similarly, seen across their several contexts of production and reception, *Looking Both Ways* and *The Living Tradition of Yup'ik Masks* are much more than coffee-table books even if they do end up on coffee tables (and some kitchen tables). The Alutiiq Museum, while open to tourists, is primarily a local cultural center whose oral history, community archaeology, language, and education projects gather and transmit a newly dynamic Alutiiq (Sugpiaq) identity.

I have argued for a complex approach to the politics of tradition. Native heritage projects reach selectively into the past, opening paths to an undetermined future. They act within and against new national and transnational structures of empowerment and control. While it is too early to say what the ultimate significance of these transactions will be, it is clear that the historical weather has changed in recent decades and that indigenous cultural movements are very much part of the new climate. I have also affirmed the role played by scholars, Native and non-Native, in sustaining heritage movements. The projects reviewed here are important, hopeful coalitions. While they do not transcend long-standing inequalities or resolve struggles for cultural authority, they at least demonstrate that Natives and anthropologists, openly recognizing a fraught common history, need not paint themselves into corners.

Comments

KIRK DOMBROWSKI
John Jay College of Criminal Justice, CUNY, 899 10th Avenue, New York, NY 10019, U.S.A. (kdombrow@jjay.cuny.edu). 25 IX 03

Clifford (rightly) cautions us to look both ways before crossing the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act. His main interest is the "chaotic/creative aftermath" it produced, some vision of which he sees as a necessary correction to an anthropological overreaction to the current politicization of Native culture in Alaska. Posed against the economic and ecological devastation that ANCSA produced is a series of surprising "excesses"—social, personal, and cultural developments that cannot have been anticipated in the design or implementation of the act, including the growing sophistication of Alaska Natives in the politics of indigenism (locally, nationally, and internationally), individual Natives' unembarrassed sense of the heterogeneity of their culture, a growing pan-Alaska Native identity, and the wonderfully hybrid Nanwalek dancers who brought down the (figurative) house of Anchorage. Even the name "Alutiiq," Clifford points out, seems to elude obvious characterization as a tribal, ethnic, or national name; it means something different, something more. The emerging Alutiiq culture is "authentically remade" and evidence that Native peoples are prepared to deal with this fact in interesting, progressive and novel ways.

My only worry is that these processes of remaking are explored here as though they were taking place in a virtual economic and social vacuum. Nowhere here do we learn about the financing of the events and shows discussed or of the various museum positions held by the authors and contributors (see, in contrast, Lee and Graburn 2003). Who paid for all of this authentically remade articulation and why? Actually, to inquire into the funding of the museum exhibit alone would be to duck the more important questions about the social and economic costs of the projects undertaken here. All culture projects have social costs that go far beyond the direct costs of putting on shows, moving them around, and financing their catalogues. The former, though often invisible, are generally far more substantial than the latter and almost always unevenly distributed *within* the communities being positioned. Thus while the show and sponsoring institutions were largely financed by monies that followed the *Exxon Valdez* oil spill, we do not hear much about how those most directly affected by the spill saw this exhibit or its financing or how they might have spent the money differently. Clifford acknowledges that there remain many individuals (households?) who did not (could not or would not?) see the shows he discusses, but the missing are dealt with as though they were simply absent from the current discourse—a discourse to which their voices could only add variety and richness. Unconsidered is the possibility that their absence from this discourse is somehow a necessary precondition for its reproduction.

To ask such questions is not to see Native culture as somehow the "mere" product of capitalist hegemony; of course it is a "contingent work of positional struggle, articulation, and alliance." Rather, it is to take seriously the fact that the articulation of a particular cultural vision requires the indirect, often unwilling cooperation of some whose role may be simply to drop off of the ethnographic radar. One learns very little of the culturally disappeared here. Where did they go? Were they among the audience whose house was brought down in Anchorage?

Such tensions are widespread and long-standing in Alaska. For example, the end of the cannery era in the 1960s caused the abandonment of most of the non-Native towns in the Southeast region. Their failure resulted from the absence of local people who were willing to bear (or could be made to bear) the rapidly increasing costs of social reproduction. When asked to do so, individuals and families in non-Native towns simply left. The Native villages in the region that survived this period did so largely because they did contain people—both generally and, more important, unevenly across households—who were willing to bear (or could be made to bear) such costs. Historical disjunctures like this require that we think more clearly about the difference between tradition and continuity (see Sider 2003). Tradition or

heritage (of the sort made/remade in museum exhibits) has costs that are often most apparent in the sorts of continuities lived by those who never set foot in a museum—winter fishing or sealing with unsafe, unreliable equipment, weekly trips to "beg" credit at the local grocery store, consistently failing schools and health care systems, ongoing high rates of alcoholism or suicide.

