MUSEUMS DECOLONIZING WITH HOLISTIC INTENTIONALITY: CURATORIAL AND DESCENDANT COMMUNITY PROCESSES

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A Thesis submitted to the faculty of
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In partial fulfillment of
the requirements for
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Master of Arts
In
Museum Studies

by

Deborah K. Morgan
San Francisco, California

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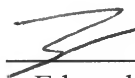

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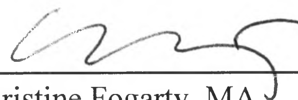

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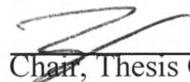
MUSEUMS DECOLONIZING WITH HOLISTIC INTENTIONALITY:
CURATORIAL AND DESCENDANT COMMUNITY PROCESSES

Deborah K. Morgan
San Francisco, California
2018

While decolonizing museum practices and policies have gained momentum in recent decades, much decolonizing work remains to reset museum relationships with Indigenous descendant communities. In this thesis, the persistent legacy of colonialism underpinning institutional practices and cultures of museums is investigated by focusing on an examination of curatorial practices. A comprehensive literature review of the history of colonialism and museums, and approaches curators and descendant communities have taken to decolonize museum practice, is first presented, followed by three cases studies of museums working to decolonize museum practice. A discussion is followed by a set of conclusions and recommendations, and a decolonizing model, *The Wheel of Practice and Concepts,* is proposed. It is concluded that while collaboration is important, decolonizing museums also involves institutionalizing decolonizing policies and practices, understanding colonization history from the perspective of descendant communities, and willingness to create sustainable partnerships that heal the past and change the future.

I certify that the Abstract is a correct representation of the content of this thesis.



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Date

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The foci of my undergraduate degree were Classical archaeology, and cultural and physical anthropology, disciplines which have historically played no small part in the perpetuation of colonialism in the world. These disciplines have also historically contributed significantly to forming museum collections and creating knowledge in the name of research and imperialism. As we approach the third decade of the 21st century, an ongoing paradigm shift within these disciplines continues to bring into the light our cultural and societal understandings of the legacies of colonialism, to decolonize these discipline practices, and to change our societal constructs and behaviors. Researching and writing this thesis helped me better understand ways we can actively participate from within our chosen professions to change our future and heal from our past. I hope reading it will help you, even in some small way, on our collective journey to change the world.

Completing this thesis has been a transformative experience that led me down winding paths and included diverse challenges, encountering along the way guides and advocates in sometimes unexpected guises. No matter the level of challenge, I am thankful for each moment involved in reaching this goal. To my family and friends, I am forever grateful for your patience and understanding, your emotional support, and your forgiveness for my frequent absences from social and family events. Thanks to each of you for your pep talks when I needed them most. For your tireless support, I owe special thanks to my husband, Cree; our daughter, Mia; and my parents, Bill and Cheryl. To my academic and professional colleagues who helped me visualize the path of this research, thank you for listening and working through some challenging concepts with me. Your guidance and expertise helped shape this work.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAA: American Anthropological Association

AAM: American Alliance of Museums

AIS: American Indian Studies

AIM: American Indian Movement

AMA: Alberta Museums Association

AMNH: American Museum of Natural History

ARPA: Archaeological Resources Protection Act

ATALM: Association of Tribal Archives, Libraries, and Museums

AYPE: Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition of 1909

BAE: Bureau of American Ethnology

BCE: Before Common Era

BHC: Bill Holm Center

BMA: Burke Museum Association

CCNA: Center for Contemporary Native Art, Portland Art Museum

CE: Common Era

CLIR: Council on Library and Information Resources

CMP: Collections Management Policy

CNAA: Grand Ronde Center for Native American Art, Portland Art Museum

CurCom: AAM Curatorial Committee

DNA: deoxyribonucleic acid

DOI: Department of the Interior

ECOSS: Environmental Coalition of South Seattle

IARC: Indian Arts Research Center

ICMN: Indian Country Media Network

ICOM: International Council of Museums

IMLS: Institute of Museum and Library Services

INTERCOM: ICOM International Committee for Museum Management

IGC: WIPO Intergovernmental Committee

Interpol: International Criminal Police Organization

IP: Intellectual Property

IP: Internet Protocol

IPMN: American Alliance of Museums Indigenous Peoples Museum Network

LGBQT: Lesbian, Gay, Bi-sexual, Queer, and Transgender

MAP: American Alliance of Museums Museum Assessment Program

MOA: Memorandum of Agreement

MOU: Memorandum of Understanding

mtDNA: mitochondrial DNA

MUDF: Institute of Museum and Library Services Museum Universe Data File

NAAB: Native American Advisory Board, Burke Museum

NAAB: Native Art Advisory Board, Portland Art Museum

NAASA: Native American Art Studies Association

NAGPRA: Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act

NATHPO: National Association of Tribal Historic Preservation Officers

NCAI: National Congress of American Indians

NCES: National Center for Education Statistics

NEA: National Endowment for the Arts

NEH: National Endowment for the Humanities

NHPA: National Historic Preservation Act

NIR: Notice of Intent to Repatriate (NAGPRA)

NMAI: National Museum of the American Indian

NMSU: New Mexico State University

NNABA: Northwest Native American Basketweaving Association

NNI: Native Nations Institute, University of Arizona

NNMTP: National Native Museum Training Program

NPS: National Park Service

NSF: National Science Foundation

PAM: Portland Art Museum

PDU: Professional Development Unit

PNCA: Pacific Northwest College of Art

RRN: Reciprocal Research Network

SAR: School for Advanced Research

SDMoM: San Diego Museum of Man

TALM: Tribal Archives, Libraries, and Museums

TFAO: Traditional Fine Arts Organization

TK: Traditional Knowledge

TEK: Traditional Ecological Knowledge

UN: United Nations

UNDRIP: United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples

UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization

UCUT: Upper Columbia United Tribes

UW: University of Washington

WCO: World Customs Organization

WIPO: United Nations World Intellectual Property Organization

WINN: Water Infrastructure Improvements for the Nation Act 2016, United States

WMA: Western Museums Association

1. Introduction

> *Imperialism and colonialism are the specific formations through which the West came to 'see', to 'name' and to 'know' indigenous communities. The cultural archive with its systems of representation, codes for unlocking systems of classification, and fragmented artefacts of knowledge enabled travellers and observers to make sense of what they saw and to represent their new-found knowledge back to the West through the authorship and authority of their representations.*
>
> – Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2012, 63)

As museums continue to work and interact with Indigenous communities today, a central area of concern in both museum theory and practice is how museums can work to recognize, address, and transform the colonial legacy of the Western museum model. Can museums simultaneously recognize the impact of this colonial legacy while working to understand the different perspectives of Indigenous communities in core areas such as museum exhibitions, collections, and research? Can museums reset their relationships with Indigenous groups through approaches that acknowledge the social responsibilities of museum as well as the historical traumas of many Indigenous Peoples?

One area to assess these questions is through examining how museum curators have worked with Indigenous communities to create positive change. Specifically, how have such curators worked with descendant communities that possess important cultural heritage collections in museums? Moreover, in the context of changing museum and descendant community relationship dynamics, what approaches have curators taken to decolonize their museums? Is it possible to abstract these approaches and offer a comprehensive understanding of how museums can decolonize, especially in matters related to curation?

In this thesis, how curators have worked with Indigenous communities to decolonize the museum is examined. The area is important because such descendant communities are increasingly involved in a variety of curatorial processes; museums and descendant communities often have differing perspectives about the efficacy of such involvement; and these differences can lead to strengthening, damaging, or developing sometimes emotionally confusing or ambiguous relationships between museums and descendant communities. While decolonizing the museum has been examined with increasing frequency in the last few decades by scholars from a variety of disciplines, and by museologists in particular, the same literature reveals a real need remains to iteratively evaluate, assess, and redefine the approaches museums and descendant communities are using to decolonize museums in attempting to form sustainable partnerships

As this thesis will highlight, no investigation of decolonization and the need to continue to address the concerns of stressed relationships between museums and associated Indigenous descendant communities can begin without examining the legacy of colonialism and its related ideologies as foundational components of museums. Finding ways to alleviate stress and anxiety, and shift from a climate of distrust to trust between museums and descendant communities, is critical to changing the way museums relate to all of their community connections and partnerships. More specifically, however, decolonizing the museum is a special area of concern for all Indigenous descendant communities, including international diaspora Indigenous descendant communities. With museums the world over established under similar socio-political auspices and legacies steeped in colonialism, the topic is large and complex. As such, this research was narrowed mainly to considerations and histories experienced by Indigenous Peoples of the United States, as defined below, and the relationships between Indigenous descendant communities and mainstream museums in the United States.

Throughout this research, the term Indigenous Peoples is used not as a one-size-fits-all term, but as a term of respect that recognizes all Tribal nations, tribes, bands, pueblos, communities, and Native villages of North America as outlined in the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP). The declaration was originally passed in 2007 with all member nations of the U.N. signing except four, the United States, Canada, New Zealand, and Australia. The United States was the last to sign UNDRIP, in 2010, when President Obama reversed the decision previously made by the Bush administration in response to "calls from tribes, individual Native Americans, civil society, and others" to support it. Interestingly, President Obama's official announcement was removed from the Department of State website by the Trump administration in 2017, (see Appendix A for the text of President Obama's announcement) (U.S. Department of State 2010, 1; NCAI 2015; UN 2017).

The term is recognized as appropriate when referring to any Indigenous People internationally under UNDRIP, and so also applies in any instances where Indigenous Peoples outside of the United States are written about or referred to in this thesis. Additionally, when referring to a community or communities in this thesis, there are a multitude of underlying variables and relationships to take into consideration. The term "community" represents a complex web of relationships and formal and informal dynamics of communication and interaction.

Bryony Onciul clearly states the difficulty in using this term as a catch-all label (2013, 81):

> Despite the implication of being grouped under the term community, communities are not homogenous, well-defined, static entities. On the contrary, they are porous, multifaceted, ever-shifting, loosely connected groups of people. Community as a concept ceaselessly creates, struggles, renegotiates, transforms, destroys, and renews itself, constantly redefining what and

> who is and is not community. Communities' members may be knowingly or unknowingly involved, they may be insiders and outsiders, members of multiple communities, and self- and not self-identifying. Membership of a community may be fleeting, partial, or innate, lifelong, and unshakeable, often irrelevant of an individual's wishes. Thus, community is used as a poor substitute, or shorthand, for a complex, rich, and ever-changing interaction.

It is with this understanding that the word "community" is used in this thesis—also as a 'poor substitute, or shorthand'—for the complex and shifting interrelationships between and within groups of people.

This thesis consists of a two-part literature review (chapters 2 and 3), a two-part methods and museum website survey section (chapters 4 and 5), and three case studies of museums in the western United States: The Burke Museum in Seattle, Washington (chapter 6); the Portland Art Museum in Portland, Oregon (chapter 7); and the San Diego Museum of Man in San Diego, California (chapter 8). The final chapter (9), consists of two discussion sections covering the literature review chapters and the case study chapters, followed by conclusions and recommendations, and some thoughts for the future of decolonizing museums.

More specifically, the first part of the literature review, entitled *Colonialism, Museums, and Descendant Communities,* briefly explores the long history of colonial practices beginning nearly 4,000 years ago in the Mediterranean and transitioning to the European religious, political, and economic crusade that colonized the Americas, the Doctrine of Discovery. The concept of 'othering'—with traceable beginnings in the ancient Mediterranean—carried to the ancestral lands of Indigenous Peoples by 15th century European travelers on expeditions of discovery and as a fundamental element in the historical marginalization of colonized Indigenous Peoples is discussed. The interrelationships during the 18th and 19th centuries between the political and economic interests of social control and museums as government supported authorities to disseminate information is explored. Additionally, the relationship to museums is assessed through reviewing the contributions of world's fairs and expositions to further subjugate Indigenous Peoples and promote racist government agendas with help by the newly developing field of anthropology. Also discussed will be the belief by Euro-Americans that the Indigenous Peoples of the United States were 'vanishing,' resulting in a culture of collecting by researchers, museums, and individuals, and the role this belief played in Euro-American identity and social status formation.

The second part of the literature review, entitled *Museums, Descendant Communities, and Decolonizing Museums,* examines approaches museums are exploring to incorporate and institutionalize decolonizing practices. Recognizing that museums are non-neutral, socio-cultural, and political institutions, the questions in the field surrounding how much museums have decolonized or can be decolonized is analyzed through writings of Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholars. Attention is given to ways

mainstream museums use or share authority when working with Indigenous descendant communities. Included in the context of shared authority is the debate surrounding the presentation of subjugated histories in museum exhibits and programs as a decolonizing methodology. Underlying nearly everything museum curators are responsible for is research. As such, research as a foundation of the museum profession is presented in relation to both the roles and competencies expected of 21st century curators and the perspective of Indigenous Peoples. The last section surveys professional organizations, ethics, and legislative actions relevant to the topic of Indigenous Peoples rights and defining ethical codes, standards and best practices for decolonizing museums.

Chapter 4, *Methods*, outlines and discusses the research design for this thesis with its foundation being the literature review, followed by the informal museum website survey, the case studies and corresponding content expert interviews, and the final component of synthesizing and analyzing the data gathered in order to discuss findings, make conclusions, and provide recommendations. The research questions are listed in this chapter. Additionally, a discussion and explanation of the methodologies chosen for this research project are presented. The *Methods* chapter provides an overview of the approach taken in choosing the three case study museums. The content experts and dates of interviews are provided in this chapter and the questionnaire protocol for interviewing the content experts at each of the case study museums is provided (for full interview questionnaire, see Appendix E). Additionally, the purposeful sampling strategies used for the informal museum website survey are presented in this chapter. The informal museum website survey was used as the primary method for identifying a target sample of potential case study museums.

Chapter 5, *Informal Website Survey of AAM Region 6 Accredited Museums*, expands upon the overview provided in the Methods chapter. This chapter provides the reasoning for using an informal museum website survey to identify case study museums and explains the methods, data collection strategy, and protocol used in the survey. A description is provided regarding the use of the survey questionnaire and specifically how data was collected, coded, and analyzed within the survey criteria. An outline of the survey questionnaire as developed for this research project is provided (for full survey, see Appendix E). This chapter contains tables representing significant elements of the data analysis process and outcomes which support the researcher's selection of the three case study museums.

Each of the three case study chapters follows a similar trajectory with an overview of the development of the museum and its colonial history in relation to its communities. The connection to world's fairs and expositions at each museum is identified and briefly discussed in the development of the museum section. The next section of each case study chapter looks at the museum in contemporary times and overviews its exhibits, programs, and collections with more detail on those relevant to Indigenous

descendant communities and decolonizing approaches or practices. Contributions of key staff over time are discussed in relation to the topic of Indigenous Peoples descendant communities and decolonizing efforts. Next, the interview results with content experts at each case study museum are presented in two parts. The first part of the interview results focuses on developing and implementing relationships and initiatives with descendant communities. The second part of the interview results focuses on evaluating exhibitions and initiatives with descendant communities.

The first case study (chapter 6) presented is the Burke Museum of Natural History and Culture and its Bill Holm Center for the Study of Northwest Native Art. This case study represents a natural history and ethnology museum focus. This chapter is longer than the following two case study chapters due to the complexity of the Burke's long-time relationships with the many different Indigenous Peoples descendant communities associated with the museum as well as the deeply intertwined history of Seattle and Indigenous Peoples. In addition to the development and colonial history of the museum and its contemporary exhibits, programs, and exhibitions, there is a section overviewing the Bill Holm Center (BHC) and its key staff since its inception. The interview with content experts from the BHC involved a team interview with the primary content expert being the Director of the Bill Holm Center and Curator of Northwest Native Art and the two other team members being key staff of the BHC.

The second case study (chapter 7) focuses on decolonizing practices at the Portland Art Museum (PAM), which only began collecting Native American art half a century after its establishment. Prior to its first significant collecting of Native American art, PAM represented European and Euro-American art in its galleries. For this case study, significant exhibits curated by the first official Curators of Native American Art at PAM were reviewed in relation to the level of collaborative work the curators performed with Indigenous descendant communities. Although PAM has been collecting Native American art since the late 1940s, the first Curator of Native American Art was not hired until the late 1990s. The most recent Curator of Native American Art at PAM was the content expert interviewed for this research.

The third case study (chapter 8) was on the San Diego Museum of Man (SDMoM), an anthropology museum with its historical focus as anthropological field research and collections primarily built from research activities involving the ancestors and cultural heritage of Indigenous descendant communities. This museum maintained deeply entrenched colonial museum practices until relatively recently. Beginning in 2010, the museum begins to experience a transformation. The scope of exhibitions and programs as well as collections management practices at SDMoM related to this paradigm shift at the museum are discussed. Additionally, an observation of a decolonizing process in action is presented as the Cultural Resources team surveyed and inventoried a twenty-year old exhibition on the Kumeyaay. The approaches SDMoM is taking to proactively decolonize its internal and external practices are analyzed. As

was the case at the Burke, the interview at SDMoM was a team interview with the primary content expert being the Deputy Director of SDMoM and the key staff member being the Director of Cultural Resources.

The final chapter (9), *Discussion, Conclusions, and Recommendations*, is divided into four sections. The first section of this chapter discusses the two literature reviews, while the second section discusses the three case study museums. In the third section, conclusions are presented concerning the work required to decolonize museums, and a new model that respects approaches for both non-Indigenous and Indigenous practitioners to use when working together to decolonize museums is outlined. The thesis closes with some final thoughts.

Clearly, each Indigenous descendant community has a different experience with colonialism and there is no one-size-fits-all answer to working together to heal the future. However, underlying similarities exist, and museums can learn how to decolonize and heal from one another, as well as from museum scholarship such as this. Museums and Indigenous descendant communities can create museums that are aware of the day-to-day legacies of history, that carefully consider practice, and that work in partnership with one another to decolonize the institution of museum.

2. Literature Review Part I: Colonialism, Museums, and Descendant Communities

Who controls the past controls the future. Who controls the present controls the past.

– George Orwell, 1984.

INTRODUCTION

Because the concept of decolonizing museum practices must begin with, at minimum, a general understanding of complex colonial practices that have deep roots in world history, this literature review is divided into two chapters. The first chapter reviews the legacy effects of colonialism on mainstream (non-tribal) museums and how this relates to working with Indigenous descendant communities associated with mainstream museums. The second chapter of this literature review examines decolonizing practices in mainstream museums by reviewing professional standards and practices, laws, and ethics; approaches taken by tribal museums; the changing role of the curator; and decolonizing work shared by mainstream museums and descendant communities.

The literature review as a whole is focused primarily through the lens of topics related to museums and collecting crafted out of European colonizing of North America, specifically, the area that came to be the United States. An attempt has been made to balance reviews of non-Native and Native American scholars and artists although the second part of the literature incorporates more Native voice. Much more can be learned by reading studies written by contemporary Indigenous scholars providing comprehensive historical treatment of the topic of the colonization of the Americas. History has many faces and voices.

The review in this chapter begins with a broad historical overview of ideologies contributing to the dynamics of neoclassical colonial entanglement in the contemporary institution of museum. The focus then shifts to how Western academia, government institutions, and world's fairs and international expositions correlate to social and political policies of colonialism and expansionism in museums. Within this context, the phenomena surrounding the collecting of objects and art of Native Americans by Euro-Americans (Americans culturally of 'white' European descent) and the connection to imperialism and colonialism in North America is examined. Through the lens of museums' role in collecting, categorizing, and classifying Indigenous Peoples of North America and their cultural heritage as subjects of research, the role of archaeologists, anthropologists, and ethnographers in facilitating racist policies in the United States is explored. The chapter ends with a review of the relationship between anthropology, art, and defining as fine art or ethnological object the creative works of Indigenous Peoples by non-Indigenous peoples.