Urban centers throughout Alaska contain tens of thousands of Natives who either refused to be part of such unequally distributed processes of social reproduction or became so marginal to these processes that they lost their entitlement to membership in their communities. A cultural articulation (in the shallow sense—meaning a "vision of culture") capable of bringing down the current house of this same population (be it Anchorage, or Juneau, or wherever) is interesting and, as Clifford would argue, largely unanticipated in ANCSA. But this simply raises the question of where the costs of this current vision *are* being articulated (in the broader sense of being worked out) and how the memory of past cultural projects and their costs (which created Native displacements to Anchorage or Juneau or Seattle or—we simply do not know) can seemingly be so easily overcome. In this sense, the articulation of Alutiiq tradition with the continuities of life in Southwest Alaska remains to be written.

NELSON GRABURN AND NAOMI LEITE-GOLDBERG
Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, CA 94720-3710, U.S.A. (graburn@uclink4.berkeley.edu). 26 IX 03

Clifford uses the lens of *Looking Both Ways* to examine the present state of anthropologist-Native collaboration on "heritage projects" in Alaska and to comment more generally on the changing nature of alliances between researchers and the people they study. He first learned of *Looking Both Ways* in April 2002, when archaeologist/project leader Aron Crowell gave a paper on his collaboration with the people of Kodiak Island to the Department of Anthropology at the University of California, Berkeley (Crowell 2002). The fact that Clifford, by no means an expert on Alaska, has been able to go from "zero to sixty" since then with this material is testament to his ability to grasp the essentials of "contact zones," as is also evident in his earlier work (Clifford 1988, 1991). Clifford does not limit his investigations to "surfaces," as Moeran has characterized cultural studies (1996: 30–31): he supplemented his reading of the catalogue by viewing the exhibition in Alaska and attending an Alutiiq cultural festival; he also conversed with key non-Native anthropologists in Alaska and with anthropologically educated members of the Native elite. Nevertheless, he remains cognizant of his "outsider position" (n. 5) in this venture.

Relying on local reports and ethnographic documents, Clifford shows that the events and institutions he describes are the latest in a history of identity-reformulating moves stemming from a litany of traumas and a more recent history of opportunities including the massive reconstruction of Kodiak after the disastrous earthquake of 1964, the ascent to corporate wealth from the Alaskan Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971, and the huge financial reparations in the aftermath of the *Exxon Valdez* oil spill. "Alutiiq" ethnic identity is a new construct—a product of what has been termed the "identity industry" (Mason 2002:13)—gathering scattered people of mixed Sugpiaq, Russian, Scandinavian, and other European ancestry most of whom until recently thought of themselves as "Americans." Clifford's essay explores the emergence of this new identity within the context of other Alaskan heritage projects involving the recovery of Native collections, ceremonies, and expressive institutions—behind which often stand pivotal academic figures such as Crowell in the Alutiiq case (Lee and Graburn 2003:217) and Fienup-Riordan in the case of the Nelson Island–Kuskokwim Yup'ik (Fienup-Riordan 1996).

Throughout much of his work, Clifford's "natives" have been Western-trained academics, museum professionals, and other culture-brokers like those involved in the cases discussed here. While this focus has enabled him to develop a rich understanding of the "production of culture" in institutional contexts, when turning to the question of collaboration it may have kept him from fully elucidating the Native side of the equation. His grasp of the ethnohistory involved is understandably limited. Surprisingly, he takes issue with Mason's (2002) exposition of the rise of the Alutiiq, formerly creole, bourgeoisie that is now the primary collaborator with Crowell et al. (n. 26), apparently without having examined the rich ethnographic and ethnohistoric data collected by Mason (1996), Davis (1971, 1984), and others. We suspect that this literature would have enriched his argument with a more nuanced picture of the range of Native motivations for and experiences of becoming involved in collaborative ventures.

As it stands, Clifford's discussion of collaboration frequently (if implicitly) takes on the perspective of the academic collaborator. He describes *Looking Both Ways* as a success but leaves unstated how "success" is to be defined and by whom. If we are to probe the complex contours of academic-Native collaboration—and particularly to gauge its possibilities and limits for *both* sides—we may need to examine this kind of evaluative statement more closely. Is success to be judged on the basis of the *process* or the *outcome* of such projects? Beyond the anthropologist's need for access and the Native group's desire for external recognition, what motivations come into play, and how fully are they met? What broader outcomes are sought? When, why, and under what conditions have Native groups initiated such projects? Who are the intended audiences?

While Clifford's discussion of individual "heritage projects" implicitly addresses some of these questions, we would have liked to see him grapple with them more directly. For example, although he stresses the instrumental and performative nature of Native involvement in collaborative projects, it is clear throughout the essay

that collaboration also serves the function of "repatriating" previously inaccessible knowledge. Left relatively undeveloped is the emotional draw of this knowledge in creating an anchoring identity for people who previously lacked a sense of belonging to a coherent group. Given the overwhelming contribution of academics to the construction of Alutiiq identity, from the perspective of *outcome* one measure of a "successful" collaboration would be whether it affords Native groups a deeper understanding of their own history in addition to incorporating their representatives into the creative process.

RUTH B. PHILLIPS
School for Studies in Art and Culture, Carleton University, 1125 Colonel By Drive, Ottawa, ON, Canada K1S 5B6 (phil621@attglobal.net). 8 X 03

Museum exhibitions, like museums themselves, have genealogies—family trees the tracing of which allows us to place contemporary projects in critically important perspective. Yet despite the explosion of literature about museums during the past decade surprisingly few studies situate their objects of analysis within these unique and local historical lineages. Exhibitions, furthermore, do not appear out of the void. Rather, each emerges from a highly specific web of political, economic, and social interactions. These genealogies and force fields cannot, of course, manifest themselves as abstractions but are embodied in and brought to bear on each new project by its particular set of individual participants—curators, consultants, writers, performers, collections managers, conservators, museum educators. Add to this already complex mix the vectors of decolonization and empowerment that inform exhibits produced in contemporary settler societies and the challenge to adequate representation becomes daunting.

Clifford's "Looking Several Ways," which documents and analyses a set of interlinked case studies of exhibits and other cultural initiatives involving Native Alaskans, evidences an important new stage in the evolution of his thinking about museums and the negotiation of indigeneity. One of the things I like most about it is its combination of diachronic and synchronic perspectives. By tracing the project's antecedents back to the landmark *Crossroads of Continents* (a *non*-collaborative project) he makes possible a comparative perspective that both brings into relief the innovative features of *Looking Both Ways* and reveals the biographical and experiential formations of its organizers that were, in turn, products of these earlier projects. By contextualizing *Looking Both Ways* (both exhibit and book) within the broad spectrum of contemporary Alaskan milieus of identity construction Clifford is able to locate the way in which an individual exhibit (or other similar event) is produced by and framed within a set of social processes—articulation, performance, and translation. These processes cut across the touristic, educational, commercial, political, pop culture, and elite cultural spheres that have typically been studied and understood as bounded rather than essentially relational phenomena. (Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's work is an important exception.) This new "analytical tool kit" builds on Clifford's earlier and much cited models of the "art and culture system" and the "museum as contact zone." It will, I think, be equally fertile and valuable for future work on museums, validating and encouraging the historical and systemic perspectives that we need. Put another way, a major virtue of his new "tool kit" is that it links a range of commercial, heritage, and museum sites and events and invites us to understand them as networked and open-ended rather than as locked into such closed dialectical oppositions as tradition/modernity, authenticity/kitsch, or purity/hybridity.

Clifford's discussion also points to the unfinished history of decolonization. It invites us to embrace the proposition that this history is probably unfinishable in settler societies in which indigenous peoples will not only remain demographic minorities but also increasingly have to contend with a growing number of diasporic immigrant societies engaging in their own identity politics and projects of cultural and political empowerment. (A forum on culture and diversity sponsored last spring by Canada's minister of Canadian heritage was a case in point. It was hosted by the First Nations filmmaker Alanis Obomsawin and the Quebecois senator and former CBC broadcaster Laurier Lapierre, two individuals who represent Canada's "founding" minorities and originators of modern identity politics. Their role and the focus of the forum was, however, to extend the model of inclusivity that their communities have pushed for to the burgeoning communities of African, West Indian, South and East Asian, and Latin American "new Canadians.")