“IN THE BEGINNING”: *HISTORIA*, COLONIZATION, AND ‘OTHERING’

Generations of European and American scholars have been and continue to be trained in the Classical tradition. This training perpetuates the ideologies of the Ancient Greeks and Romans that esteem the colonizing and conquering of other peoples in Western culture. Among these ancient approaches to power are the collecting and curation of objects and knowledge—often trophies of conquest—in temples, treasuries, and later, museums. The disciplines of history, archaeology, anthropology, ethnography, and art history stem from the same Western academic traditions. The story of museums as colonial institutions of power, produced by the collecting and classification of knowledge, and as producers of knowledge for society (Conn 2000), begins millennia before.

The word, history, is from the Ancient Greek word, ἱστορία (*historia*), meaning, inquiry. It was also used in Ancient Greece to describe any systematic or scientific observation, as well as written accounts or narratives of a researcher’s inquiries into a subject or multiple subjects (Liddell, Scott, and McKenzie 1996). The word, μουσεῖον (*mouseion*), is the Ancient Greek word meaning a temple or shrine of the Muses. The word also came to mean a school of art or letters, or a philosophical school and library, also known as an academy (Liddell, Scott, and McKenzie 1996). The *Academy* of Plato (ca. 428-348 BCE), a pupil of the Greek philosopher Socrates (469-399 BCE), was such a school. Philosophers and mathematicians gathered to share knowledge through discourse and argument in an outdoor setting at Plato’s *Academy* (Martin 1996). The Latin word for *mouseion* is the same word used in English, museum.

The first attested museum of collections was the *Mouseion* of Alexandria in ancient Egypt, believed to have been established sometime in the 3rd century BCE, most likely by Ptolemy I. Strabo’s *Geography* describes the Museum of Alexandria as being a complex within the palaces of Alexandria having walking paths, halls with public benches, common areas, common property of the community, and a group of learned men who met there, taking part in research and discussion. These learned men also belonged to the museum and served under the rule of the Emperor (1924, 17.1.8). Their scholarship served the Emperor and society through the control and selective sharing of knowledge.

Although not the first to describe a culture outside of one’s own, the Greek historian Herodotus’ *Histories* are the first major ethnographic work in prose known to Western academic tradition. Writing during the fifth century BCE, Herodotus is often called the “father of history” and is sometimes considered the earliest “father of ethnography” (Strassler, Herodotus, and Thomas 2009, 781). In addition to the main theme of the *Histories*, the wars for empire between the Persians (the East) and the Greeks (the West), Herodotus described cultural practices, clothing, language, ethnic groups, cultural objects, and tribal kinships along with funerary and religious practices of non-Greeks (Hdt. 2.35-98; 4.1-12; 4.16-32; 4.46;

4.59-82; 4.103-109) (Strassler, Herodotus, and Thomas 2009, 748, 781). In this work, the differences of others were noted alongside the stories of war and conquest.

As with all ethnographic interpretations, Herodotus' writings illustrate the way misinformation can be spread by interpreting another culture from an outsider's perspective (etic) without including voices and perspectives from within that culture (emic). The cultural and societal frames of reference of this fifth century BCE Greek historian led Herodotus to comprehend the world outside of Hellas (the territory of the Greeks) as strange, unfamiliar, and subject to self-reflective interpretations. This etic approach often objectifies and marginalizes the 'other' (Said 1979). Not only did Herodotus voyeuristically examine other cultures from the etic perspective, he recording them in writing as a product of scientific investigation—an *historia* studied and reinterpreted heavily during the 18th and 19th centuries when the academic field of Classics was formed. This iterative study of Herodotus' *Histories,* along with other extant works from the Ancient Greeks and Romans, contributed to the dissemination of racist and imperialist practices in the world (Said 1979; Bernal 1987).

Until the end of Alexander's expansion of empire in 324 BCE, literary evidence suggests most ancient Greeks believed non-Greeks were uncivilized barbarians. However, this perception may have been different during the Aegean Bronze Age (3400-1100 BCE). There are clues in the Mediterranean archaeological record and in ancient writings that the Aegean was a more diverse place prior to the period known as the Dark Ages, 1100-800 BCE (Marinatos 1993; Dickinson 1994; Morris 1995; Marinatos 2000). Martin Bernal wrote a controversial study in three volumes connecting Greek religion and societal practices to Egypt and Southwest Asia, arguing that the roots of Greek culture were not only from a northern Indo-European culture (the Aryans) as promoted by 18th and 19th century academics, but also from Afroasiatic civilizations (Bernal 1987, 1991, 2006).

The answer to what may have changed regarding intercultural relations that culminated in the socio-cultural systems seen in the Classical Period (480-323 BCE) may lie in the stories of war and exploration between the Hellenes and peoples living on lands and islands encircling the Mediterranean as told in the Homeric epics (an oral 'history' believed to have been written down around 750 BCE) (Wood 1998; Pomeroy 1999; Munn 2006). The archaeological and historical records indicate the Dark Age in this area saw periods of famine and movement of large groups of people in search of resources and land, which contributed to social strife and warfare (Dickinson 1994; Snodgrass 2000). This mix of circumstances may have contributed to scapegoating of others as a means to remove the perceived threat to the status quo, given that "difference that exists outside the system is terrifying [as] it reveals the truth of the system, its relativity, its fragility, and its mortality" (Girard 1989, 21). If so, then the adopted Western European practice of 'othering' may have begun in earnest in the Mediterranean millennia ago.

The first known use of the word barbarian appears in Linear B, transliterated as *pa-pa-ro*, and is thought to have been used to differentiate the identity of foreigners as opposed to the inhabitants of Pylos (Palaeolexicon 2017). Pylos was a major population center during the Aegean Bronze Age located on the western side of the Peloponnese of mainland Greece (Dickinson 1994). Linear B was used during the Bronze Age and was a precursor to the written form of Ancient Greek. In Ancient Greek, *barbaros* (βάρβαρος), was used to describe the language of non-Greeks as sounding like "*bar-bar,*" meaning babble or gibberish (Pomeroy 1999).

A plural adjective form of the word meaning "speaking a foreign tongue," *barbarophōnōn* (βαρβαροφώνων), appears only once in the *Iliad* and is not present in the *Odyssey* (Hom. Il. 2.867). The *Iliad* described the war of Troy, and the *Odyssey,* starting ten years after the fall of Troy, tells the story of the journey home from the war of the Greek war hero, Odysseus. Throughout his journey he travels to many exotic lands and discovers different cultures and unusual beings. The adventures of Odysseus and his men, time and again illustrate the purported cleverness and superiority of Greek culture over the cultures of others they encounter on their journey (Homer 1919a, 1919b, 1924, 1925).

Perhaps the story of Odysseus served as a model for Greek colonizers. As ancient Greek expeditions colonized the Mediterranean during the Archaic Period (750-480 BCE) and into the Classical Period, they confronted indigenous inhabitants, commonly classifying them as simple-minded barbarians. Often conflict ensued and frequently people were enslaved or displaced. Colonized indigenous inhabitants were also assimilated into Greek culture through intermarriage and commerce. Trade between the cultures of the Greeks and the so-called "barbarians" sometimes created cross-cultural syntheses of art forms and cult practice (Pomeroy 1999).

Throughout antiquity, the polarizing concept of the barbarian 'other' defined non-Greeks as lacking faculties of speech and reason, *logos* (λόγος), and marked them with a lack of overall control in societal conduct in stark contrast to the self-proclaimed civilized *logos* of the Hellenes. Aristotle once stated that barbarians were slaves 'by nature' (1932, Aristotle Volume XXII:1. 2-7; 3. 14). This stereotype was perpetuated in Latin literature and although pronounced irrelevant by early Christians, the prejudice remained in literary conventions. The stereotype was further manipulated by Late Antique (300-450 CE) Christians and non-Christians who desired to appear learned as a way of gaining social status. In the 12th century, Aristotle's works were rediscovered and the concept of the barbarian, whether perceived as nomadic and fierce or settled and one with nature and the divine, "became one of the roots of western self-definition first against Muslims and the 'orient,' [during the Crusades] and later against subject populations around the globe" (Hornblower, Spawforth, and Eidinow 2012, 233).

A European return to studying the works of Greek and Roman scholars of classical antiquity during the Renaissance (14th to early 17th centuries) and later, philosophers of the Enlightenment—particularly Immanuel Kant's (1724-1804) attempts to analyze the moral imperative of reason in human cognition—ultimately led to the formal study of cultural differences defining concepts of 'us' and 'them.' The science of anthropology was born at the end of the 18th century in Europe (Lindholm 2007). Initially, museums were the places where anthropological research took place. Most anthropology research at this time was based on concepts of evolutionary progress (Conn 2000; Lindholm 2007), a legacy of Aristotle's teleological concepts about the nature of society and civilization (Martin 2000). Edward Said argued "that the major component in European culture is precisely what made that culture hegemonic both in and outside Europe: the idea of European identity as a superior one in comparison with all the non-European peoples and cultures" (1979, 7).

Doctrine of Discovery: Anthropology, World's Fairs, and Museums

In the Americas, this mindset continued by way of conquest and colonization under the 15th century, Christian Doctrine of Discovery, whereby European explorers traveled the globe claiming lands on behalf of their sovereign nations as "discovered." These campaigns to claim the land had negative impacts on the original Indigenous inhabitants. Early colonization actions were frequently accomplished by first removing Indigenous Peoples using any means deemed necessary to the European cause, then taking possession of their ancestral lands (Dunbar-Ortiz 2015). Shortly after the American Revolution, Thomas Jefferson claimed, in 1792, that the Doctrine of Discovery was international law and thereby applicable to the fledgling United States government (Dunbar-Ortiz 2015). George Washington and Thomas Jefferson included federal policy to remove Indigenous Peoples from the eastern part of the continent with forced relocation to lands west of the Mississippi River in order to make room for Euro-American settlers. Thomas Jefferson called for extermination of Indigenous Peoples who resisted forced removal. This was officially implemented in Andrew Jackson's Indian Removal Plan of 1830 (Churchill 2001).

In 1823, the Doctrine of Discovery was ushered into United States law when it was used by Chief Justice John Marshall to decide a Supreme Court Case over a land title dispute between two Euro-Americans involving land purchase from the Piankeshaw nations (Johnson's Lessee v. McIntosh 1823). The associated doctrine of Manifest Destiny was at full power by 1840, under which the forced removal and extermination policies of the Federal government supported hundreds of massacres against Native American peoples—men and women of all ages, children, and babies—by Euro-American citizens, mercenaries, and the military in the name of land claims (Churchill 2001; Dunbar-Ortiz 2015). Indigenous Peoples who did not die from diseases brought by the Europeans and who survived attempted murder at the

hands of colonizers were taken captive, or pushed onto reservations under the Dawes Act of 1887 and various other Federal legislation (Rawls and Etulain 1996; Churchill 2001).

Operating under the auspices of the federal "trust doctrine," the United States government carried on the British concept of "the white man's burden" to provide the "blessings of civilization" to the colonized, the original Indigenous Peoples (Anaya 2003, 157). An attempt was made under President Grant's 1869 Indian "peace policy" to replace traditional foundations of Native American identity with doctrines of Euro-American religion. Western religious ideology underpinned the teachings in Indian Boarding Schools where Native American children were placed after being removed from their families. This displacement led to Indigenous Peoples being disconnected from not only their families, but millennia old traditional ways of knowing and living (Mann 2003). In California, a similar approach was taken in the Spanish Missions with the outcome being equally traumatic for Indigenous Peoples. It is believed that over 81,000 Indigenous Peoples lost their lives to disease and exhaustion resulting from forced labor during the time the California missions were active (Miranda 2014a, 2014b).

Based on archaeological and historic records, the original hemispheric Indigenous population of the Americas is estimated to have been between nine and 125 million, although there is much dispute about these numbers (Denevan 1992; Churchill 2001; O'Fallon and Fehren-Schmitz 2011). David Stannard states that "one of the most well-regarded specialists in the field . . . has suggested that a more accurate estimate would be around 145,000,000 for the hemisphere as a whole" (1993, 353–54). While there is no agreed upon statistic, some Native American scholars write that the population of Indigenous Peoples of the Americas decreased by 80-90% as a result of colonization (Churchill 2001; King 2012).

According to the National Congress of American Indians (NCAI), scholars estimate there were between 1.5 and 20 million Indigenous Peoples in North America alone pre-colonization and by between 1890 to 1910, that number dropped below 250,000. As of the 2010 U.S. Census, there are estimated to be 5.2 million Indigenous Peoples in North America (NCAI 2015). A recent genetic study using ancient and contemporary mitochondrial DNA (mtDNA) indicates a significant reduction in the population of Indigenous Peoples of the Americas around 500 years ago (O'Fallon and Fehren-Schmitz 2011). The findings suggest that the reduction continued for several hundred years. This study's findings provide strong support to historical accounts and the archaeological record (O'Fallon and Fehren-Schmitz 2011).

As the systematic attack on Indigenous Peoples continued in the Americas the Western science of anthropology was taking hold and its practitioners were campaigning to save evidence of Indigenous cultures—identified by colonizers as vanishing—by collecting, storing, studying, and interpreting through etic eyes the material cultural heritage and physical remains of Indigenous Peoples. The act of collecting, interpreting, and displaying is a social one and common to human behavior around the world. Collecting

and displaying objects is involved in the process of forming both personal and group identities. In the United States, digging for and collecting Indigenous objects became part of the nascent Euro-American identity (Hinsley 2000; Silverman 2010).

Collecting and displaying objects from the cultures of 'others' tells a story about the collectors themselves. It exposes their intentions in creating collections and interpreting collections for an audience whether in their own private gallery, as knowledge gathering by governments, or on exhibit in a museum (Darnell 1998; McMullen 2009). Starting in the 16th century, the collection, interpretation, and display of objects collected from the exotic 'other' resulting from European exploration expeditions became a way to further elevate social status and continue to promote the Doctrine of Discovery (Silverman 2010; Dunbar-Ortiz 2015).

At the end of the 19th century, the 'Indian corner' was considered to be an aesthetic addition to the Euro-American home. Indian corners were similar to private exhibit spaces, some taking up a shelf or two and others taking up several rooms. This type of collecting and installation of Native American objects is an off-shoot of the "cozy corner" idea developed in the mid-19th century that made use of Middle Eastern motifs and handcrafts. The Indian corner was meant to be a retreat from the so-called civilized world, as well as a space taming the power of the wilderness and the uncertainty of nature (Hutchinson 2009). In both cases, there is a link with colonialism and western expansionist ideologies and the need to subdue the other. Many of the collections of Native American art displayed in private Indian corners were held by prominent 19th century figures in the world of collecting and eventually found their way to established and respected museums (Hutchinson 2009).

Returning briefly to the Classical roots discussed earlier, this practice was modeled in some part on Ancient Greece. Panhellenic sanctuaries such as Delphi and Olympia, and later the Athenian Acropolis, were sites of social and political display where city-states dedicated statues and built treasuries to hold objects demonstrating the superiority of collective Greek identity over other groups of peoples (Pomeroy 1999). At the local city-state level, chiefs, like the fabled Odysseus, brought home the spoils of war and exotic treasures, retaining some of the wealth for their own household, dividing up the rest among their troops as a way to build and maintain social and political status (Pomeroy 1999). European collectors, in the 16th century, who were of the elite classes stored their collections in palaces or royal residences. Carrying on the Classical theme as the European ideal for art and culture, the buildings constructed specifically to house collections were often designed architecturally to imitate Greek temples or Italian palaces, a practice with roots in Roman architecture. This convention carried over to the North American continent after European colonization (Dana 1917).

The first anthropological expeditions to study Indigenous Peoples were conducted by Europeans, many of whom founded their research premises on the non-European 'other' as barbarian in the Classical sense, believing they were superior to the societies they studied. Armed with Darwinist evolutionary theory and the belief that technological progress equated with superiority, they sought to scientifically discover what made the non-European 'others' inferior from the European perspective. Conversely, they believed this scientific line of discovery would also uncover what made the Europeans superior to the Indigenous 'other.' Indigenous Peoples became specimens in their own lands and were often collected to be studied, both the living and the dead (Lindholm 2007). The act of physical collecting by anthropologists for museums slowed down in the early years of the 20th century when universities started to create anthropology departments. At this time, the discipline of anthropology also shifted away from evolutionary towards cultural relativism and participant activist research (Conn 2000; Lindholm 2007).

Franz Boas (1858-1942), known as the father of modern anthropology, was a romantic aesthetic, scientific empiricist, and founder of the relativistic, culture centered school of American anthropology. His practice observed empirical and ethical components. He believed researchers were duty bound to preserve all data from Indigenous Peoples' cultures. This ethnographic approach required not only observing and making scientific studies, but also learning "the entire cultural repertoire" and language of the peoples being studied through participant activist research methods (Lindholm 2007, 97). In his summary to the opening arguments in *The Mind of Primitive Man*, lectures on culture and race, Boas sought to dispel long-held racist concepts of the barbarian 'other' (Boas 1911).

As an anthropologist, Boas frequently displayed examples of human skulls during his lectures to show the consistent variability of human morphology both among and between cultural groups of people in an attempt to reverse racial prejudice (1911; Jacknis 2002). He pioneered life group displays in the form of dioramas in order to demonstrate comparative examples of human skulls to uphold his theory of relativism as a means to debunk racism (Columbia University 2017). Boas was a critic of the Smithsonian's use of universal typology to arrange artifacts in an evolutionary sequence that promoted the concept of racial superiority and progress of the civilized over the so-called uncivilized (Bennett et al. 2017). Boas' research contributed to the eventual acceptance by social scientists and anthropologists since the mid-20th century that race is a social construct, and does not represent biological divisions defining the behavior of differing groups of peoples (Bennett et al. 2017). His fieldwork led him to work in museums in a curatorial role for a brief time (Columbia University 2017).

Boas once stated that museums "are the place where scientific materials from distant countries, vanishing species, paleontological remains, and the objects used by vanishing tribes, are kept and preserved for all future time, and may thus be made the basis of studies which, without them, would be impossible."

He went on to say that "the essential function of the museum as a scientific institution [is] to preserve … in the best possible way, the valuable material that has been collected, and not to allow it to be scattered and to deteriorate" (Boas 1907, 930). Later, Boas shifted the focus of museums as the primary scientific institutions of anthropological studies to the university environment when he left the American Museum of Natural History (AMNH) for Columbia University (Conn 2000).

Franz Boas' leadership of the anthropology department of Columbia University in New York City produced a new generation of American anthropologists (Columbia University 2017). During Boas' earlier Jesup North Pacific Expedition (1897-1905), he proposed to the AMNH that they fund a major survey expedition to collect material culture through archaeological expeditions and recording of ethnographic data on the "Vanishing Tribes of North America." The various expeditions involved in the survey resulted in many of his students fanning out across the Plains and into the Southwest (Bennett et al. 2017). By the first quarter of the 20th century, universities had taken over as producers of knowledge and assumed the role of educating those who could afford to attend, while museums assumed the role of educating children and the masses (Conn 2000). Herodotus, the father of history and ethnography was replaced by Boas as the father of anthropology and ethnography in the Americas.

Displaying and interpreting the material culture and ethnography of Indigenous Peoples as developed in the AMNH, was mirrored around the United States in static displays of 'race'-based culture groups of the colonized, frozen in time (Bennett et al. 2017). As objects were collected from Indigenous Peoples around the world, anthropologists and archaeologists continued to develop typologies and seriations to categorize and organize them (Conn 2000). This scientific objectification of ethnographic exhibits remained prominent in cultural dioramas of the mid-20th century (and continues in some museums of today). It is reminiscent of the stereotyping and dehumanizing displays that perpetuated dogmas of European and Euro-American imperialism in world's fairs, international expositions, ethnographic showcases, and traveling shows of the early 19th century that played out the relationship between Euro-American settlers and Indigenous Peoples of North America (Rydell 1987; Conn 2000; Peers and Brown 2003; Magubane 2009; McMullen 2009).