Clifford's discussion invites us to accept that certain intellectual issues will probably also remain unresolved. Key aspects of traditional indigenous knowledge are fundamentally incompatible with Western traditions of knowledge production. I am, for example, intrigued by his discussion of the difference between the more uniform articulation of indigenous perspectives in the *Looking Both Ways* exhibit and the more explicit multivocality of its catalogue. This duality seems to mirror the contrast between the increasing degree of control that indigenous people have claimed in museums, whose unique product is the exhibit (essentially ephemeral, performative, and "soft"), and the continuing resistance to the unmediated authority of traditional indigenous knowledge in the academy, the home of the book (essentially permanent, objectifiable, and "hard").

In this context, Clifford's insistence on the "open-ended" nature of the social negotiations he describes should be underlined. Perhaps the most important lesson that we should take away from his discussion is that we are now a mere two decades down the road in a process that is still unfolding and will continue to unfold for years to come. In my view—and, according to my reading, in Clifford's—this process is progressive in the positive sense. The value of his combination of diachronic and synchronic analytical approaches is that it allows us to see that this process and this progress are not only

incremental but also capacious enough to comprehend continuing tensions, ambiguities, and ambivalences. We should take courage from this.

JOE WATKINS
Department of Anthropology, MSC 1040, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, NM 87131-0001, U.S.A. (jwatkins@telepath.com). 16 IX 03

To me, Clifford's first statement sets the theoretical stage for his article: "The ambivalent legacy of anthropologists' relations with local communities presents contemporary researchers with both obstacles and opportunities." We anthropologists all share in the legacy of early anthropologists. Archaeologists attempting to consult with Native American communities often rehear the exploits of early grave robbers like Aleš Hrdlička. Although archaeologists are quick to point out that there are major differences between "grave robbing" and "archaeological excavation," to many American Indian tribal groups, as Devon Mihesuah has written (1996:233), "the only difference between an illegal ransacking of a burial ground and a scientific one is the time element, sun screen, little whisk brooms, and the neatness of the area when finished." How are we to respond to such accusations when, in fact, regardless of who does the digging, the disturbance and appropriation of American Indian human remains still occurs?

Clifford's article gives a rather skeletal presentation of the ways in which indigenous populations and anthropologists have been involved in negotiating the presentation of the "indigenous" in museum exhibits and exhibitions and leaves the context for these relationships needing flesh. He mentions "repositioned indigenous and academic authorities" as resulting from the undoing of anthropology's colonial entanglements, and I had hoped for a more global perspective on such "undoing" as context for his discussion of "changing Alaskan Native identity politics."

Of course, as an anthropological archaeologist, I am more interested in the ways in which local populations interact with those who interpret and report on the material manifestations of the past. As an American Indian, I am also interested in the ways in which the Native voice is (or is not) included in that interpretation and reporting. Examples of the repositioning of indigenous and academic authorities have been recounted by Swidler et al. (1997) and Dongoske, Aldenderfer, and Doehner (2000), and such collaboration occurs not only in academia but occasionally in private enterprise. Statistical Research, Inc., an archaeological consulting firm in Tucson, Arizona, has developed a program called "Parallel Perspectives" that is oriented toward helping Tohono O'odham (Native Americans of southern Arizona) students learn about archaeology and experience the past from both the archaeological and the traditional cultural perspective (Carol Ellick, personal communication).

In Australia, Kirsten Brett, a student at Flinders University in Adelaide, produced her baccalaureate honors thesis (2001) in consultation with Barunga and Wugularr communities in southern Arnhem Land, Northern Territory. Indigenous custodians of the communities indicated that youth issues such as petrol sniffing, lack of respect for old people, and suicide attempts were due to the children's following "European ways" too much. They suggested that one suitable way to address these issues was to strengthen their indigenous culture. It was proposed that Brett could assist in this process by developing relevant cultural educational materials, and this resulted in a community-centered project that created educational materials, short-story books, and an interactive CD-ROM based on stories told by indigenous custodians to children about the local rock-art shelter Druphmi. For the materials to be relevant to the children it was essential for them to be shaped by elders, parents, and the children themselves. This process ensured that the non-indigenous worldview of the archaeologist did not dominate the project.

In a critical history of American archaeology, Kehoe (1998) argues that archaeology treats American Indians as belonging outside of science. She also argues that scientists act as if only they had the ability to present and understand the processes of development of American Indian culture and prehistory. As is evidenced by research and projects such as those mentioned above, not only are archaeologists beginning to share the stage in presenting the past but some are actively trying to make that presentation meaningful to those whose ancestors lived that past.

Reply

JAMES CLIFFORD
Santa Cruz, Calif., U.S.A. 12 X 03

Dombrowski, Graburn, and Leite-Goldberg wish I had gotten more into the nitty-gritty: the money trail, institutional interests, structural pressures, social processes of inclusion and exclusion. I can only agree. With world enough and time one would trace in detail the changes in the policy of institutions such as the Smithsonian over decades of indigenous accommodation and resistance to academic projects. This would require attention to personal agendas (intertwined idealism and bureaucratic realism) as well as to matters of access and renegotiated authority, and one would systematically study local and regional responses to various kinds of heritage work—different evaluations of "success" by participants and outsiders. The local history of institutions such as the Alutiiq Museum or archaeological projects like "Dig Afognak" would be explored from multiple points of view. Complex interconnections of state-level structures with local political hierarchies, class factions, subsistence practices, creole kinship, and religious and cultural traditions would be analyzed. The present moment would be narrated in discrepant and overlapping tem-

poralities: centuries of colonization, adaptation, transformation, changing economic and governmental pressures, counterhistories of cultural "repatriation" (in Graburn and Leite-Goldberg's expanded sense), and ongoing oral traditions and indigenous epistemologies. It is unlikely that any single work could cover these bases in a nonreductive way while leaving room, in Phillips's words, for "continuing tensions, ambiguities, and ambivalences."

Dombrowski tends to begin and end with ANSCA. This historical context aligns his response here with the two works I build on (2001, 2002). There can be no doubt of the 1970 settlement's importance, but its significance for Native resurgence is surely not as clear as he assumes: it presents both a problem and an opening. A longer and less determinate historical frame is needed to account for the range of indigenous ideologies, projects, and aspirations active today. Dombrowski's perspective, strongly influenced by his specific fieldwork in southeastern Alaska (see Kan 2003 for a corrective), tends to view "cultural projects" with suspicion, associating them with corporate agendas. Who benefits and who loses? Who is excluded or "culturally disappeared"? He is right to pose these questions, as I did in passing (unable to answer them concretely). The edges of "Native" authenticity and participation are always fuzzy and often politicized. Sometimes, as in Dombrowski's research, the distinctions articulate with class, but they do not do so automatically or always cleanly. Fine-grained social analysis is needed, work that can weigh both the costs and the benefits of specific projects and represent a range of relative insiders and outsiders, situating them with respect to different village, kinship, religious, and class affiliations. Dombrowski would, I think, generally agree. The analytic of "costs" that he uses here is, however, a rather blunt instrument, suggesting that because cultural activities receive resources other social priorities do not. This may be true in particular cases. In others, funding sources are not interchangeable: less here may not mean more there. Moreover, as I argue, it is often problematic to separate sociocultural from political and economic indigenous priorities.

In a broader sense, of course, exclusion and marginalization are part of every cultural (and social or political) project. There can be no communal mobilization without insiders and outsiders. *Looking Both Ways* articulates an unusually open-ended, historically dynamic constellation of identity. So does Fienup-Riordan's evocation of a Yup'ik "worldwide web." Yet they have limits, and their constitutive outsides are subject to argument and analysis. The risk, especially for academic "experts," is that critical analysis slips into debunking. One needs to balance skepticism and affirmation, tough-mindedness and, yes, celebration. It's a difficult, risky performance that I certainly do not claim to have gotten right.

Graburn and Leite-Goldberg, leaning toward skepticism, misconstrue my approach to Alutiiq ethnogenesis. It is not the "product" of an Alaskan "identity industry," the latter being a dismissive phrase that closes down awareness of the entangled agendas that I am working to keep in sight. Identity *politics* (conflict and negotiation) is not an *industry* (rationalized production). Capitalism, for all its restructuring power, is not the only important historical actor. Graburn and Leite-Goldberg go on to say that most people who have recently embraced Alutiiq heritage previously thought of themselves as "Americans." This misses a shifting array of identifications—American *and* Aleut, Sugpiaq, Koniag, Eskimo, and Russian—that are ways of refusing and supplementing Americanness. It plays down the transformed and transforming indigenous roots in the new mix. For example, the Scandinavian contribution of the early twentieth century, embodied in male fishermen who married into local families, was absorbed and indigenized by enduring systems of creole kinship (Mishler and Mason 1996).