Many museums in America and Europe hold cultural heritage collections of Indigenous Peoples that were either specifically collected for, or contributed to, exhibits in world's fairs or international expositions. Conversely, many museums began out of world's fair collections after the fairs closed. The Smithsonian Institution and the Federal government supported the efforts of the major world's fairs in the United States and helped establish many of the nation's oldest museums (Rydell 1987; Conn 2000). The Bureau of American Ethnology (BAE) was originally founded in 1879. BAE was the Federal bridge organization between the efforts of Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, Albert Gallatin, Lewis Henry

Morgan (self-taught and self-identifying anthropologists), and Franz Boas that eventually professionalized the collection of data and material culture related to the Indigenous Peoples of the United States (Darnell 1998). Objects in ethnographic collections from the Indigenous Peoples of North America held in the National Museum (a branch of the Smithsonian Institution) already numbered over 100,000 by 1906 as a result of the BAE's archaeological and ethnographic collecting efforts (Darnell 1998). Ethnographic surveys made by the BAE during the late 19th century were also used to gather geological data intended to support continuing Euro-American Westward settlement, which included gathering information on Indigenous Peoples for the War Department (Darnell 1998).

The collections amassed by the BAE and held by the Smithsonian were frequently sent out to world's fairs and sometimes were promised for the establish of new museums after the fairs and expositions closed (Rydell 1987; Conn 2000). World's fairs and international expositions served the purpose of promoting progress through industrialization, which also meant promoting progress in terms of imperialist Westward expansion. This in turn, meant displacement of Indigenous Peoples in the name of colonizing the so-called empty, wild lands. World's fairs and expositions put Indigenous Peoples of the world on display, offering racist interpretations to the masses of visitors. This was accomplished in part by creating comparative exhibits of Indigenous Peoples performing daily life activities as interpreted by Euro-American perspectives in so-called natural habitats. These live ethnological exhibits were supported by research based on alleged evidence from prominent Western scientists, some of whom openly lobbied for and spread the doctrines of racism and eugenics (Rydell 1987; McMullen 2009).

The purported educational merit of live ethnological exhibits were often attested to by anthropologists in spite of the fact that the zoo-like exhibits were exploitative, undignified, and typically installed on the entertainment throughways of the fairs where a carnival setting was the norm (Rydell 1987; Magubane 2009). The live ethnological exhibits were also designed to instill a spirit of nationalism among the masses "in an updated synthesis of progress and white supremacy" (Rydell 1987, 4) while upholding the hegemonic interests of the ruling classes (Rydell 1987, 2).

> Diversity characterized the expositions, and this heterogeneity was part of their attraction. Diversity, however, was inseparable from the larger constellation of ideas about race, nationality, and progress that molded the fairs into ideologically coherent "symbolic universes" confirming and extending the authority of the country's corporate, political, and scientific leadership.

Rydell suggests that, "world's fairs provide a partial but crucial explanation for the interpenetration and popularization of evolutionary ideas about race and progress" (1987, 5). Additionally,

he argues that "the expositions were intended to shape [Euro-American] culture . . . [including society, politics, and the arts and] . . . left an enduring vision of empire" (1987, 238).

Shifting the content and displays used in world's fairs and expositions to collections in museums supplants the transient nature of the fairs and cements the "vision of empire" (Rydell 1987, 5) in the minds of society in an institutionalized state of permanence (Foucault 1999). Museums have historically been agents of colonialism through the appropriation and authoritarian etic interpretation of the cultural heritage of Indigenous populations considered to be at risk. An external effect that further supports the larger agenda of colonialism from the comprehensive collecting of Indigenous cultural objects is the erosion of Indigenous cultural practices through loss of access to living touchstones of memory and practice. Additionally, collecting of this type eventually transfers the knowledge held by those items to the control of the colonizing authority represented by the museum (Cooper 2008).

In the museum vaults, objects representing all times and places exist together, sifted into, controlled by, and interpreted through empirical categories and classifications (Foucault 1999). The display of, representation of, and interpretation of so-called others by the ruling class is a way to control the flow of information to the general populace (Ames 1992; Bennett et al. 2017). Museums as respected voices of authority and knowledge have the power to influence societal values directly by promoting and affirming the dominant values of that society (Foucault 1966). Museums also promote dominant societal values indirectly by subordinating and rejecting a society's alternate values, often by remaining silent about those values, and through observing unspoken rules of authority upheld by centuries of ideology and practice (Foucault 1966; Ames 1992; Boast 2011; Bennett et al. 2017).

Art, Anthropology, and Politics of Culture

The museum educator, John Cotton Dana astutely noted the obsession of those directly associated with museum operations for collecting, classifying, and categorizing (1917, 28):

> . . . curators, experts, directors, and trustees . . . become lost in their idea of working out their idea of a museum and forget their public. And soon . . . they become entirely separated from [the museums' communities] and go on making beautifully complete and very expensive collections, but never construct a living, active, and effective institution.

Like much of Dana's philosophy about the purpose of museums, his comment about constructing a "living, active, and effective institution" was ahead of the curve (1917, 28).

From the perspective of many Indigenous Peoples descendant communities, the cultural heritage objects collected by museums are living entities with layers of meaning. Lonetree states that "every engagement with objects in museum cases or in collection rooms should begin with this core recognition

[that] … in the presence of objects from the past, we are privileged to stand as witnesses to living entities that remain intimately and inextricably tied to their descendant communities" (Lonetree 2012, xv). When such objects are represented through mainstream museum curatorial practices, the focus is on materials used, time periods, and cultural groups attributed to the objects. When interpreted through the sole authority of the non-Indigenous, non-descendant community museum curator, the true significance of the object is lost and becomes a reinterpreted reflection of the cultural perspective of the colonizer (Ames 1992, 2006; McMullen 2009; Lonetree 2012).

The period of romantic aestheticism in anthropology ushered in concepts of the 'noble savage,' the so-called authenticity of the 'uncivilized tribe' versus the 'civilized urbanites,' and the idea of folk culture as a work of art (Lindholm 2007). Romanticized histories of Native American peoples living lives in a static place and time are situated in the consciousness of Western collectors who collect Native American art and objects. Euro-Americans collected, and still collect, Native American art and objects arising from a long-standing European trend based in a "desire for exotic objects" (Dubin 2001, 15). Collecting objects from cultures of the 'other' is a form of tourism that sanctions non-Native collectors to experience a perception of culture, while maintaining a safe distance when encountering the cultural, social, and political realities of the contemporary Native American, the Indigenous 'other' (Dubin 2001).

Boas' early move to separate Indigenous Peoples cultural heritage objects from natural history museums led to an eventual reclassification of these same objects as art. In the recent past, Conn noted that "it has become increasingly unacceptable to exhibit cultural material as pieces of scientific curiosity, [as such] some of this very same material has leapt across institutions, and thus across categories, to become part of the world of fine art" (2000, 255). Moving the cultural heritage of Indigenous Peoples out of science museums and into art museums was a controversial development in the annals of Western art history. The Western perception of fine art has been based on Classical traditions defining the art historical canon. The public typically expected to see fine art as expressed through European masterworks from the Renaissance to the very early 20th century, modeled on the aesthetics and formalism of Greek and Roman antiquities. Early American art followed in the footsteps of this concept. At that time, the art of Native artists were considered handicrafts produced using tribal styles and motifs for sale to tourists and collectors. Only in the last few decades has the Western art world been criticized as Eurocentric in its views that Indigenous art does not convey themes common to all people (Dubin 2001).

Ethnographer, Margaret Dubin notes that "within the art world, the mere absence of tribal people from the ranks of tastemakers indicates a significant imbalance of power" (2001, 22). Critical museology scholar, Haidy Geismar considers the anthropologist, Morgan Perkin's observation which she paraphrased as "the self-consciousness of anthropological definitions of art hinge on the recognition that the term "art"

exists in relation to a pre-existing art world" (2015, 210). She relates his observation to changing perceptions regarding the way the complexity of "art theory and institutional critique within the world of art museums and galleries belies [how] art has…been naturalized as both display and interpretive strategy within ethnographic museums" (Geismar 2015, 210).Whether Indigenous cultural heritage items are reclassified, or classified also as fine art versus handicraft has been an ongoing debate in non-Indigenous fine art circles. Hutchinson states "the acceptance of the aesthetic value of Native art has been understood as a sign of mainstream American openness to seeing Indian people as equally capable of producing high culture as themselves" (Hutchinson 2009, 94).

As Indigenous basketry, pottery, and weaving became formally recognized and analyzed as art at the end of the 19th century, European and Euro-American artists studied and appropriated techniques and motifs used by Native artists to inspire their own works. According to Hutchinson, this practice links to the American arts and crafts movement and American modernism. "Native American art was seen as unimpeachably authentic and inherently American" (Hutchinson 2009, 128). Hutchinson's main argument is that the American obsession with Native American arts gave rise to "modernist aesthetic ideas" in contrast to long-held concepts of academic distinctions in Native American art history between "handicrafts (or "traditional" arts)" and ""modern" Native American art" (2009, 7). The experience of Native artists is different.

In response to the Native American fine art versus crafts or ethnological object debate, Karen Coody Cooper noted that when art museums display Native American items they have sometimes "unwittingly . . . abased American Indian consecrated items held in their collections and shown in their exhibitions" because art museums typically are not aware of Native American traditions and knowledge (2008, 31). She further stated (2008, 49–50, 57),

> a museum's policy affecting the ability of American Indian artists or their creations to gain entrance, or be barred [is an area of conflict]. . . .Once one's identity is known as American Indian, there will be expectations concerning one's work. Native artists can be criticized if their work does not reflect Native life and themes and they can be criticized if their work does reflect Native life and themes (49-50). Native people feel very strongly that their art should be viewed as one of the pillars of American art—as art that is distinctly of this continent. America's seeming rejection or overlooking of American Indian art is viewed as untenable by Native people who vow to do battle with the staid art world. . . . Native artists struggle to find their audience of collectors and supportive gallery owners and look for museums to provide more wall space, to increase purchases of Native-produced fine arts, and to help develop related marketable products (57).

Dubin has analyzed the cultural entanglements inherent in collecting Native American art by non-Native collectors finding that "the larger art-culture system appropriates Native American objects and

artists to its own purposes, despite the often admirable intentions to the contrary of individual players" (2001, 9). The appropriation occurs at the hands of both non-Native and Native Americans whether knowingly or unknowingly (Dubin 2001). She points out that (Dubin 2001, 66)

> the label, "Native" serves as an indicator of difference—ethnic, cultural, and/or aesthetic difference from other artists working in the United States. This difference is as much imposed by consumers as it is generated by the artists themselves. . . consumers construct "imagined Indians" to fulfill their own needs. Nevertheless, most of the [Native] artists ... interviewed expressed a significant sense of difference arising from their personal histories as well as their membership in specific tribal or artistic communities.

Geismar expresses both enthusiasm for the approach of contemporary Indigenous artists who are finding artistic inspiration with cultural heritage objects (ethnological objects) in museum collections and concern for the way art is used to calm the pain of political injustices (2015). She argues that contemporary Indigenous art is also "historically and culturally constituted, and [contains] epistemologies and classifications that have important ramifications for the politics of representation" (Geismar 2015, 184). In other words, contemporary art represents the ethnography of the culture that created it and through its manifestation, creates its own historical and political significance.

Geismar also discusses "actor network theory" as a museological tool for focusing on the interconnected relationships between art, objects, and people in conceiving of cultural knowledge (2015). She suggests that "indigenous and alternative museologies have been institutionalized to the extent that . . . the boundaries between art and artifact no longer make sense, nor are they relevant to contemporary concerns for cultural survival, indigenous sovereignty, communities of practice, and new and emergent indigenous nationalisms" (Geismar 2015, 210).

Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed literature to provide historical background to the colonial legacies of museums. Beginning long before museums were the institution of museum established as recently as 200 years ago, the chapter briefly overviewed the concept of 'othering' and speculated on potential beginnings for this ingrained social behavior in the Western psyche. From there, a review of the historical marginalization of Indigenous Peoples beginning with the 500-year-old Doctrine of Discovery was undertaken through the lens of the development of the fields of anthropology in museums and universities and ways these academic institutions connected to world's fairs and live ethnographic exhibits.

Next, an exploration from the angle of the social and political interests behind the Westward expansion movement in the United States was made into the role of anthropology, world's fairs, and

permanent museum collections in the political promotion of dominant cultural beliefs shared by most Euro-Americans of the 19th century and early to mid-20th century. Closing the chapter, the debate over what defines art as art and not anthropology or ethnology was reviewed from the perspectives of Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholars. It may be that in the 21st century, art or object defines its own historical and political importance through the acts of creation and display, which give art its power to engage the viewer both as a representation of the artist's culture and as an object with its own power. Whether art or object, the item is a touchstone of memories and connections with its maker and develops its own life the longer it exists.

The second literature review chapter will explore the theme of the 21st century museum model as a non-neutral vehicle for social justice and inclusive practice by reviewing literature that discusses the Indigenous research paradigm; the value of interconnectedness and interdisciplinary collaborations; the changing role of the curator; and sharing authority with descendant communities caring for collections, curating exhibits, and developing programs.

3. Literature Review Part II: Museums, Descendant Communities, and Decolonizing Museums

There is no greater power than the right to define the questions.

– John McKnight (1996, 48)

INTRODUCTION

The comprehensive literature review in this chapter focuses on approaches to institutionalize decolonizing practices in mainstream museums. The review begins by exploring the concept of museum as a non-neutral institution of socio-cultural and political engagement. The question of how much museums as institutions of colonialism have been decolonized or can be decolonized is considered through Indigenous and non-Indigenous perspectives. The merit of presenting subjugated histories in exhibits as a decolonizing methodology is investigated with attention paid to the importance of providing physical or metaphorical space to facilitate healing for visitors. A discussion of the role that research plays in collaborative undertakings between mainstream museums and Indigenous descendant community representatives is presented primarily through the lens of research from Indigenous perspectives. Throughout the chapter, the sharing of authority by museum curators is assessed and a brief overview of the changing role of museum curators over the last few hundred years is presented. A brief survey of professional organizations, ethics, and legislative actions related to decolonizing museums is provided. As stated in the first chapter of this two-part literature review, the scholarly writings of Indigenous Peoples on the topics reviewed here, provide a better understanding of Indigenous perspectives on the colonial role of museums and research and the legacies of historical trauma for contemporary Indigenous Peoples.

MUSEUMS, SHARING AUTHORITY, AND RESEARCH: HEALING WITH GOOD WORK

The description of a museum that was given in Strabo's *Geographies* has changed only a little after 2000 years. Through historic analysis, five key concepts of the *Mouseion* of Alexandria as a social institution have been identified that continue to apply to our understanding of museums (Silverman 2010):

1. The museum is a sacred space where spiritual transformation can occur.
2. The museum functions as a place of community where social affiliations can form.
3. The museum provides a place where understanding of our shared humanity can develop.
4. The museum is a political establishment with power to influence social conditions outside its walls.
5. The museum serves as custodian of irreplaceable collections representing the cultural heritage and the multiple ways of knowing of our shared humanity.

These key concepts mean that museums are sites of complex exchange and negotiation in all that they do. Bound by 'contact zones' created internally and externally through the interests of descendant communities, visitors, various other stakeholders, governments, and funders, museums are never on neutral ground (Boast 2011; Message 2015). It is only within the last few decades that museums have begun actively implementing change to decolonize museums by promoting inclusion, social justice, sharing of authority, and developing equitable internal and external practices (Kreps 2011; Nightingale and Sandell 2012). Research on museum practices indicates that while new museology is working to decolonize by breaking down racist, polarizing conceptions of inferiority and superiority, the museum field needs to explore the nuances of (Bennett et al. 2017, 255):

> cultural difference associated with the new relationships between museums, anthropological fieldwork, and programs of colonial and metropolitan governance [developed during the] first half of the twentieth century, and the legacy of these developments in the second half of the twentieth century and the early decades of the twenty-first.

Richard Sandell, international leader in the museum social justice movement, states that museums "are undeniably implicated in the dynamics of (in)equality and the power relations between different groups through their role in constructing and disseminating dominant social narratives" (Sandell in Rose 2016, 8–9). In other words, museums are perpetuating the colonial practices of collecting, controlling, creating, and spreading knowledge about 'others' as institutions of authority. Museums' collaborative projects with Indigenous descendant communities, though often meant to be a creation of dialogical space, are in fact neocolonial because they perpetuate the dichotomy of the Western colonizer versus the colonized Indigenous descendant group (Boast 2011). Using binary frameworks to interpret cultural and political activities and the historical events associated with them is insufficient in addressing the complexity of relationships and exchanges involved in these events (Message 2015).

Anthropologist Robin Boast discusses museums as the mediators between the Western colonizers and the colonized, leveraging collaboration with descendant communities as justification to maintain control over their "vast colonial collections" (Boast 2011, 60). There is doubt by some that mainstream museums can ever be fully decolonized because they share colonial legacies and primary positions of authority in Western society (Kreps 2011). One of the dangers of mainstream museums collaborating with Indigenous descendant communities when creating exhibitions and programming is the potential to create new "representational problems" and conceal "ongoing power asymmetries that continue to structure dominant museological institutions" (Wakeham 2008, 355). The use of language by the mainstream museum to discuss collaborative projects such as: *allow*, *give agency and empowerment*, affords an uneven,

neocolonial power dynamic between the museum and the Indigenous descendant community (Boast 2011) (author's emphasis).

The participant activist anthropological research approach followed by Boas and his proteges often resulted in the anthropological researcher becoming "a heroic figure, carrying the wisdom and authentic vision of the natives back to his or her own decadent civilization, which could then be transformed for the better" (Lindholm 2007, 97). This approach keeps the dispersal of information, the etic interpretation of the 'authentic vision of the natives' in the hands of the non-Indigenous participant activist, or in the case of the museum, the curatorial authority. Once objects and traditional knowledge are gathered into museum collections, their meanings are lost or skewed as they are re-ordered, recategorized, reclassified, and reinterpreted by mainstream museums and academia (Bennett et al. 2017). In regards to knowledge and power, Edward Said noted in his seminal work on the concept of othering that (1979, 32):

> Knowledge…means surveying a civilization from its origin to its prime to its decline—and of course, it means *being able to do that.* Knowledge means rising above immediacy, beyond self, into the foreign and distant. The object of such knowledge is inherently vulnerable to scrutiny; this object is a "fact" which, if it develops, changes, or otherwise transforms itself in the way that civilizations frequently do, nevertheless is fundamentally, even ontologically stable. To have such knowledge of such a thing is to dominate it, to have authority over it. And authority here means for "us" to deny autonomy to "it"…since we know it and it exists, in a sense *as* we know it. (Said's emphasis).

Western research "brings to bear, on any study of [Indigenous Peoples], a cultural orientation, a set of values, a different conceptualization of such things as time, space, subjectivity, and different and competing forms of knowledge and structures of power" (Smith 2012, 44). Michael Yellow Bird and Waziyatawin Angela Wilson use the term "practitioner activist" to describe Indigenous Peoples' strategy of taking daily decolonizing actions and political positions, maintaining this approach "is necessary to the well-being and liberation of" Indigenous Peoples (2005, 3).

Effective collaboration involves research and shared commitment on many levels (McKenna-Cress and Kamien 2013). Non-Indigenous curators working with Indigenous descendant communities have an ethical imperative to understand and respect Indigenous approaches to research, recognizing that research involves establishing trust and requires participants to share knowledge or experiences (Smith 2012).

Like Western research agendas claiming to benefit society, the Indigenous research agenda is meant to work for the greater good. However, because of the history of Western research as something that is done to Indigenous peoples by non-Indigenous researchers, negative credibility is given to Western

research from the perspective of Indigenous Peoples (Smith 2012). Research means that someone or something is at stake. The Indigenous research agenda is a foundational element of decolonization practice because research and knowledge production is at the heart of the imperialist agenda (Smith 2012).

The Indigenous research agenda is focused on processes representing movement and change, the inward and outward flow of ideas, actions, and reflective behavior that connect, inform, clarify and ultimately transform perceptions. The objectives are decolonization, healing, transformation, and self-determination. The strategic goal is the production of social justice actions manifested as outcomes of the processes (Smith 2012). The Indigenous research agenda is cyclical and iterative and facilitates collaborative engagement and partnerships (Maryboy et al. 2012; Smith 2012).

Margaret Kovach presents an "Indigenous research framework …constructed to mirror a standard research design familiar to qualitative researchers [that centers] a tribal epistemology [making] the methodology distinctive from other qualitative approaches" accommodating the Indigenous epistemology over the non-Indigenous (2010, 44–45). This approach is very similar to one suggested by Linda Tuhiwai Smith that uses the cardinal directions and the "metaphor of ocean tides" as an Indigenous Pacific Peoples epistemological basis (2012, 120–21) and the *Dine Cosmic Model* developed by David Begay and Nancy C. Maryboy with the Indigenous Education Institute (2012). At the center of the Dine Cosmic Model is the Cosmic Serpent, a "transcultural symbol" bridging Indigenous and Western perspectives encircled by the cardinal directions representing initiation, growth and organization, activation, and transformation and renewal leading to sustainability (Maryboy et al. 2012, 16).

Indigenous Peoples frequently transfer knowledge intergenerationally through oral narratives. In the Western mindset, "the nature and structure of [Indigenous narratives can] cause difficulties for" non-Indigenous knowledge systems because they diverge "from the temporal narrative of Western culture…[Indigenous narratives] transcend time and fasten themselves to places" (Kovach 2010, 95–96). Research to present narratives of Indigenous Peoples in exhibits should respect "the privileging of story in knowledge-seeking systems [which] means honouring 'the talk'… Indigenous researchers use conversations, interviews and research/sharing circles [and] ensure voice and representation" of the participants (Kovach 2010, 99). An important element to this process is having participants check and approve their transcripts as part of the "criteria for accurate representation" (Kovach 2010, 100).

Through exhibitions and curatorial interpretations of objects based on the Western research paradigm, the history of the colonized has been subjugated and represented through the eyes of the dominant culture. Through these displays, the colonial powers' societal norms are bolstered and perpetuated and the identity of the colonized is taken over by the colonizer under the authority of museums (Ames 1992; Hendry 2005; McMullen 2009; Boast 2011; Smith 2012). Historically, the narratives

presented to the public are that of the colonizer and the associated dominant socio-cultural beliefs and practices (Cooper 2008; Sleeper-Smith 2009; Smith 2012; Lonetree 2012). While there is a contact or engagement zone created that could be polarizing and facilitate exclusivity rather than inclusivity, when museums work for social justice they are actively working against polarization and exclusivity (Onciul 2013; Message 2015).

In order to effectively decolonize museums, work must be done at the 'practitioner-activist' level that involves critical thinking about language, actions, and practicing cultural responsiveness. This includes reflective questioning on the part of museum staff and Indigenous descendant communities about their complicity in perpetuating institutionalized colonialism (Waziyatawin and Yellow Bird 2005). Duarte and Belarde-Lewis note that (2015, 678):

> For non-Indigenous individuals decolonization work means stepping back from normative expectations that (1) all knowledge in the world can be represented in document form, (2) to some degree, already is, and (3) Indigenous ways of knowing belong in state-funded university and government library, archive, and museum collections, especially for the benefit of society's privileged elite.

Smith writes "decolonization, once viewed as the formal process of handing over instruments of government, is now recognized as a long-term process involving bureaucratic, cultural, linguistic and psychological divesting of colonial power" (2012, 101). In other words, decolonizing "is not about tweaking the existing colonial system to make it more Indigenous-friendly or a little less oppressive," it is about overturning the colonial system, shifting the ideological paradigm, and creating new partnerships and understandings (Waziyatawin and Yellow Bird 2005, 4) operating from the perspective that "decolonization is knowledge work" (Duarte and Belarde-Lewis 2015, 678).

Many collaborative exhibition and programming projects between Indigenous Peoples descendant communities and museums retain mainstream approaches to didactic practices and typically avoid inclusion of challenging narratives about the traumatic historical and legacy effects of colonialism (Lonetree 2012). Presenting colonizing forces in a passive voice, being subtle and implicit in use of narrative, presenting these hard truths without full inclusion of Indigenous voice and historical narrative creates a sense that the suffering of contemporary Indigenous peoples occurs in a vacuum (Wakeham 2008). Furthermore, passive presentation of colonial-Indigenous histories projects the repressed ideology of the so-called dominant culture into the narrative, continuing to ignore the larger contemporary societal issues of Indigenous peoples (Duran 2006; Wakeham 2008). As a result, both the descendants of the colonized and colonizers are wounded further (Duran 2006).

Amy Lonetree states that in order to "transform museums into 'places that matter' for Native Americans . . . [we must] extend our understanding of museums to embrace their potential to become 'sites of conscience' and decolonization" (2012, 27). This can be accomplished by presenting narratives that name "the specifics of the difficult history of U.S.- Indian relations [framed and voiced by] Native people and their communities…within the context of colonization" and by incorporating approaches to healing historical trauma into exhibitions and programming (Lonetree 2012, 125). Native American psychologist and healer, Eduardo Duran, describes the cumulative effects of the historical traumas of colonialism passed on from one generation to the next of Indigenous Peoples as a soul-wound. He states that internalized oppression can be experienced by both Indigenous descendant communities and non-Indigenous advocates as a result of the traumas caused by colonialism (Duran 2006, 16).

When visitors come to collaboratively produced exhibits that are meant to interpret the perspectives and lifeways of Indigenous Peoples, they bring their own socio-cultural myths and stereotypes into the engagement. Visitors may not pick up subtle queues that another knowledge system exists or that it is present in the exhibits. Therefore, providing context is the key to understanding the decolonization narrative (Lonetree 2012). When decolonizing narratives of the colonized are presented in exhibitions and promoted over the dominant narrative of the colonizer, it is not unusual for visitors and even museum staff to be resistant to the presentation of stories they perceive as problematic and running counter to their world-view (Rose 2016). A danger inherent in this response is "social forgetting" (Rose 2016, 34):

> Refusing to engage in learning about a difficult history is a way for learners to avoid feeling discomfort, or to keep others from knowing about a tragedy. …Widespread social forgetting and subjugation of a difficult history by history [and museum] workers, educators, civic leaders, religious leaders, and communities puts subsequent historical, sociological, and political information and the respective empirical material culture at risk of being lost or trivialized. *The silencing of select difficult histories risks a great loss of the foundational historical background of later histories that were the result of the earlier tragic past* (author's emphasis).

The soul wound described by Duran is a probable factor that has led to many Indigenous Peoples curating exhibits in Tribal museums who are often hesitant to engage in discussions about historical trauma resulting from colonization. Instead, the focus is on survivance and resilience without providing the context for the problem of colonialism (Lonetree 2012). Without addressing the context of colonialism in the relationship, a culture of avoidance often develops during collaborations between mainstream museums and Native peoples and runs counter to decolonization methodology. Lonetree questions this approach and suggests to begin the healing process Native Americans must start by "naming the specifics of the difficult

history of U.S.-Indian relations so that their communities can begin to frame their history within the context of colonization," creating the spaces necessary to heal historical unresolved grief (2012, 125).

It is important to continue shifting the curatorial paradigm and work to create visitor centered museums that provide the necessary scaffolding for visitor engagement and informal education to occur. When presenting subjugated histories—topics that reveal traumatic narratives, topics that reveal the need for social justice and healing, topics that are distressing to engage with on many levels—part of that scaffolding is creating opportunities for healing moments throughout the exhibits for both colonized and colonizer descendant visitors. It can be challenging to find ways to present narratives about traumatic events that both heal and educate Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples.

Due to the different perceptions and ways of knowing regarding historical, social, and political events between Indigenous and Western cultures, such work should not be done lightly and should involve outside partnerships with both Indigenous and non-Indigenous professionals in healing and social work familiar with the many concerns surrounding the legacies of historical trauma (Silverman 2010). By institutionalizing ethics, policies, practices, and processes for implementing decolonizing work museums "become places for building momentum for healing, for community, and for restoring dignity and respect. ... Museums become a means for repairing colonization's harm" (Lonetree 2012, 171). Eduardo Duran notes that "healing usually occurs in a container" in Indigenous practice and in non-Indigenous therapeutic practice, soul-wound healers discuss setting and creating boundaries to work within (2006, 42). "Native Healers ensure that the ceremony is contained by either a physical or metaphorical structure. Even within a physical structure, the Native Healer will enact a metaphorical boundary" (Duran 2006, 42). Integrating physical and sensory experiences into the wayfinding of the exhibit designed to calm and relax visitors can help alleviate anxiety and facilitate thought processes for visitors, setting the boundaries that allow them to cognitively engage with the subject matter of the exhibits (McKenna-Cress and Kamien 2013).

Lonetree agrees with Indigenous scholars that responsibility must be taken by the colonizers for the wrongs of history and their ongoing impacts on the present if true reconciliation is to occur (2012). Museums and Indigenous descendant communities are faced with difficult choices about whether to embrace narratives of pain and hardship or resilience and successes. Ultimately, they must recognize that racism and colonialist ideologies remain a part of social and cultural fabric inside and outside the museum and continue to foster a willingness to openly and respectfully work together for positive change (Message 2015). By focusing on the network of relationships between the cultural and social groups entrenched in histories and the government institutions involved when creating exhibits on controversial topics, curators and Indigenous descendant communities can negotiate and facilitate sites of exchange and discourse that effectively engage diverse groups of people (Message 2015). Choosing how to embody provocative and

emotional histories of marginalized or colonized groups of people in the museum can become a politicized undertaking (Message 2015). By letting go of exclusivity and traditional canons of specialist ideas, collaborating groups can share the commitment to practice reciprocal work agreeing to assume risks by respectfully taking novel positions and listening to innovative ideas. Collaborative groups should be founded on trust and understanding with the confidence that mistakes will be made and that those mistakes can be freely addressed with respect and civility (Marstine 2011; McKenna-Cress and Kamien 2013).

Transparency, accountability, collaboration and inclusion of Native voices are not the entirety of actions necessary to truly decolonize museum practice (Lonetree 2012). Once institutionalized into the daily practices of a museum, these methods can work by challenging the process of 'othering' as a means to the renegotiation of key museum relationships traditionally perceived as binary and polarizing: Museum Director or Curator – Support Staff; Museums – Descendant Communities; and Museum Staff – Publics (Marstine 2011).

CURATORS, AUTHORITY, AND COLLABORATION: THAT WAS THEN, THIS IS NOW.

The definition of curator was ambiguous during the early years of the contemporary institution of museum. The idea of professionalizing the job of curator began in the late 19th to early 20th century. Early ideas of the qualities a curator must possess suggested the curator should preferably be male and "a well-educated generalist with some degree of inclination toward an area of specialism, who also possessed an expansive skill set that could be adapted to numerous aspects of the museum's organization and administration" (Norton-Westbrook 2015, 345). One of the first academic programs focused on professionally training curators was the Harvard University Museum Course developed, in 1921, by Paul Sachs, the teaching of which resulted "in the cultivation of a generation of influential directors and curators who rose to the helm of leadership in mid-century American art museums" (Norton-Westbrook 2015, 346). With the establishment of ICOM in 1946, the curator was expected to participate in a more outward facing public service role in addition to the inward facing role of scholar and subject matter expert. During the post-World War II era, three new professions developed in museums that had previously been the domain of the curator displacing curators from sole caretakers and authorities over collections: the registrar; conservator; and educator (Norton-Westbrook 2015). With social and political changes throughout the world in the 1960s, the role of specialist curator as museum authority came into sharper question. Norton Westbrook notes that the "understandings and expectations of the curator's role and purpose have been continually molded by relationships and negotiations both within and outside the museum" (2015, 348).

Twenty-first century curators have roles in the museum that overlap departments and disciplines. AAM's CurCom (Curatorial Committee) *Curatorial Code of Ethics* defines curators as "highly

knowledgeable, experienced, or educated in a discipline relevant to the museum's purpose or mission. Curatorial roles and responsibilities vary widely within the museum community and within the museum itself, and may also be fulfilled by staff members with other titles" (2009, 3). In 2015, AAM CurCom's Standing Committee on Ethics published the *Curator Core Competencies*, a guideline based on results of a museum survey administered by CurCom that expands beyond the ethical considerations outlined in the *Curatorial Code of Ethics*. The *Curator Core Competencies* increased the above definition of a curator "to state more definitively what curators *are* and what they *do* [adding that]. … Curators contribute meaningfully to philosophical issues that guide their institutions. Like all competence, curatorial competence is rooted in a meaningful sum of knowledge, experience, and skill" (2015b, 3).

AAM's Core Competencies for Curators identifies three foundational areas of the curatorial profession: preservation; research; and communications. Within these three areas are "nine core competencies and related applied skills" (AAM 2015b, 6):

Preservation: (1) collection planning, (2) collecting, (3) collection care

Research: (4) scholarly research, (5) object research, (6) applied research

Communication: (7) exhibition development, (8) education, (9) outreach and advocacy

In addition to the three core curatorial competencies are three curatorial "super competencies:" digital literacy; management / leadership; and sustainability. Curators are expected to understand and effectively use digital technology, digital communication venues, and establish digital asset management protocol and policies. The digital literacy "competency is a critical expectation that does not replace any other skill or knowledge area" (AAM 2015b, 7). Encompassing preservation, research, and communication, the management and leadership 'super competency' supports curators' roles as "positive representatives of the institutions and collections, dependable and trusted advisors for administrators and board members, and professional role models for staff members and aspiring curators" (AAM 2015b, 7). As stewards of the public trust, the 'super competency' of sustainability "informs how, where, and when curators preserve, research, communicate, and establish credibility with an informed public. Increasingly, sustainability must take into consideration limitations on growth and practicality of continuation" (AAM 2015b, 8). Twenty-first century "curators must be able to work and communicate within multiple publics, the digital landscape, and with other professionals to gather and disseminate data that aids the curatorial process" (AAM 2015b).

Curators may also be involved in or, based on the size of the museum, completely responsible for administration, fundraising, marketing, and educational programs (AAM 2009, 2015b; Norton-Westbrook

2015). Curators are expected to know the cultures of communities associated with the museum and its collections (AAM 2015b). The 19th century notion of "specialist scholar-curators with independence delighting in, though not always sharing, their knowledge of what they keep" (Arnold 2015, 321) has been replaced with new career definitions that require curators to proactively engage with communities, share knowledge and authority, facilitate dialogues, innovate, create, collaborate, advocate, raise funds, and more as needed (AAM 2015b; Arnold 2015; Norton-Westbrook 2015). Above all, curators have roles of authority within the museum and out in the community. With authority comes responsibility.

The move towards transparency, reciprocity, and accountability in the museum field has caused tension for some in the curatorial profession who "fear that efforts to champion inclusivity and collaboration may come at the expense of an appreciation of a curator's expertise and knowledge" (Norton-Westbrook 2015, 348–49). Direct engagement with Indigenous descendant communities by museum curators and staff on a collaborative level is important to creating climates of reciprocity and shared authority and guardianship (Smith 2012; Duarte and Belarde-Lewis 2015; Message 2015). Sharing is part of decolonizing because "to have something worth sharing gives dignity to the giver. To accept a gift and reciprocate gives dignity to the receiver. To create something new through that process of sharing is to recreate the old, to reconnect relationships and to recreate our humanness" (Lonetree 2012, 174–75).

Shared guardianship extends to the museum having Indigenous descendant community-based conversations and including Indigenous Peoples in decision making on Indigenous cataloging nomenclature that honors the fluidity and complexity of objects as well as representing hundreds of Indigenous knowledge systems, and co-creating collections management policies related to Indigenous descendant community heritage objects (Marstine 2011; Duarte and Belarde-Lewis 2015). While this is a noble endeavor, mainstream museums must remember that collaborative cataloging processes that are part of decolonizing work also represent 500 years of subjugated history and its painful legacy for both the Indigenous (infinitely more so) and non-Indigenous project members (Duarte and Belarde-Lewis 2015). Structured collections management policies that incorporate transparency in cataloging practices provide scaffolding to both Indigenous and non-Indigenous project participants.

Duarte and Belarde-Lewis propose using the five stages of the "technique of imagining" to decolonize museum cataloging systems and digital repositories (2015, 688):

1. Understand how colonization works.
2. Identify means to decolonize.
3. Spread awareness of Indigenous epistemologies.
4. Build deep domain knowledge.
5. Design experimental systems [and] theory.

Building deep domain knowledge involves the use of "stories and storywork [which] provide the clues as to the dimensions of the ontological universe at play around Indigenous documents and knowledge artifacts" (Duarte and Belarde-Lewis 2015, 695). "Identifying Indigenous epistemic partners, those community members with deep domain knowledge—is integral to the design of Indigenous ontologies, definition of user needs, and training of non-Indigenous knowledge organization personnel" (Duarte and Belarde-Lewis 2015, 694). Collaborative cataloging projects between mainstream museums and Indigenous knowledge keepers need to include experimenting with new design systems that incorporate "Native systems of knowledge in context" from the beginning of project planning (Duarte and Belarde-Lewis 2015, 699). Such approaches facilitate the flow of information between Indigenous and non-Indigenous repositories of knowledge and respect restrictions placed on collections knowledge by Indigenous descendant communities.

Organizations such as the Association of Tribal Archives, Libraries, and Museums (ATALM), provide training and education to tribal archives, libraries, and museums (TALMs) as well as help to support collaborative endeavors between tribal and non-tribal cultural institutions that are relevant to "developing and sustaining the cultural sovereignty of Native Nations" (ATALM 2018). The National Association of Tribal Historic Preservation Officers (NATHPO) administers the National Native Museum Training Program (NNMTP) developed in response to a 2003 IMLS study, *Tribal Museums in America*, which found that "most tribal museums…have few resources available for professional development" (NATHPO 2018). NNMTP "provides … training and leadership opportunities specifically designed for tribal members [and] current and future tribal museum personnel and other tribal government officials who support tribal museums" (NATHPO 2018). Both the ATALM and NATHPO NNMTP training programs are primarily supported through IMLS grants and contribute to collaborative decolonizing efforts between Indigenous descendant communities and mainstream museums.

The Indian Arts Research Center (IARC) and the School for Advanced Research (SAR) have created guidelines for collaboration between non-Indigenous museums and Indigenous descendant communities. This three-year project was funded by the Anne Ray Charitable Trust with support from the National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI) and created deliverables consisting of two documents, one for museums and descendant communities and one for descendant communities and museums, as well as a website that explains what Indigenous descendant communities can expect and Indigenous Peoples rights during collaborative engagements with non-Indigenous museums (IARC 2018a). The *Museum + Community: Guidelines for Collaboration* explains protocols, the importance of listening to and learning from Indigenous descendant community representatives, flexibility, respecting the authority of descendant community representatives, understanding that museums and descendant communities have differing views

on collections and museums, documentation after the collaboration, and considerations for other outcomes. The guide defines collaboration and explains why museums should work with descendant communities (IARC 2018b, 2):

> **Collaboration**
>
> True collaboration does not happen immediately—it is process driven and takes time and commitment. The specific manner in which you collaborate will be unique to your museum, the community, and the project. Do not confuse collaboration with a single invitation to view or comment on collections, or to rubber-stamp exhibition content. Collaboration is about sharing both authority and decision-making and includes cooperative planning, definition of outcomes and roles, task accountability, transparent budget discussions, and a clear structure for communication.
>
> **Why work with communities?**
>
> Museums can serve as valuable resources for communities. In addition, museum professionals' increased recognition of the value in working with communities has generated better practices. Myriad case studies exemplify successful processes that have led to meaningful collaborations (see "Case Studies"). Collaboration enables the museum to better document the context, meaning, and contemporary relevance of collections. In addition to providing enhanced understanding, a collaborative process improves the accuracy of museum records, thereby allowing for more-informed curation, conservation, and collections management as well as the development of appropriate programming and projects.
>
> Collaboration can have a profound impact on museum staff; the experience can change the way you work with and view the collections you steward. Museum staff often recognize the value of their work when they witness the impact it has on communities.