In the same paragraph they write of "Alaskan heritage projects . . . *behind which often stand* pivotal figures such as Crowell in the Alutiiq case (Lee and Graburn 2003:217) and Fienup-Riordan in the case of the Nelson Island–Kuskokwim Yup'ik" (emphasis added). They reference a recent discussion by Lee and Graburn of *Looking Both Ways* which Dombrowski also recommends. This review-essay, which usefully complements my account, has little to say, however, about the collaborative process through which *Looking Both Ways* was made, at one point calling it simply "Crowell's project." And it strongly reinforces Graburn and Leite-Goldberg's focus on "the overwhelming contribution of academics to the construction of Alutiiq identity." The contribution of academics is important and an explicit theme of the *Looking Both Ways* catalogue, but the image of outside scholars exerting an "overwhelming" influence on or "standing behind" heritage/identity projects is one-sided. As I argue, the processes that made *Looking Both Ways* or *Agayuliyararput* possible were not a matter of Crowell's or Fienup-Riordan's having an idea and consulting advisers. Decades of prior relationships, struggles, and collaborations were integral to the project's coproduction. Crowell was a crucial orchestrator, but he acted within specific "terms of engagement," as he puts it in a retrospective account that documents broad-based participation by Alutiit—especially the ways in which elders actively shaped the project (Crowell n.d.).

Dombrowski, Graburn, and Leite-Goldberg would like deeper attention to funding, and I certainly agree. I hesitated to do more than identify the principal sources because I believe that a substantive analysis of how funding connects with articulated power in Native heritage projects needs a more fine-grained account than I was able to provide. A superficial account of the money trail can be worse than nothing if it encourages simplistic assumptions such as that source of money = dominant power. Once we know who paid for a project, other powers and agents appear derivative. Exxon did not, however, create the Alutiiq Museum or significantly influence its work. Under pressure after the oil spill, it financed something that was already happening. The dangers of arguing too quickly here are illustrated by Lee and Graburn's claim that most of the support for *Looking Both Ways*

came "in one way or another" from the federal government. They include all the contributions from Native corporations simply because, decades ago, these entities were founded with ANCSA settlement money. Of course the agendas of Native corporations, including their often relatively autonomous heritage projects, are not beyond critique, but to imply that they are simply conduits of federal funds (and influence) is as reductive as suggesting that *Looking Both Ways* and the whole Alutiiq heritage movement were inspired by academics. As I have argued, we need to analyze intersecting social agents and interests in a politics of articulation.

Graburn and Leite-Goldberg rightly urge more attention to the "emotional draw" of repatriated indigenous knowledge, the ways in which heritage provides "anchoring identities" for displaced people cut off from group belonging. There is much evidence scattered throughout my article and in the essay by Alutiit in *Looking Both Ways* to support such a perspective. Repatriation—including stories, songs, food, dances, and places as well as objects—is integral to contemporary indigenous desires to counter and heal colonial histories, to look back and move ahead. A historical/ethnographic account of Native cultural revivals needs to engage with these feelings as they are performed, selectively reconnected, and translated in diverse settings, urban and rural, rooted and displaced. Discussions of indigenous temporalities (the shifting historical "weather") might usefully contrast an emerging sense of linear time with repatriation's vision of cyclical renewal and healing. The former is evoked in a resonant essay by Graburn (1998) that portrays the innovation by Canadian Inuit of a dictionary, photographic records, and a local museum. Their work is conceived as building "weirs in the river of time," collecting and valuing a traditional life now flowing out to sea never to return. *Looking Both Ways* and *Agayuliyararput* offer examples of the second temporality, heritage (re)collections and cultural revivals in contexts of long-term historical loss. The Alaska Native Heritage Center represents another, more explicitly future-oriented interactive performance of indigenous times and places. These temporalities, which no doubt overlap in practice, reflect different historical conjunctures, entangled and creative ramifications of "heritage."

Joe Watkins provides good examples of some of the new anthropological and archaeological heritage work in which academics play an important but no longer determining role. There are now quite a few stories similar to that of Kirsten Brett in Arnhem Land (or of Amy Steffian in Kodiak). I think the "more global perspective" that Watkins wants is implicit in my attempt to pose local issues in a general way, and a few references to ongoing comparative research (particularly in Melanesian and California) do find their way into the focused text. All the examples provided by Watkins reinforce my overall perspective and usefully open it out.

Are the new entanglements of academics and Natives a good thing? I'll take a deep breath and say, with Ruth Phillips: yes and no, but . . . yes.

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