The *Community + Museum: Guidelines for Collaboration* provides a glossary of museum terms and materials; describes the potential benefits of collaborating with museums; what to expect when working with a museum including the types of work spaces in museums; roles of museum staff; questions descendant community representatives may wish to ask; what happens during a visit to collaborate; rights of descendant community participants; and various outcomes the collaboration may lead to for the community. The guide explains why Indigenous descendant communities may wish to work with museums (IARC 2016, 1):

> **Why work with museums and collections?**
>
> Museums can serve as valuable resources for communities, and many museums are collaborating with community members to improve their understanding of and care for collections through

> meaningful engagement. In recent years, some communities have established long-term relationships with museums that have provided opportunities for enhancing their own initiatives, while also providing guidance on collections stewardship. Ultimately, community members determine when and how they wish to interact with museums. Providing communities with access to collections is a fundamental responsibility of museums—and access to collections from your community is your right.

Decolonizing Museums: Ethical Practice and Accountability

At the heart of management challenges for mainstream museums are efforts to redefine the social role of museums. It is necessary for leadership at all levels of the museum and its governance body to implement change that reflects and cultivates the social justice agenda of decolonizing the institution of museum. Institutionalizing staff structures that lead with social inclusion and diversity initiatives includes investing in training and development of staff and board (Fleming 2012) to become 'practitioner activists' in the movement to decolonize (Waziyatawin and Yellow Bird 2005). An integral decolonizing approach involves shifting beyond iterative collaborations between the mainstream museum and Indigenous descendant community representatives and institutionalizing Indigenous ways of knowing and approaches to research into the museum's policy and practice (Kovach 2010; Lonetree 2012; Smith 2012). This can be accomplished through creating or redefining key staff positions and hiring Indigenous persons from associated descendant communities, as well as diversifying board membership and/or creating new advisory boards comprised completely of Indigenous descendant community members (AAM 2010; Bennett et al. 2017). Institutionalizing standards, policies, and codes of ethics with zero-tolerance towards racism and discrimination also promotes social and professional inclusion and collaboration. Institutionalizing decolonizing policies and practices increases management buy-in to support collaborative, social justice work inside and outside of the museum (Fleming 2012).

Transparency includes transparency in ethical discourse and recognition that codes of ethics provide an opportunity for growth as opposed to simply constraints on behavior. Visionary and proactive leadership works to create opportunities to share ethical challenges and opportunities with diverse groups of people within both internal and external museum cultures (Marstine 2011; Fleming 2012). Such an approach helps all involved understand and address the larger patterns of behavior inherent in the colonizer-colonized relationship, encourages problem solving and builds trust (Marstine 2011). Another important element of transparency related to visionary leadership, and potentially one of the most significant, is creating accountability through collaboratively developing processes for negotiations around competing claims to objects or knowledge. This can be accomplished through development of institutionalized policies, processes, and practices which help to nurture and sustain understandings

between museums and Indigenous descendant communities (Marstine 2011; Fleming 2012). There are several professional organizations that provide valuable resources towards these ends.

The International Council of Museums (ICOM) is the leading worldwide museum professional and advocacy organization. ICOM states in its mission to "work for society and its development" and maintains a commitment "to ensuring the conservation, and protection of cultural goods" (ICOM 2018a). ICOM, in partnership with other global organizations (UNESCO, Interpol, and the World Customs Organization (WCO)) works internationally in four main areas: "fighting the illicit traffic of cultural goods; risk management; cultural and knowledge promotion; and the protection of tangible and intangible heritage" (ICOM 2018a). Establishing and maintaining standards of excellence for the international museum community is one of ICOM's main activities.

The *ICOM Code of Ethics for Museums* was revised in 2004 after its adoption in 1986 when its development was catalyzed by the 1970 UNESCO Convention. It has been translated to 38 languages and is published in ICOM's three official languages: English, French, and Spanish (ICOM 2017). Organizations joining ICOM agree to abide by the *ICOM Code of Ethic*s. INTERCOM Management is the ICOM International Committee for Museum Management and is responsible for monitoring ICOM member application of the *ICOM Code of Ethics*. INTERCOM primarily focuses on "the managerial aspects of policy formulation, legislation and resource management" (ICOM 2018b). While the entire code of ethics relates to all internal and external groups and communities associated with museums, some sections hold special relevance for Indigenous Peoples descendant communities, particularly those sections related to the acquisition, display, interpretation, storage, collections access, and handling of tangible and intangible cultural heritage (ICOM 2017).

Like ICOM, the American Alliance of Museums (AAM) is a professional organization that leads in developing field-wide standards, best practices, and ethics codes (AAM 2000, 2005; Merritt 2008; AAM 2009). The AAM's *Code of Ethics for Museums* focuses on three key areas: Governance, Collections, and Programming (AAM 2000). AAM provides valuable resources to the United States and international museum communities through its Continuum of Excellence (AAM 2018a) and Museum Assessment Program (MAP), funded by the Institute of Museum and Library Services (IMLS) and administered by AAM as part of IMLS' National Leadership program (AAM 2018d). The Continuum of Excellence and MAP are precursor programs for museums to achieve AAM Accreditation. Part of achieving AAM Accreditation is developing a set of Core Documents (AAM 2018b). To that end, one of the resources available to museums seeking accreditation is AAM's *Guide to Developing an Institutional Code of Ethics*. This document "reflects national standards and is in line with the requirements of the Alliance's Core

Documents Verification and Accreditation programs" and explains what an institutional code of ethics is and the values associated with it (AAM 2012, 1).

AAM recently drafted special considerations for MAP peer reviews of Tribal museums (AAM 2018e). AAM provides guidelines for etiquette, outlines the concept of decolonization, and explains some "foundational differences" between mainstream and tribal museums accompanied by a chart showing distinctions between operational areas in Tribal and mainstream museums (see Appendix A). AAM recognizes the relationship history between museums and Indigenous Peoples as a power dynamic and therefore subject to mistrust (AAM 2018e).

AAM also supports professional networks, and provides grants, awards, and competitions designed to promote excellence in the museum field. Such efforts are designed to "promote interdisciplinary exchange of ideas and best practices" and help create accountability and sustainability practices in the museum field (AAM 2015a). The AAM Indigenous Peoples Museum Network (IPMN) was established to (AAM 2018c):

- Increase communication, collaboration and the diffusion of information among museum professionals on issues related to Indigenous peoples and museums;
- Support Indigenous peoples working in museums and museums working with Indigenous peoples;
- Convene annually at the American Alliance of Museums national conference;
- Promote program sessions at AAM.

Grant programs offered by IMLS benefit both Native American tribal museums and libraries and mainstream museums and many promote actively working to facilitate diversity, inclusion, and collaborative partnerships between Tribal and non-tribal museums. Actively engaged in the museum and library community, IMLS's mission "is to advance, support, and empower America's museums, libraries, and related organizations through grantmaking, research, and policy development" (IMLS 2018a). IMLS also provides research and evaluation resources and support to libraries and museums (IMLS 2018b).

NATHPO published an important working guide, *Tribal Consultation: Best Practices in Historic Preservation*, which was the outcome of a study based on a survey of consultation experiences of Tribes and Federal Agency participants. The guide describes best practices that emerged for consultation based on the study, as well as model protocol steps for relationship building which can be adapted to collaborative work in mainstream museums. Some highlights of survey results suggest (NATHPO 2005, 42):

- There are efficiencies in project development and execution to be gained from the employment of an Agency Tribal Liaison who works with a THPO;

- Involvement of Tribes by Agencies early in the planning process is critical for smooth and orderly development of the project and timely execution of the project;
- A meeting without a previously disclosed agenda is not a consultation;
- A meeting where a participant is not informed prior to the meeting of the project specifics, including the project scope and areas of potential impact, is not a consultation;
- Meaningful consultation is predicated on informed participants;
- Consultation is an interaction and exchange of ideas that seeks to develop a mutually agreeable plan;
- Mutual respect and understanding of concerns is of prime importance to Tribes and Agencies when engaging in consultation;
- Good process lasts beyond individual personal relationships, even though the latter may have initially opened the door to communication.

The overlap and interaction between the organizations reviewed above contribute to a global network that provides support for the professional mainstream and Tribal museum communities. Codes of ethics, standards, and best practices are designed to operate in tandem with the law. Euro-American law typically defines "tangible representations of human activity" when working with the concept of cultural resources (Tsosie 1997, 5). This is codified in the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) and the Archaeological Resources Protection Act (ARPA), which both consider the cultural resources of the United States to be the American Nation's common heritage (Tsosie 1997; NPS DOI 2005; NPS 2018a). The Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA), 1990, the first legal statute that tries to respect Native American belief systems while providing the legal means to enforce claims to tangible cultural property made by Native American tribes. This is significant because the law under NAGPRA attempts to recognize the communal property system of many Native American tribes (Tsosie 1997; NPS 2018b).

The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on September 13, 2007. Article 31 states "indigenous peoples have the right to maintain, control, protect, and develop their cultural heritage, traditional knowledge and traditional cultural expressions" as well as "the right to maintain, control, protect and develop their intellectual property over such cultural heritage, traditional knowledge, and traditional cultural expression" (United Nations 2017). The Resolution was officially supported by the United States under signature of President Obama on December 16, 2010 (see Appendix A) (U.S. Department of State 2010). However, there are not strong legal protections for intangible cultural heritage, or traditional knowledge. "Traditional knowledge (TK) is knowledge, know-how, skills and practices that are developed, sustained and passed on

from generation to generation within a community, often forming part of its cultural or spiritual identity" (WIPO 2018b).

In 2007, at the 22nd General Assembly of ICOM, a resolution was passed in support of working together with other organizations, specifically the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO), to protect intangible cultural heritage and its use by museums (ICOM 2007). In 2011, a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) was signed between ICOM and WIPO in preparation to "collaborate on the management of intellectual property issues…in particular, copyright issues, traditional cultural knowledge and expression, and the digitization of cultural heritage" (ICOM 2011). WIPO was established in 1967 by the WIPO Convention and is "a self-funding agency of the United Nations, with 191 member states," its mission "to lead the development of a balanced and effective international intellectual property (IP) system that enables innovation and creativity for the benefit of all" (WIPO 2018a). The WIPO Intergovernmental Committee (IGC) on Intellectual Property and Genetic Resources, Traditional Knowledge and Folklore established in 2000, has been working on draft articles since 2005 to develop international legal instruments that protect Indigenous cultural heritage (WIPO 2015, 2017b, 2017c). The General Assembly intends to review the maturity of the draft articles and decide on the convening of a diplomatic conference to determine whether they are ready to enter the legislative process (WIPO 2017a). The United States joined WIPO as a member state in 1970.

Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed literature with an attempt to provide a rounded narrative on the importance of collaborative work between museums and Indigenous descendant communities that goes beyond one-off 'collaborations' designed to benefit only the mainstream museum. Through the lens of Indigenous Peoples writings on the topics of sharing authority, research, and collaborative undertakings between mainstream museums and Indigenous Peoples, the literature reviewed here uncovers the need for continued, more intensive, fully collaborative decolonizing work in museums. Museums are institutions with the power to facilitate cultural and societal change. Decolonizing is social justice work that requires dedication, institutionalized policies, standards, and ethical codes that support such work.

It is important to keep at the forefront of all intention that every choice made by or through museums is a "subjective" creation of one or more people and contributes to shaping the cultures inside and outside of the museum (Worts and O'Neill 2012). "Rather than the manufactured clash of civilizations," as Said wrote in the final paragraphs of his final Preface (1979, xxii):

> we need to concentrate on the slow working together of cultures that overlap, borrow from each other, and live together in far more interesting ways than any abridged or inauthentic mode of

> understanding can allow. But for that kind of wider perception, we need time and patient and skeptical inquiry, supported by faith in communities of interpretation that are difficult to sustain in a world demanding instant action and reaction.

Museums and professional organizations must continue to work to break down silo walls between departments, find new ways to look at knowing and doing the old ways of knowing and doing—improving, keeping or discarding as appropriate—and share ideas and knowledge in order to foster a more humane culture locally and globally (Worts and O'Neill 2012). "The purpose of decolonization is to create space in everyday life, research, academia, and society for an Indigenous perspective without it being neglected, shunted aside, mocked, or dismissed" (Kovach 2010, 85). Message argues "that cultural and individual recognition, access, equity, and the assertion of political as well as human rights are principles that have become central to museum discourse" (2015, 253). Collaborative work is founded on iterative processes and the outcomes of these processes are important fundamental tools for furthering the work of social justice. Working with holistic intentionality as a 'practitioner activist' each day to decolonize museums contributes to the global betterment of humanity.

4. Methods

Introduction and Methodological Approach

In this thesis, the topic of decolonizing practices in museums is analyzed through the lens of curatorial processes working with descendant communities. The approaches and techniques used to develop and implement successful exhibitions, programs and outreach initiatives in collaboration with descendant communities are explored. The focal question in this thesis investigates how museum curators are working together with descendant communities to transform museum and descendant community relationship dynamics into positive, sustainable partnerships. As outlined below, additional questions stemming from the focal question are explored and analyzed:

- What types of programming, outreach, and/or education related activities are museums using to promote internal and external efforts to work with descendant communities and create positive change?
- What role do curators play in establishing and developing lasting relationships with descendant communities associated with their museums' collections?
- In what ways are descendant communities involved with collections preservation practices for objects associated with their communities?
- How and in what ways are descendant communities involved when curators and museum staff are developing and implementing exhibitions, programming, and other outreach initiatives related to them?
- How have descendant communities' art and cultural heritage been exhibited and interpreted in the past by the museum?
- In what ways are these exhibition and interpretation outcomes different after the museum works collaboratively with descendant communities?
- What approaches are museums and descendant communities using to cultivate ongoing, sustainable, measurable programs and relationships as a result of prior collaboration projects?
- Are these outcomes leveraged to create opportunities for all stakeholders in museums' communities? Why or why not?

As discussed below, many of these questions were also examined in case studies and integrated into the content expert interview questionnaire. Important goals of this thesis were to examine developing trends and highlight emerging and maturing methods being used in the field in order to offer recommendations for improving best practices and standards. Indigenous descendant communities are increasingly involved in curatorial processes related to exhibition and public program development and implementation, collections preservation decisions, and outreach initiatives relevant to museums' art and cultural heritage collections associated with their communities. To examine the topic of how curators are

working to decolonize curatorial practices within museums, a mixed methods approach with an emphasis on qualitative research and descriptive analysis was designed to foster a holistic, iterative process of learning supportive of the subjective nature of relationship building (Figure 4.1).

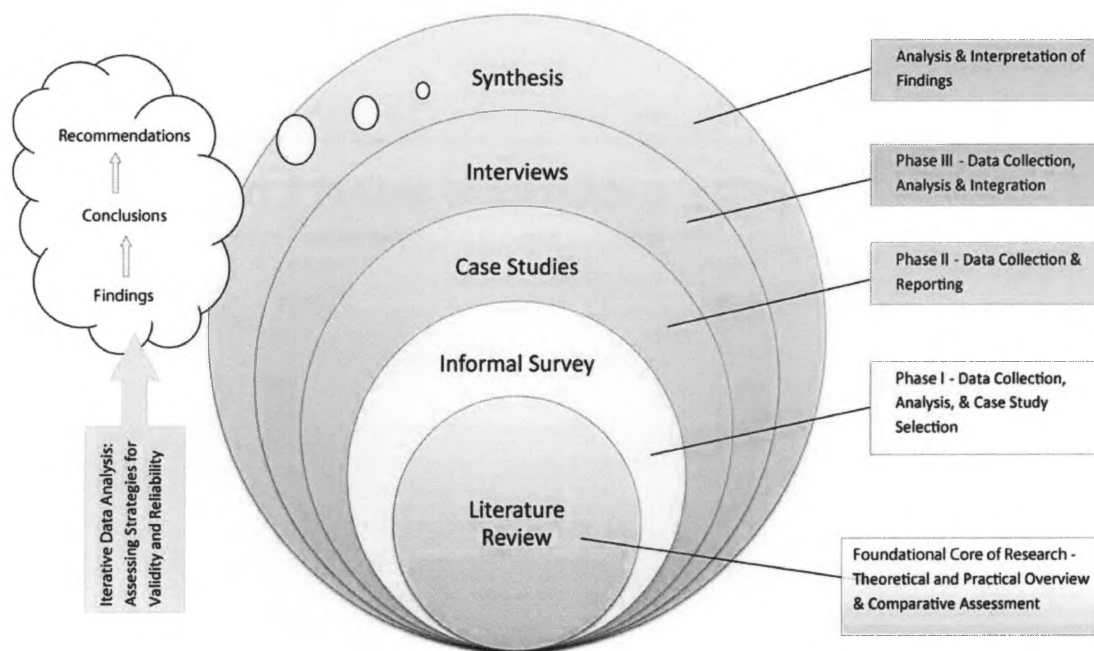


Figure 4.1: *Research Design: Adapted from Bloomberg and Volpe 2012.*

To examine decolonizing curatorial processes in museums, a literature review, an informal museum website survey of museums in western North America, and three case studies, which included interviews with content experts were conducted as outlined below.

Literature Review

In order to critically analyze and develop a conceptual framework for this research project, a comprehensive literature review was conducted in two chapters. The first part of the literature review, chapter 2, *Colonialism, Museums, and Descendant Communities*, introduced the problem through a brief historical overview of ways colonizing and 'othering' practices migrated from the Western European mindset to the Americas. Focus was placed on the experiences of Native Americans and the exploitation of their tangible and intangible heritage in the United States by Euro-Americans. The concept of connections

between anthropology, racism, world's fairs, and the use of museums as socio-political vehicles for promoting colonial ideologies to the general public was introduced.

The second part of the literature review in chapter 3, *Museums, Descendant Communities, and Decolonizing Museums*, focused on the broader research questions of this thesis and explored foundations for change based on theory and practice in three areas: challenges faced and approaches being taken by descendant communities, curators, and other museum staff to decolonize the institution, including the role of research; the changing role of the curator and the museum as social institution and healing space; and an overview of legislation, ethical practices, and standards in the field addressing the legacies of colonialism in museums.

The literature review informed decision making for choosing and implementing specific data collection and analysis methodologies. As a result, six key concepts were identified for decolonizing museums: accountability; sustainability; transparency; inclusivity; reciprocity; and innovation (discussed in chapter 9, Figure 9.1). These six key concepts were used as a basis for analysis of the data collected from the informal museum website survey in Chapter 5.

INFORMAL MUSEUM WEBSITE SURVEY

An informal museum website survey of 99 American Alliance of Museum (AAM) Accredited museums in western North America was conducted using criterion sampling, stratified purposeful sampling, and intensity sampling to identify museums with Indigenous descendant communities associated with their collections (2015a). The website survey was used in part to conceptualize the current state of decolonizing practice in the museum field. A base sample of over 3,000 museums, museum societies, and associate groups in North America was obtained using the Institute of Museum and Library Services (IMLS) *Museum Universe Data File* (MUDF) (IMLS 2018c). Museums in the initial IMLS MUDF sample were cross-checked with the AAM for accreditation status and the sample size was refined to AAM Accredited museums in the AAM western region (AAM 2015a). This information was used in conjunction with contextual data obtained from the AAM Accredited museums' websites during the informal museum website survey to ascertain the level at which the six key concepts identified through the literature reviews, listed above, were met for museums in the sample.

The methods of data collection, evaluation, and analysis of the results of the informal museum website survey were detailed in Chapter 5. The results of the informal museum website survey were analyzed further using criterion sampling and intensity sampling to contribute to data used in choosing case study museums relevant to the topic of this thesis (Bloomberg and Volpe 2012). Figure 4.2 illustrates the

key purposeful sampling strategies employed for the informal website survey and case study selection (Bloomberg and Volpe 2012):

Informal Museum Website Survey	**Case Studies (from survey results and literature reviews)**
Criterion Sampling – participants must meet one or more criteria	*Criterion Sampling* – participants must meet one or more criteria
Stratified Purposeful Sampling – illustrates subgroups and facilitates comparisons among them	*Intensity Sampling* – seek information-rich cases manifesting phenomena(on) intensely, but not extremely

Figure 4.2: Key Purposeful Sampling Strategies for Informal Museum Website Survey and Case Study Selection. Adapted from Bloomberg and Volpe 2012.

Case Studies and Interviews

Three museum case studies were chosen from the informal museum website survey results presented in the next chapter: the Burke Museum in Seattle, Washington; the San Diego Museum of Man in Balboa Park, San Diego, California; and the Portland Art Museum in Portland, Oregon. In each case study chapter, a general overview of the museum was provided relating to the focus of the museum, its location, size of collections associated with Indigenous descendant communities, any unique features, and the nature of exhibits and programs. The mission and/or vision statements were reviewed along with the history of the museum and its colonial beginnings. Throughout each case study, a more in-depth examination was made into exhibitions, programs, and activities connected to the topic of working with descendant communities in relation to the literature review findings.

Content experts at each case study museum were identified as interview candidates based on their role as either director or curator, their biographies, descriptions of their involvement with Indigenous descendant communities, and their professional association with the Indigenous descendant community collections as mentioned on the museum's website. Interview results were integrated into the case study chapters to illustrate current practices at each case study museum.

Each content expert was contacted initially by email to request an in-person interview appointment. A summarized description of the research was provided at the time of first contact. After obtaining agreement from the content experts to be interviewed, the researcher traveled to each museum to perform in-person interviews. Three content experts and associated members of their staff in two out of the

three cases were interviewed concerning curatorial and associated staff processes surrounding working with descendant communities. The same set of open-ended questions developed specifically for this project were used for each interview. All interviews were undertaken to augment the contextual findings of each case study. While at each museum, the researcher requested and was granted verbal permission to visit and photograph galleries exhibiting descendant community cultural heritage objects and contemporary art to be used as discussion points in this thesis.

The first case study focused on the Burke Museum. Kathryn Bunn-Marcuse, PhD, Curator of Northwest Native Art, and Director of the Bill Holm Center was identified at the Burke Museum as an interview candidate based on her record of involvement with Indigenous descendant communities in the Pacific Northwest and her knowledge of Northwest Native Art. Dr. Bunn-Marcuse selected two Bill Holm Center staff members, Bridget Johnson, MA, Assistant Director for the Bill Holm Center, and Justin McCarthy, Bill Holm Center Collections Outreach Coordinator, to participate in the interview because of their extensive, long-term involvement with associated Indigenous descendant communities. The group interview took place in-person at the Burke Museum on August 23, 2016.

The second case study focused on the Portland Art Museum. Curator of Native American Art, Deana Dartt, PhD, was interviewed in-person on September 8, 2016 at the Portland Art Museum. The interview occurred one week prior to her resignation from the Portland Art Museum, which she took in order "to focus on expanding her work examining how art, history, and anthropology institutions incorporate Native voices [and on] completing her book [on the same topic], *Negotiating the Master Narrative*, to be published by the University of Nebraska Press," and on her family (Portland Art Museum 2016k). Dr. Dartt was chosen as an interview candidate specifically because of her focus on this specialized topic. Dr. Dartt chose to extend her interview time with the researcher. Native American art galleries were visited by the researcher after the interview.

The third case study focused on the San Diego Museum of Man. In the case of the San Diego Museum of Man, the researcher had previously met the Deputy Director, Ben Garcia, MS Ed., at previous professional museum conferences. Being aware of Mr. Garcia's immediate involvement with decolonizing processes at the San Diego Museum of Man, the researcher chose to initiate contact with Mr. Garcia directly to request an interview with him and/or appropriate staff members. Deputy Director, Ben Garcia, MS Ed., and the Director of Collections, Kelly Hyberger, MA, were formally interviewed on July 12, 2016 at the San Diego Museum of Man. A little over half the interview was completed in-person. Mr. Garcia had an unexpected appointment overlapping the originally scheduled time for the interview and a follow-up interview by phone was conducted on September 27, 2018 to complete the last section of the questionnaire. At the San Diego Museum of Man, the Director of Collections, Kelly Hyberger, MA and Lael Hoff,

Collections Manager NAGPRA, met with the researcher and gave an overview of a specific decolonizing project they were working on in the galleries.

Prior to visiting the case study sites, a questionnaire was designed for interviewing curatorial content experts on the topic of this research. The same interview questionnaire and protocol was used at each of the three content expert interviews to ensure integrity and consistency in data collection (full text of the interview questionnaire and protocol, Appendix E). The information gained through these interviews provided descriptions and examples of real-time practices being undertaken and instituted at these sites in relation to decolonizing the case study museums. Additionally, each case study museum's approach to working collaboratively with descendant communities was analyzed through the lens of curatorial processes using open-ended questions.

Seventeen questions were developed and three key areas were identified related to working with descendant communities associated with a museum's collections: first, developing programs, initiatives, and relationships; second, implementing programs, initiatives, and relationships; and third, evaluating programs, initiatives, and relationships. Each interview lasted one to two hours including facility tours.

Part I of the interview questionnaire consisted of six questions and was designed to examine reciprocity, inclusivity, sustainability, and innovation (four of the six key concepts identified in the literature review) in creating these relationships. The questions sought to discover frequency of meetings and timelines needed when working collaboratively with descendant communities, which types of interactions seem to work best to develop sustainable relationships with descendant communities, and how internal involvement at the museum from members of descendant communities helps relationships between the museum and descendant communities develop.

Part I: Developing Programs, Initiatives, and Relationships with Descendant Communities

1. When did your unit / department / team first develop a relationship with (the) descendant community(ies)?
2. How many interactions did your unit / department / team have in developing the relationship?
3. Are members of (the) descendant community(ies) affiliated with the institution and if so in what capacity?
4. What kinds of interactions did your unit / department have in developing the relationship?
5. Is the planning process when working with (the) descendant community(ies) different than it is when working with other community stakeholders in the area of developing exhibit development and installation, and public programming?

Part II of the interview questionnaire consisted of five questions and was designed to determine sustainability, inclusivity, transparency, and accountability (four of the six key concepts identified in the

literature review). The questions sought to discover levels of institutional involvement, interdepartmental cooperation, financial support, and partnership with descendant communities in regards to instituting internal and external practices that decolonize the museum.

Part II: Implementing Programs, Initiatives, and Relationships with Descendant Communities

6. In your museum's initiatives with (the) descendant community(ies), how are the museum's mission and vision statements integrated into programs and activities?
7. Is the process when working with (the) descendant community(ies) different than it is when working with other community stakeholders when implementing exhibitions, programs, and outreach initiatives?
8. How do different museum units / departments / teams work together when creating exhibitions, programming, and outreach initiatives that involve (the) descendant community(ies)?
9. How are descendant community(ies) involved in exhibition implementation and public programming?
10. Are permanent initiatives, such as programs, implemented as a result of partnering with (the) descendant community(ies) to create exhibitions and related programming associated with the descendant community(ies)?
11. How are relationships maintained between the museum and (the) descendant community(ies)?

Part III of the interview questionnaire consisted of six questions and was designed to measure accountability, transparency, sustainability, innovation, reciprocity, and inclusivity approaches (six of the six key concepts identified in the literature review) of the museum. The questions sought to discover the levels at which each museum is using evaluation research and results to inform collaborative work practices with Indigenous descendant communities. These questions were also used to determine the level of sharing evaluation results with all museum stakeholders and what effect this may have on future development and implementation of programs, outreach initiatives, and relationship cultivation with descendant communities.

Part III: Evaluating Programs, Initiatives, and Relationships with Descendant Communities

12. In what ways does the museum evaluate its exhibitions and public programs created with (the) descendant communities(ies)?
13. Are these methods any different than those used for exhibitions, programming, and outreach initiatives that don't involve partnering with descendant community(ies)?
14. Does the museum hire outside evaluators, use in-house staff to develop and oversee the evaluation protocol and implementation, or a combination of the two when evaluating exhibitions, programs, and outreach initiatives involving partnering with the descendant community(ies)?
15. What are the outcomes of these evaluations?

16. In what ways do museum staff and (the) descendant community(ies) use the evaluation results to continue to develop and implement exhibitions, programs, and outreach initiatives?
17. Are these evaluation methods used for all exhibitions, programs, and outreach initiatives or just for evaluating those resulting from partnering with descendant community(ies)?

SUMMARY

In sum, this thesis took a mixed methods approach that was primarily qualitative using exploratory and explanatory research with five main components to arrive at and support the conclusions and recommendations in the final chapter of this thesis. Primary and secondary research questions were developed based on the researcher's professional knowledge and prior studies of literature in anthropology, archaeology, and museology. With these questions as guides, a comprehensive literature review was conducted in chapters 2 and 3 focusing on three key areas.

Chapter 2 examined the legacies of colonialism in the museum field to provide a background of the issue. Chapter 3 reviewed the law, ethics, standards, and best practices currently used in the museum field to provide a foundational structure for practical recommendations. Additionally, chapter 3 integrated both challenges faced and successful approaches taken by descendant communities and curators towards decolonizing the institution of museum.

Next, a methodical informal survey of museum websites was undertaken in Chapter 5 to assess institutional response to decolonizing the museum and provide the basis for choosing comparative case studies that illustrate museums successfully meeting these challenges. The case studies were chosen from the website survey based on their rankings resulting from coding and textual analysis of the survey questions using criterion sampling, stratified purposeful sampling, and intensity sampling. From the original sample of 99 AAM Accredited museums in the western United States, three different types of museums—anthropology, natural history/history, and art—were chosen as comparative case study candidates. Interviews with content experts at each case study museum were scheduled and conducted. In the next chapter, the informal museum website survey methods and results are detailed and analyzed in order to illustrate how the selection of the comparative case studies was finalized.

Following chapter 5, the three case studies are presented along with the interview results with content experts at each institution. Chapter 6 examines the Bill Holm Center at the Burke Museum in Seattle, Washington. Next, the Portland Art Museum in Portland, Oregon is examined in Chapter 7. In Chapter 8, the San Diego Museum of Man in Balboa Park, San Diego, California is examined. In all case study chapters, select observations of the researcher's visits to galleries exhibiting cultural heritage objects, art, and contemporary art are presented.

The last chapter of the thesis is chapter 9, in which the literature review findings and the case studies and interviews are discussed. Key findings based on this information are presented with conclusions and recommendations to the field.

5. Informal Museum Website Survey

Overview, Scope, and Reasoning

The purpose of the museum website survey was to discover—using a regional representative data sample—to what extent museums state on their websites they are working with associated Indigenous descendant communities, and to determine which museums would make the most appropriate case studies. For the informal museum website survey and its resulting case study selection, the focus was narrowed to Region 6 (Western States: Alaska, Arizona, California, Hawaii, Idaho, Nevada, Oregon, Utah, and Washington) AAM Accredited museums holding collections associated with Native American descendant communities.

All data collection for the informal museum website survey was conducted solely by the researcher. No individuals were asked to answer the questions on the informal museum website survey. The informal museum website survey was used in two ways. First, the survey (Appendix E) was used as a way to learn, through analysis of a regional representative sample, the extent to which museums indicate on their websites they are working with Native American descendant communities.

Second, the results of the survey were used to identify potential museums as candidates for case studies. Throughout the data analysis process criterion sampling, stratified purposeful sampling, and intensity sampling strategies (Figure 4.2) were used to filter to the final selection of case studies.

Data Collection Strategies and Protocol

First level stratified purposeful sampling consisted of gathering data for 99 AAM Accredited museums from AAM's Region 6 (AAM 2015a). In order to obtain the listing, first the Institute of Museum and Library Sciences (IMLS) Museum Universe Data File (MUDF) for November 2015 was accessed, reviewed, and downloaded. The IMLS MUDF data on museum name, website URL, city, state, museum type, IRS Business Master File Income Code, National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) Urban-Centric Locale Code, and income and revenue, was extracted for use in the level one data set. The data from IRS Income Code, NCES Locale Code, and income and revenue was collected to gain a general understanding of the demographics of the museums' communities (IMLS 2015c).

The second step in creating the sample data set was to use AAM's database of museums and to download into an Excel spreadsheet each museum name, city, and state for each AAM Region 6. Next, the listing of AAM Accredited museums was downloaded from AAM's website during May, 2016 and coded for each museum in Region 6 based on AAM Accreditation, AAM Core Documents Verified, and whether or not they were listed as an AAM MAP Museum. Not all of the museums listed in the AAM database

Region 6 states were also listed as AAM Accredited, determined as the minimum screening criterion for inclusion in the sample data set.

The AAM Accredited filtered data set was combined with the aforementioned IMLS MUDF data set to create the first draft data set of AAM Accredited museums in Region 6. The first draft data set was further filtered using stratified purposeful sampling to remove museums or museum and/or historical societies and/or associations of types that do not traditionally maintain curated collections associated with Indigenous descendant communities. The resulting data set became the *Level One AAM Accredited Museums* data set containing 99 records, which was used as the master list for data collection.

The informal museum website survey questionnaire was created in a word processing program and then transferred to SurveyMonkey.com input screens in order to use a web-form data-input method. The use of the cloud-based application (SurveyMonkey 2016) as the vehicle for data collection allowed for direct capturing of all data directly to a spreadsheet, including the automatic generation of unique identification numbers for each museum in the data set. Additionally, the online application automatically populated the spreadsheet with data providing verification of single-user data collection for each record by identifying the IP address of the computer and coded email address of the SurveyMonkey.com account used by the researcher. The SurveyMonkey.com data-input web-form contained four sections. Only the questions in Sections I and II are listed below. For the entire survey with protocol, see Appendix E.

Skip logic was used in the SurveyMonkey.com data-input web-form, which caused the web application to advance to the end of the survey by screening out museums with input responses from the researcher that did not list any Indigenous descendant community collections in Part I. The skip logic was implemented again in Part II if the second screening criteria—mention on the museum's website of working with Indigenous descendant community(ies)—was not met, causing the survey software to automatically advance to the last input screen. Throughout the survey a mix of qualitative and quantitative data collection was used in the form of open-ended responses, "Yes/No/Alluded to" variables, and Likert Scale rating systems (R. A. Peterson 2000). Below, the questionnaire (Appendix E) used for the informal museum website survey data collection is outlined.

- Survey Date & Contact Information
- Section I - Screening Criteria: Museums must have collections related to associated descendant community(ies).
    4. Does the museum list collections that are related to associated descendant community(ies)? (Skip Logic: *If yes go to Section II, if no, go to Section III*).
- Section II – Substantive Questions Parts A, B, & C

Part A – Organization & Governance

5. Does the museum provide organizational information on its website?
6. Does the museum provide governance information on its website?

Part B – Institutional Culture

7. Does the museum post a Mission Statement on the website?
    - If yes, what is the Mission Statement?
8. Does the museum post its Vision Statement on the website?
    - If yes, what is the Vision Statement?
9. Does the museum mention (on its website) working with descendant community(ies) associated with its collections? (Skip Logic: *If yes, go to the next question. If no, go to Section III.)*
10. Does the museum state it does any of the following when working with descendant community(ies)?
    - Collaborate or Partner to Develop Exhibitions
    - Collaborate or Partner to Develop Public Programming
    - Cultivate Ongoing Relationships with Descendant Community(ies)
11. Are the museum's Mission and/or Vision Statements in alignment with working with descendant community(ies)? (1 = Very misaligned to 5 = Very Aligned).
12. Is special funding used for any of the following?
    - Exhibitions Involving Descendant Community(ies)
    - Public Programming Involving Descendant Community(ies)
    - Ongoing Relationship Development with Descendant Community(ies)

Part C – Evaluation & Reporting

13. Is there evidence the museum evaluates and/or reflects on its involvement with descendant community(ies)?
    - Internal Evaluation
    - External Evaluation
    - Published / Documented Results

- Section III - Additional Comments & Museum Demographics

There were three iterations of the website survey questionnaire. The first version proved to be inefficient and time consuming, taking over an hour to complete for each museum website surveyed. This was due to the original construction of questions and sub-questions for data collection in the first version. Although the second version removed redundant and unnecessary questions, it still proved to take more time than needed to complete for an informal survey (30-45 minutes per museum website). The third version was streamlined by combining like questions and/or sub-questions, retaining the same question content in order to arrive at the same expected answer sets. It proved to be an effective and efficient method of data collection, taking an average of 10 minutes to complete the survey per museum website. At no time were any new questions introduced into the survey. The three resulting sets of data from survey versions

one, two, and three were filtered to return records with selected criteria (discussed in detail below), then collected and combined into a master data spreadsheet for coding using the protocol from the final version of the survey.

DATA CODING, ANALYSES, AND RESULTS

The three SurveyMonkey.com data buckets representing the *Level One AAM Accredited Museums* data set were filtered sequentially in SurveyMonkey's "Analyze Results" feature (SurveyMonkey 2016) by the following questions. First, skip logic question number 3 (choices: Yes/No), which asked if the museum listed collections associated with Indigenous descendant communities, was filtered for the "Yes" response. Second, skip logic question number 8 (choices: Yes/No/Alluded to), which asked if the museum mentioned engagement with indigenous descendant communities, was filtered for the responses of "Yes" or "Alluded to." The resulting data set was further filtered for "Yes" or "Alluded to" responses to the three sub-questions of Question 9 (choices: Yes/No/Alluded), which asked if the museum mentioned any of the following on its website: collaborating or partnering with Indigenous descendant communities to develop exhibitions; collaborating or partnering with Indigenous descendant communities to develop public programming; and cultivating ongoing relationships with Indigenous descendant communities. The total data sample resulting from this set of filters was 47 museums and was labeled as the *Level Two AAM Accredited Museums* data set.

The *Level Two AAM Accredited Museums* data set was coded to analyze the data using quantitative and qualitative methods. The first coding session was divided into two categories and the results combined: first, coding for questions based on relevancy to the six key concepts to create positive change, and second, coding for questions related to the mission and vision statements. At the time of the website survey, the six key concepts were labeled as: sustainable; accountable/transparent; values driven; collaborative; innovative/experimental; and cultivate relationship. These were later refined during the analysis of data in this study to be respectively: sustainability; transparency; accountability; reciprocity; innovation; and inclusivity (discussed in final chapter).

Coding for key concepts based on questions was accomplished in the following manner. For all questions, "Yes" answers were coded as two, while "Alluded to" answers were coded as one, and "No," "Unidentifiable" answers, or blank fields were coded as zero. If positive representations of accountability or transparency were noted in the "Other" field for questions 4 and 5, they were coded with a one, whereas blank or negative representations were coded with a zero. If something was noted in the "Other" field for questions 9, 11, and 12, it was coded with a two for anything indicative of a "Yes," one if in the "Alluded

to" category, otherwise, a zero was entered in the field. This section of the analysis was numerically weighted to factor a higher score for museums receiving "Yes" answers to Questions 8, 9, 11, and 12. The boxes checked for Questions 4 and 5 were coded with a one if information was captured during the data collection process, whereas empty fields were coded as a zero.

Total scores from all questions representing each of the six concepts from all questions in this section were then summed with each museum receiving up to 75 possible points based on aggregated points from all criteria and associated questions (see Table 5-1).

Table 5-1: *Key Concepts to Create Positive Change and Associated Questions* showing related question numbers from the informal museum website survey. Responses of "No" or "Other" with negative comments or blank were coded as zero and not included in this table. The far-right column indicates the top score possible for each question.

Key Concepts and Associated Questions		**Codes for Weighted Scoring of Raw Data and Top Possible Points Based on Concepts Factored by Each Associated Question**				
Concept	**Question #**	**Yes**	**Alluded to**	**Other: Positive**	**Top Possible Score**	**Total Possible Concept Points**
Sustainable	11, 12	2	1	2	6 (Q11) / 8 (Q12)	14
Accountable / Transparent	4, 5	1	N/A	1	6 (Q4) / 7 (Q5)	13
Values Driven	8, 9	2	1	2	2 (Q8) / 8 (Q9)	10
Collaborative	8, 9	2	1	2	2 (Q8) / 8 (Q9)	10
Innovative / Experimental	8, 9, 12	2	1	2	2 (Q8) / 8 (Q9) / 8 (Q12)	18
Cultivate Relationship	8, 9	2	1	2	2 (Q8) / 8 (Q9)	10
Total Possible Points: *All Questions and All Concepts*						**75**

Museums were then coded based on whether or not they posted mission and vision statements on their website (questions 6 and 7 respectively). If a museum posted both or either they received a code of two for each statement posted. Value statements listed by museums were treated as vision statements. If value statements were present in addition to vision statements on the museum's website, they were

recorded and coded as addendums to the vision statements. The informal museum website survey questionnaire included a Likert Scale rating system for the alignment of a museum's mission and/or vision statement with working with descendant communities (question 10). The rating scale was from 1 to 5 with 1 being *Very misaligned* to 5 being *Very aligned* (Figure 5.1).

Figure 5.1: Likert Scale system used to rate level of perceived alignment with a museum's in regards to working with descendant communities (question 10 of the informal museum website survey).

Misaligned				**Aligned**
Very	*Somewhat*	*Ambiguous*	*Somewhat*	*Very*
1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**

Table 5-2: Codes used for scoring questions 6, 7, and 10 for mission and vision statements on the *Level Two AAM Accredited Museums* data set.

Codes: *Mission and/or Vision Statement*		**Codes:** *Alignment with Mission and/or Vision Statement*		
Q6: Mission = Yes	**Q7: Vision = Yes**	**Q10: Rating**	**Q10: Other = Positive**	**Possible Points**
2	2	0 through 5	1	10

Table 5-3: Top ranked 11 AAM Accredited museums in AAM Region 6 based on total key concepts points plus mission and vision statement points.

Museum	Total Points	Percentage
Alutiiq Museum Archaeological Repository	55	67%
Burke Museum	51	76%
Heard Museum: American Indian Art and History	47	75%
Museum of History and Industry	48	73%
San Diego Museum of Man	57	73%
Museum of Northern Arizona	53	71%
Natural History Museum of Utah	55	68%
OMCA - Oakland Museum of California	57	65%
Portland Art Museum	56	64%
Pratt Museum	49	63%
Tacoma Art Museum	46	61%

If the museum did not have either a mission statement or a vision statement posted, or if the museum had neither a mission or vision statement posted, N/A was recorded in the associated survey field and coded as a zero in the *Level Two* dataset. Each museum could potentially receive a total of 4 points for

having a mission and/or vision statement. In addition to this, each museum could receive up to 5 points for the alignment of their mission and/or vision statement with working with Indigenous descendant communities (Figure 5.1).

If anything in addition and similar to museum mission, vision, or value statements (such as codes of ethics, mandates, etc.) were noted as positive in the "Other" field for question 10, it was coded with a one, otherwise, this field was coded with a zero. In sum, for the presence of a mission and/or vision statement and the museum's alignment with the mission and/or vision statement in working with descendant communities, each museum had the potential to receive up to 10 points for mission and vision statement questions (Table 5-2).

Thus, combining the two levels of coding, the total points possible for any museum in the *Level Two AAM Accredited Museums* dataset were 85. Percentages for each museum in the filtered dataset were calculated based on the points received divided by the points possible. The museums receiving 60% and above resulted in the *Level Three AAM Accredited Museums* data set, consisting of 11 records (Table 5-3).

Mission and Vision Statements: Revealing Institutional Culture

The *Level Three AAM Accredited Museums* data set was first scored using text analysis software to detect overall level of sentiment for each mission and vision statement (Dandelion API 2016). These results were then averaged for each museum in the *Level Three AAM Accredited Museums* data set (Table 5-4). If either a mission or a vision statement was not present for a museum, then a score of 0.0% was assigned for a neutral sentiment detection. This was calculated in the averages for those museums resulting in lower emotional scores in those cases.

The mission and vision statements of the eleven museums listed in Table 5-3 were then further analyzed using semantic labeling software for the presence of semantic relatedness in the mission and/or vision statement text to the defined keywords corresponding to each of the six key concepts for creating positive change when working with descendant communities (see Table 5-5) (AYLIEN 2016). The results were calculated in percentages of semantic relatedness to mission and vision statements combined if both occurred or to mission or vision statement if a museum in the *Level Three AAM Accredited Museums* data set did not have both. The percentage of semantic relatedness for each keyword per museum per key concept category was summed up. Finally, the totals from each of the six key concepts were summed per museum to arrive at a grand total percentage of all six key concepts for each museum (Table 5-6).

Table 5-4: *Level Three AAM Accredited Museums* data set museums scores for text sentiment analysis of mission and vision statements.

Museum	*Text emotional polarity (-1.0 totally negative, 0.0 neutral, 1.0 totally positive)*	*Overall sentiment detected.*	*Average of Mission and Vision statement text emotional scores.*
Alutiiq Museum Archaeological Repository	**Score**	**Sentiment**	**Avg. Score**
Mission Statement	0.0%	neutral	
Vision Statement	-37.0%	negative	-18.5%
Burke Museum	**Score**	**Sentiment**	**Avg. Score**
Mission Statement	73.0%	positive	
Vision Statement	73.0%	positive	73.0%
Heard Museum: American Indian Art and History	**Score**	**Sentiment**	**Avg. Score**
Mission Statement	80.0%	positive	
Vision Statement	0.0%	neutral	40.0%
Museum of History and Industry	**Score**	**Sentiment**	**Avg. Score**
Mission Statement	0.0%	neutral	
Vision Statement	75.0%	positive	37.5%
San Diego Museum of Man	**Score**	**Sentiment**	**Avg. Score**
Mission Statement	80.0%	positive	
Vision Statement	75.0%	positive	77.5%
Museum of Northern Arizona	**Score**	**Sentiment**	**Avg. Score**
Mission Statement	70.0%	positive	
Vision Statement	69.0%	positive	69.5%
Natural History Museum of Utah	**Score**	**Sentiment**	**Avg. Score**
Mission Statement	0.0%	neutral	
Vision Statement	50.0%	positive	25.0%
OMCA - Oakland Museum of California	**Score**	**Sentiment**	**Avg. Score**
Mission Statement	80.0%	positive	
Vision Statement	0.0%	neutral	40.0%
Portland Art Museum	**Score**	**Sentiment**	**Avg. Score**
Mission Statement	0.0%	neutral	
Vision Statement	80.0%	positive	40.0%
Pratt Museum	**Score**	**Sentiment**	**Avg. Score**
Mission Statement	53.0%	positive	
Vision Statement	67.0%	positive	60.0%
Tacoma Art Museum	**Score**	**Sentiment**	**Avg. Score**
Mission Statement	0.0%	neutral	
Vision Statement	75.0%	positive	37.5%

CHOOSING THE CASE STUDIES

The three sets of data results (percentage of total possible points of 85 from total key concepts points plus mission and vision statement points (Table 5-3); average emotional score (Table 5-4); and total key concepts semantic labeling scores (Table 5-5) from the separate coding session, analyses, and calculations of the *Level Three AAM Accredited Museums* data set were then summed and averaged. Additionally, intensity sampling of the museum types of the *Level Three AAM Accredited Museums* was used in the final case study selection process (Table 5-7).

A clustered column chart of the three data sets with a line plotting the points of average of all scores was created to illustrate the relationships between the three sets of calculations and their average score (Figure 5.2). As the data in Figure 5.2 illustrates, three museums presented with the highest averages for all three sets of data analysis: the Burke Museum in Seattle, Washington; the San Diego Museum of Man in Balboa Park, San Diego, California; and the Portland Art Museum in Portland, Oregon. Although the Pratt Museum in Homer, Alaska averaged higher than the Portland Art Museum in overall score, being a comparable type of museum to the Burke Museum and owing to time and budget constraints on the researcher's ability to travel, it was not selected as a final case study candidate.

Table 5-5: Codes and keywords used to identify and evaluate the presence of six key concepts in mission and vision statements of Level 3 data set.

CATEGORY: KEY CONCEPT (KC)	ABBREVIATION	Base Keywords used to Evaluate
KC: SUSTAINABLE	KC-SUST	sustainable / footprint / plan / resource / renewable / strategy / support / standards / integrity / dialogue / diverse
KC: TRANSPARENT /ACCOUNTABLE	KC-TRAN/ACCT	accountable / transparent / evaluate / reflect / share / integrity / ethics / standards / inclusive / open
KC: VALUES DRIVEN	KC-VAL/DRV	diverse / accountable / transparent / communicate / truth / justice / respect / reciprocal / equity / inclusive / vision / value / stewardship / support / integrity
KC: COLLABORATIVE	KC-COL	collaborate / partner / share / co-create / together / inclusive / welcoming / engagement / cooperate / connect
KC: INNOVATIVE /EXPERIMENTAL	KC-INNOV/EXPER	diverse / innovate / experiment / ignite / passion / challenge / explore / grow / learn / enthusiastic / encourage / inspire / adventurous
KC: CULTIVATE RELATIONSHIP	KC-CULT/REL	community / culture / diversity / relationship / dialogue / discussion / respect / reciprocity / heritage / ongoing / embraces / engagement / cooperate / connect / engage

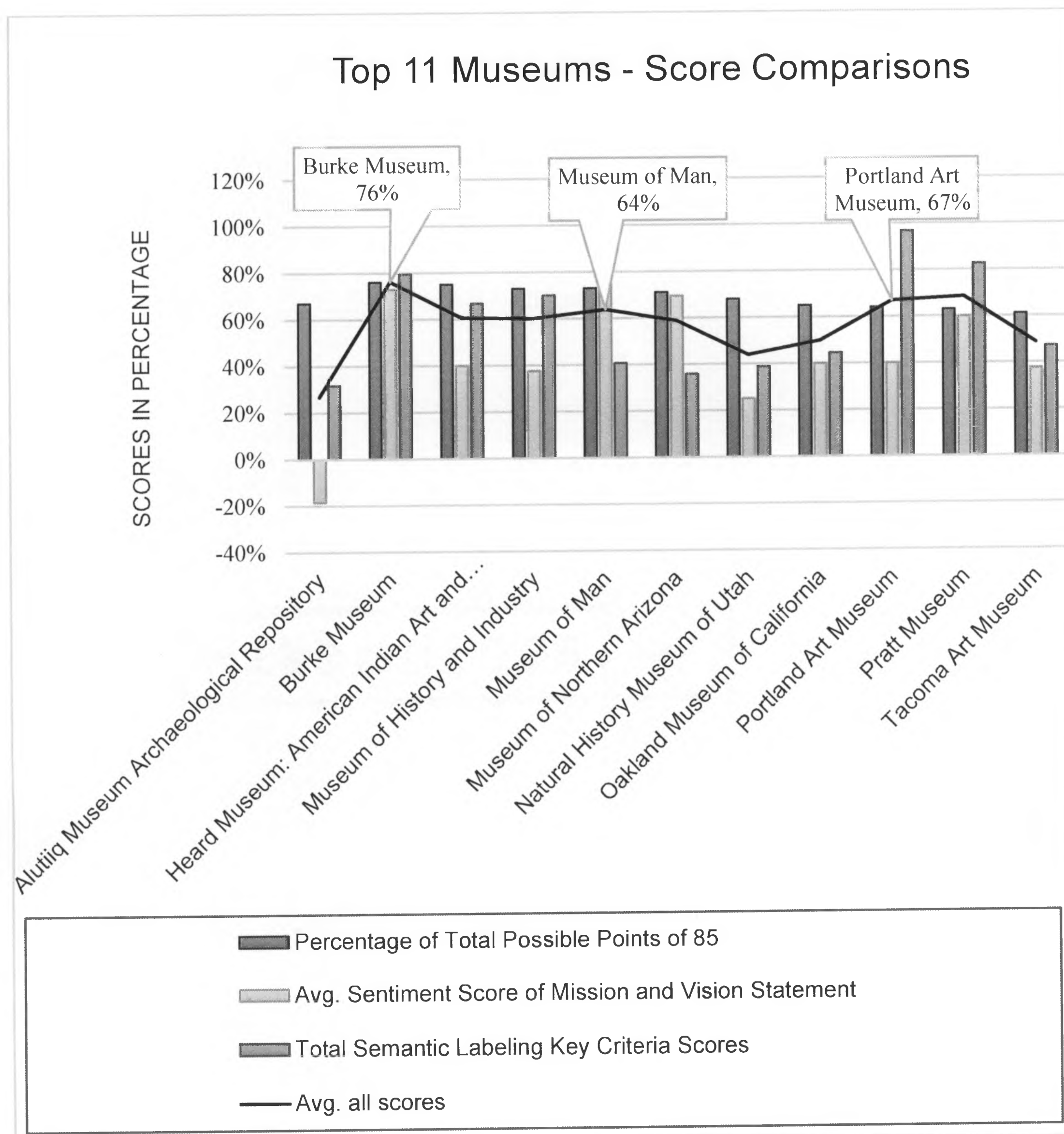
Table 5-6: Results of key concepts coding of *Level Three AAM Accredited Museums* data set museums for semantic labeling text analysis of mission and vision statements.

Semantic Labeling Text Analysis of Mission and Vision Statements: Scores per Category of Key Concepts							
Museum	**KC-SUST**	**KC-TRAN/ ACCT**	**KC-VAL/ DRV**	**KC-COL**	**KC-INNOV/ EXPER**	**KC-CULT/ REL**	**Total Key Concept Scores**
Alutiiq Museum Archaeological Repository	2.4%	4.0%	3.6%	4.8%	7.2%	9.6%	31.6%
Burke Museum	5.4%	14.4%	8.6%	15.6%	13.6%	21.8%	79.4%
Heard Museum: American Indian Art and History	4.0%	10.9%	7.6%	9.9%	13.4%	20.9%	66.7%
Museum of History and Industry	7.6%	11.8%	8.4%	9.2%	15.4%	17.6%	70.0%
San Diego Museum of Man	4.0%	8.0%	8.2%	6.2%	6.2%	8.0%	40.6%
Museum of Northern Arizona	2.0%	3.4%	2.6%	5.0%	11.2%	11.6%	35.8%
Natural History Museum of Utah	0.4%	3.2%	0.09	0.0%	9.2%	17.0%	38.8%
OMCA - Oakland Museum of California	2.4%	3.0%	3.2%	4.6%	11.4%	19.8%	44.4%
Portland Art Museum	7.2%	18.0%	15.0%	12.2%	15.6%	28.6%	96.6%
Pratt Museum	8.2%	11.4%	9.4%	8.2%	16.6%	28.8%	82.6%
Tacoma Art Museum	4.6%	5.0%	7.0%	6.0%	10.4%	14.2%	47.2%

Table 5-7: *Level Three AAM Accredited Museums* listed by IMLS MUDF museum type (IMLS 2015c).

Museum	**Type Code**	**Museum Discipline**
Alutiiq Heritage Foundation	GMU	Uncategorized / General Museums
Burke Museum Association	HST	History Museums
Heard Museum	GMU	Uncategorized / General Museums
Museum of History and Industry	HSC	Historical Societies / Historic Preservation
San Diego Museum of Man	GMU	Uncategorized / General Museums
Museum of Northern Arizona	HST	History Museums
Natural History Museum of Utah	NAT	Natural History/Natural Science Museums
Oakland Museum of California	GMU	Uncategorized / General Museums
Portland Art Museum	ART	Art Museums
Pratt Museum	NAT	Natural History/Natural Science Museums
Tacoma Art Museum	ART	Art Museums

Figure 5.2: Bar chart of the top 11 ranked museums showing comparisons between percentage scores of total possible points out of 85 for total key concepts points plus mission and vision statement points (Table 5-3); text sentiment analysis of mission and vision statements (Table 5-4); semantic labeling text analysis of mission and vision statements (Table 5-6); and the average of the three scores illustrated by the plot line.



The Burke Museum, San Diego Museum of Man, and the Portland Art Museum represent three different museum types of history/natural history, general museum, and art respectively. As such, these museums present an opportunity as case studies to holistically examine the ways in which curators are working with Native American descendant communities in partnership or collaboration. Curators from each of these museums was contacted and interviews were scheduled and conducted. The following three case study chapters—Chapter 6: *Burke Museum*, Chapter 7: *Portland Art Museum*, and Chapter 8: *San Diego Museum of Man*—examine each museum and the interview results in detail.

6. Case Study, Burke Museum and the Bill Holm Center

Stories have a past; they come from somewhere. Stories also perform work; when they are told, they enact power.

– Coll Thrush (2009, 149)

Introduction

This case study examines the Burke Museum of Natural History and Culture in Seattle, Washington, and the Bill Holm Center for the Study of Northwest Native Art. The Thomas Burke Museum of Natural History and Culture is located at the corner of 17th Avenue NE and NE 45th Street, Seattle, Washington, on the campus of the University of Washington (UW).

First, the chapter looks at the development of the museum since its inception in 1885 to present day. Its historical role in relation to Seattle's Euro-American and Native American communities is overviewed. The colonial legacies of the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition of 1909 contributing to the formation of the Burke Museum, its connection to the University of Washington Anthropology Department, and the development of its institutional culture are taken into consideration. Attention is given to the history of the museum's collections, collectors, and curators in relation to the development of exhibitions and programming reflecting work that decolonizes the museum.

Next, an overview of the Burke Museum's current administration, governance, and funding are reviewed along with its community outreach and involvement, programming, exhibitions, and research. Then, an overview of the original inhabitants of the Puget Sound area is given in relation to the location of the museum and the importance of its collections to Indigenous descendant communities. Next, the scope of collections relevant to Indigenous descendant communities are discussed.

The third part of the case study overviews the Bill Holm Center and provides examples of its work with descendant communities. Also, in this section, the results of the interview with the Director of the Bill Holm Center and Curator of Northwest Native Art, and key staff of the Bill Holm Center is presented. The case study concludes with a discussion and assessment of the Burke Museum of Natural History and Culture through the lens of selected literature reviewed in chapters 2 and 3.

Overview of Development of the Museum and Colonial History

The first iteration of the museum originated from the scholarly interests of the Young Naturalists' Society. It was located on the first campus of UW in downtown Seattle, then known as the Territorial University (Burke Museum 2015g). The group of amateur collectors had been functioning for two years when it was reorganized by Orson Bennett Johnson, professor of natural science at the Territorial

University between 1882 and 1892, after which, the Young Naturalists' Society entered into an agreement with the University in 1885 (Illman 1996). As a result, the museum was established in 1885 and named the Hall of the Young Naturalists (Figure 6.1), (Burke Museum 2015g).

The Hall opened in 1886 to university researchers and the public (Illman 1996). It housed the Young Naturalists' Society collections and was the nucleus of Pacific Northwest natural history research. The Society met weekly, held lectures, and organized scientific expeditions. The Young Naturalist's Society regularly loaned collections to departments in the University for research (Burke Museum 2015g). When the Young Naturalists' Society was disbanded in 1904, its remaining collections were given to the Washington State Museum (see below) and its library to UW (Illman 1996).

Figure 6.1: Hall of the Young Naturalists at the Territorial University, the original location of the collections of the Burke Museum. University of Washington Campus Photographs. University of Washington Libraries. Special Collections Division, UWC0789. (University of Washington n.d.).

Edmond S. Meany (1862-1935) was involved with the museum from the beginning and was a prominent figure in the growth of UW. Meany would become UW's first registrar in 1894 while also serving as secretary to UW Board of Regents. He then became a full professor and head of UW's history department in 1897 (Illman 1997b). Meany, interested in Pacific Northwest history, was responsible for amassing a large collection of photographs and documents on the topic (Illman 1997b). He worked with Edward S. Curtis in 1907, and wrote parts of the historical backgrounds in Curtis' *The North American Indian* (Illman 1997b).

Shortly after 1906, Edmond Meany was named managing editor of the *Washington Historical Quarterly*, the official journal publication of the Washington State Historical Society. He was managing editor of the journal until 1935 (Illman 1997b). Edmond S. Meany also donated several Native American objects to UW collections, 59 of which were retained in the Burke Museum's Ethnology collection after NAGPRA notices were filed with the National Park Service (Burke Museum 2017e; Federal Register 1996, 2010).

The museum went through a series of name and location changes between 1885 and 1962. After the collections were moved from the Territorial University of Washington to northeast Seattle in 1895, the location of the current campus of UW, the museum's name was changed to the University Museum. During the 1891 and 1893 sessions, Meany served as a Washington State legislator, introducing legislation to set aside 355 acres for UW's new campus. In 1899, the Burke Museum was legally established as the Washington State Museum and the Board of Regents of UW were given control (*Session Laws of the State of Washington: Session of 1899* 1899).

Between 1895 and 1910, collections housed on-campus were exhibited in the Administration Hall and the Science Hall. With the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition of 1909 (AYPE), more buildings were constructed on the UW campus (Burke Museum 2015g). Meany was influential in the decision to bring the AYPE to UW's campus and negotiated to retain several of the newly constructed exposition buildings for UW's permanent use (Illman 1997b). One source stated that "the event at Seattle is the most extensive exploitation of any part of America undertaken since the Louisiana Purchase Exposition was held in St. Louis" (Wilhelm 1909, 174).

In the March, 1909 issue of *The Travel Magazine*, Jay R. Thomas spins a tale of bounty and conquest over the wild Pacific Northwest, proclaiming that there were "hundreds of miles of territory still uninhabited, except by the native wild game, and unexplored, except by the occasional hunter and trapper [*sic*]" (1909, 248). Readers of similar articles of that year are led to believe that the only Native peoples in the area are the living ethnographic village exhibits in the AYPE (Thomas 1909; Raymond 1909; Wilhelm 1909).

Indigenous cultural heritage objects and art were collected specifically for display in the AYPE, some coming from previous world fairs and expositions. The University of Washington Regents purchased over 1,900 Northwest Coast artifacts collected specifically for the AYPE by George T. Emmons, along with the loan deposited by the Department of the Interior (DOI) of the Hachman/Konig Alaskan Arctic cultural collection (Burke Museum 2009). Other Native American collections which the museum obtained from world's fairs were the James G. Swan and Myron Eells collections from the World's Columbian

Exposition in Chicago of 1893 and more than 20,000 Columbia River Basin cultural objects from the 1905 Lewis and Clark Centennial Exposition in Portland (Burke Museum 2009).

With the new AYPE buildings, the museum collections were moved in 1910 from the Administration Hall (Denny Hall), the Science Hall, and the downtown Hall of the Young Naturalists and reinstalled in two of the AYPE buildings. The Forestry building housed the biology collections and the California Building (Figure 6.2) housed the cultural collections. Among these were 1,473 of the Native American and Alaska Native AYPE objects purchased from George T. Emmons (Burke Museum 2016e).

Figure 6.2: *Left:* The California Building at the AYPE Exposition in June, 1909. Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition Photographs: Frank H. Nowell Alaska Yukon Pacific Exposition Photographs, AYP040. (Nowell 1909a). *Right:* The cultural collections in the California Building between 1910 and 1914. Burke Museum Archives (Burke Museum 2015g).

A leaking roof in the California Building and lack of space for collections storage were the impetus to move the cultural collections into the Forestry Building with the biology collections in 1914 (Burke Museum 2015g). Many exhibits housed in the Forestry Building when the Society's collections were moved in were remnants of the AYPE (Merlino 2009). Despite attempts to preserve the Forestry Building (Figure 6.3) between 1912 and 1921, it had to be closed to the public in 1921 for safety reasons. It was demolished in 1930 (Burke Museum 2015g).

The Forestry Building was constructed of raw, unpeeled, old-growth milled timber and logs in a neo-classical Greek style. Meant to be a permanent structure for UW, it was one of the most expensive buildings constructed for the AYPE. It combined the architectural style of a Greek temple with the rugged, frontier aesthetic romanticized by Euro-Americans of the Pacific Northwest, representing the "blend of the civilized and the wild," while promoting the major industry of the state, lumber (Merlino 2009, 79).

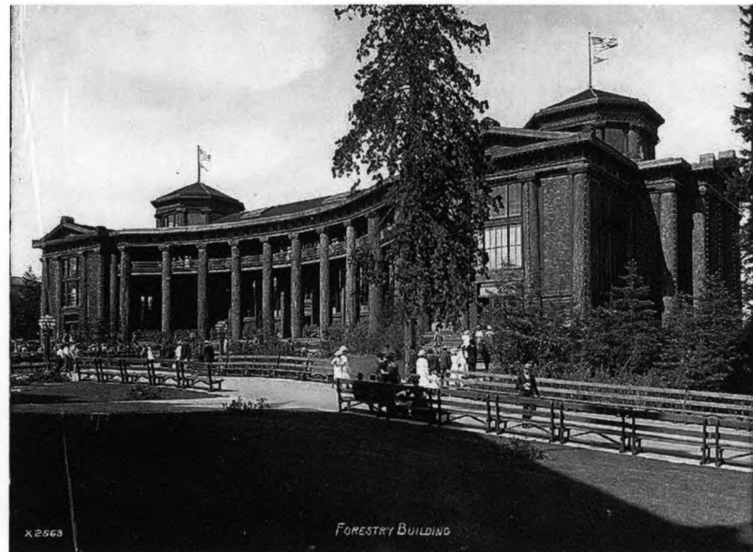


Figure 6.3: Forestry Building during the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition of 1909. Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition Photographs: Frank H. Nowell Alaska Yukon Pacific Exposition Photographs, AYP038 (Nowell 1909b).

Figure 6.4: The Washington State Building, constructed as a permanent building during the 1909 Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition. University of Washington Library, Digital Collections, AYP097 (Nowell 1909c).

After being removed from the Forestry Building before its demolition, all the Society's collections were placed in storage for three years until they were moved to the Washington State Building (Figure 6.4) in 1927 (Burke Museum 2015g). The Washington State Building was built on the AYPE Exposition grounds as one of the permanent buildings slated to later become property of the UW (Merlino 2009). The Washington State Building housed the museum's collections and exhibits for 30 years until its closure in 1957. Again, the collections were placed in storage in preparation for a future suitable location for the museum. Funding for the new building was designated from the Washington State Legislature, the National Science Foundation (NSF), and the Burke estate.

Judge Thomas Burke (1849-1925) came to Seattle in 1875 and soon married the daughter of Judge John J. McGilvra, Caroline McGilvra Burke (1857-1932), in 1879 (Rochester 1999; Archives West 2017). Judge Burke was a supporter of the UW and an advocate for history, literature, and art (Rochester 1999). Caroline McGilvra Burke actively supported the Seattle Historical Society (Rochester 1999; Archives West 2017). Founded by Vivian Carkeek and other early Seattle elites, the Society had "links to Seattle's village period," (its earliest beginnings) and presented a "genteel vision of the past" (Thrush 2009, 146). Mrs. Burke also belonged to several humanitarian organizations in the Seattle area (Rochester 1999; Archives West 2017). The Burkes were known and respected by Euro-American society in Seattle as champions of education and culture (Rochester 1999).

The new building (Figure 6.5) was completed in 1962 and the collections were moved to their current location at the corner of 17th Avenue NE and NE 45th Street. It was also at this time that the museum was renamed the Burke Museum of Natural History and Culture (Burke Museum 2015a), acknowledging the bequest made in Caroline McGilvra Burke's will in honor of her late husband (Burke Museum 2015g; Museum of History and Industry n.d.).

The Burkes created one of the earliest collections of Northwest Native Art, later donated to the Burke Museum as the Caroline McGilvra-Burke Collection (Burke Museum 2017e, 2015g). Keepsake postcards from the 1909 AYPE show Caroline McGilvra-Burke posed on the porch of her Victorian Seattle home with Euro-American female friends wearing Native American dress. A second photograph depicts a group of Native American women dressed in Euro-American clothing alongside Caroline McGilvra-Burke and her same female friends, still dressed in Native American clothing (Yahr 2016). Appropriation of Native imagery by the Euro-American inhabitants of Seattle symbolized for many "Seattle's creation to that of the nation" and the overcoming of "racial conflict" between Indigenous peoples and Euro-Americans, proclaiming "the moral fiber that had ensured American victory" (Thrush 2009, 146).

Caroline McGilvra-Burke was actively collecting Native American objects and images before, during, and after the AYPE. She displayed them in her Seattle home as curios of vanishing peoples, even

adding a new wing to her home to house the collection (Hutchinson 2009; Thrush 2009; Yahr 2016). From the Native Seattle perspective, "upper-class white women used the collection of Indian things to mark their own social status" (Dubin 2001; Hutchinson 2009; Thrush 2009, 124). Today, the Caroline McGilvra-Burke Collection represents 844 cultural objects in the Burke Museum, 249 of which contribute to the ethnology collection of Washington and Oregon Plateau tribes and bands, providing valuable research opportunities and insight into the past to Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples of today (Burke Museum 2017e).

Figure 6.5: The Burke Museum of Natural History and Culture in 1964. University of Washington. Special Collections. Charles R. Pearson Photograph Collection, MPH2134 (Pearson 1964).

The institutional culture and ideologies of the Hall of Young Naturalists and the early Washington State Museum began shifting towards decolonizing methodologies when Erna Gunther was named Director of the Washington State Museum and head of UW's Anthropology program in 1930. The Erna Gunther Botanical Garden was established in 1984 at the entrance to the Burke Museum in honor of her years of dedicated service (Burke Museum 2015d).

Dr. Erna Gunther (1896-1982)—who studied under Franz Boas at Columbia University receiving her MA in anthropology in 1920 (Illman 1997c)—may not have labeled her life's work as specifically decolonizing. However, through her academic rigor and long-term involvement with Indigenous peoples, she played a significant role in shifting the paradigm of colonialist ideology at the Burke Museum, UW,

and communities of Seattle. Gunther contributed to the fields of ethnobotany, ethnology, ethnography, Native American art, and museology for over sixty years as a committed academic, educator, and advocate of Native American peoples.

Erna Gunther specialized in working with and studying the traditions and stories of Native American peoples with a focus on the Makah, Klallam, and Coast Salish peoples (Illman 1997c). As Director of the Washington State Museum, Gunther worked to educate stakeholders and surrounding communities about Northwest Indian art and culture through public lectures, a radio series, and a television show. She also sent educational exhibits out to schools as teaching tools (Illman 1997c), precursor to the Burke Boxes and BurkeMobile outreach and education programs. Among her other community based activities, Gunther was the editor for a collection of Puget Sound Coast Salish stories and recorded Havasupai and Klallam folktales (Illman 1997c), leaving materials that may be used in future cultural heritage revitalization efforts.

In the 1930s, Dr. Gunther worked on her now famous ethnobotany project, which focused on the traditional uses of Northwest Coast plants by local Native American tribes. During her interviews, she would often walk out in the field with Native American tribal members searching for plants or picking them to take back to Native American elders unable to hike the fields due to advanced age. Her work, *Ethnobotany of Western Washington: The Knowledge and Use of Indigenous Plants by Native Americans*, was first published in 1945, and is still considered a primary source document (Illman 1997c). Dr. Gunther developed and sustained trust relationships with Native American peoples in the Seattle area through her long years of ethnographic field work.

In her 1948 article on Native Americans and education, Gunther connected the post-World War II experience of Native Americans to the "cultural void between two civilizations" created by the educational policies of the U.S. government in regards to Native Americans since 1870 (Gunther 1948, 35). Gunther concluded the article by noting the distinguished service and sacrifices of Native veterans and stating, "thousands left their reservations to work in defense plants. When the need for their work was over, their return to their own country created … hardship" (Gunther 1948, 36). She advocated for "a better opportunity in peacetime to take the fullest advantage of what our culture has to offer through good educational facilities and a chance to use that education among people with similar training and ability" (Gunther 1948, 36).

Seven Native American women who had come to Seattle during war time to work found themselves more financially fortunate than others. They banded together and "decided that if resources for Native people in Seattle were going to exist, Native people needed to create them" (Thrush 2009, 166). Pearl Warren (Makah), and daughter Mary Jo Butterfield, Adeline Skultka Garcia, and four others

incorporated the American Indian Women's Service League with the help of Erna Gunther in 1958 (Thrush 2009). By 1960, the Service League opened the first Indian Center in Seattle and staffed the center with Native Americans providing food, shelter, clothing, and community support to other Native peoples (Thrush 2009).

Service League activists participated in the 1970 taking of Fort Lawton, inspired by the Native American occupation of Alcatraz in 1969 as part of the growing American Indian Movement (AIM). The activist group came to be known as the United Indians of All Tribes and within two years after the invasion of Fort Lawton, succeeded in leasing sixteen acres of the Fort for an Indian cultural and social-services center. Built on that acreage is the Daybreak Star Cultural Center, which opened in 1976 and was designed by Native American architect, Lawny Reyes (Thrush 2009).

In the 1950s, Gunther began documenting and studying Northwest Coast art. Through a wide-ranging assessment of American and European museums' Northwest Coast collections, she reviewed journals and diaries of collectors to create an "ethnohistory of material culture" detailing the purposes and uses of Northwest Coast art objects (Illman 1997c). This study likely informed her approach when she curated the exhibit, *Northwest Coast Indian Art*, installed in the Fine Arts Pavilion of *Century 21*, the 1962 Seattle World's Fair. Dr. Gunther secured object loans for Northwest Coast art from museums around the world holding collections gathered during the period of early European explorations (Doctrine of Discovery) to show the history of the art form. She explained that the "materials are frequently not durable enough to be found archeologically. . . . Many of the articles were made of [substances] which in a humid climate can be regarded as ephemeral and therefore cannot be found often by archeologists" (Blecha 2009; Gunther 1962).

The exhibit featuring 330 art objects from the "Tlingit, Haida, Tsimshian, Bela Coola, Kwakiutl, Nootka, Coast Salish, and Chinook peoples" (Blecha 2009), spanned a two-century time period portraying a short history of Northwest Coast art collected as a result of colonialist activities. Dr. Gunther's placement of the exhibit next to historic and contemporary European and American artwork had the intent of educating the public about the "artistic merit and cultural value" of Northwest Coast Indigenous art as being equally as important as European and American fine art (Gunther 1962).

Erna Gunther's influence extended to mentoring a young Bill Holm (b. 1925), now Curator Emeritus and namesake of the Burke Museum's Bill Holm Center. Holm remembers Gunther as "One of the most interesting and influential anthropologists of her generation" (Illman 1997c). Prior to becoming curator of Northwest Coast Indian Art at the Burke Museum in 1968, Holm worked with Dr. Gunther on the 1962 Seattle World's Fair project painting mural panels in the Northwest Coast style for the *Northwest Coast Indian Art* exhibit (Blecha 2009). Erna Gunther fostered in young Bill Holm an interest in Northwest

Coast art and objects, forming the basis for his long career with the UW and the Burke Museum as an authority on the subject (Illman 1997c).

In his preface to the original 1965 edition of *Northwest Coast Indian Art: An Analysis of Form*, Bill Holm states his initial analyses of the "system of principles that governed certain aspects of Northwest Coast Indian art" began in the 1940s (2015, xxv). Dr. Gunther introduced Bill Holm to her Makah friends and invited him to come to a Salish Spirit Dance when he was in junior high. Here, Holm became friends with Harry Smith, a high school student interested in ethnography with contacts among the Coast Salish Lummi (Averill 2003). Holm's interest in Native American dancing and languages led him to work collaboratively and develop lasting trust relationships with both Northwest Coast and Plateau tribes. After Holm's service in World War II as an artillery spotter, he was sponsored by a Yakama friend and "inducted into the Toppenish longhouse and given the Yakama name "Shiakla" [meaning] "Scout," or "Sees the Enemy,"" a name he is still called by some Yakama elders (Averill 2003, 18).

Holm acknowledges in his preface to the 1965 edition of *Northwest Coast Indian Art: An Analysis of Form* that, "ideally, a study of this sort should lean heavily on information from Indian artists trained in the tradition that fostered the art" and states he was unable to locate such individuals to study with (Holm 2015, xxvi). He notes that even the best Native American artists of the time had to reconstruct "the rules from examination and analysis of old pieces" in order to practice their art (Holm 2015, xxvi). Holm states he was able to gain insight into some "techniques, attitudes, and materials common to the whole coast" through some "Kwakiutl informants" who were "trained as artists before the collapse of the apprentice system" although formal analysis of Kwakiutl art was not included in the study (Holm 2015, xxvii).

In 1968, Holm was approached by the University of Washington Art Department's Director, Spencer Moseley, and the Burke Museum's new Director, George Quimby, to join the University as a professor of art history with an adjunct appointment in anthropology, and to be the Curator of Northwest Coast Indian Art at the Burke Museum (Illman 1997a; Averill 2003). Holm's teaching style was kind and promoted the sharing of knowledge and resources with both students and visitors (Illman 1997a).

Between 1976 and 1977, Holm worked with Robin K. Wright, a former student turned assistant professor of art history at UW to photograph Northwest Coast Indian Art objects throughout museums in the United States, Canada, and Europe. A grant from the Ford Foundation produced an early laser disk of the images (Illman 1997a), later transferred to digital format and now available as the Holm/Wright Collection on the Burke Museum's online Ethnology Collections database (Burke Museum 2017e). The Holm/Wright Collection provides access to 25,000 images of Northwest Coast art (Burke Museum 2017e).

In 1991, the Native American Art Studies Association (NAASA) granted Bill Holm a Lifetime Achievement Award for his work (Illman 1997a). The UW College of Arts and Sciences gave him a

Distinguished Achievement Award in 1994. In 2001, the Tlingit, Haida, and Tsimshian peoples of Southeast Alaska honored him with a certificate of appreciation through the Sealaska Heritage Institute. In 2003, the UW selected Holm to give the annual University Faculty Lecture, and in 2008, the University of Alaska, Fairbanks awarded him an honorary doctoral degree (Burke Museum 2016d).

In the Burke Museum's 50th Anniversary Edition of *Northwest Coast Indian Art*, Native artists reflect on their relationships with Bill Holm and the impact his work had on reviving traditional design knowledge in their communities (Holm 2015, xv–xx). Among these artists was Haida weaver, Evelyn Vanderhoop, commissioned in the 1990s to replicate a full-size Chilkat robe exhibited at AMNH. Evelyn traveled to New York to examine the robe in person. Not being provided physical access to it by AMNH, she was only able to view it in the gallery behind glass. Her sister, Holly Churchill, took her to Bill Holm and he scanned an image of the robe from a book, creating a full-size paper replica of a traditional Haida pattern board for Evelyn to use in weaving the robe. When completed, the robe was "brought out at a feast at the Daybreak Star Indian Cultural Center in Seattle" to celebrate and acknowledge all who had helped in creating the robe, bringing the ongoing relationship with the Burke Museum and the Center full-circle. Although Bill Holm was out of the country and unable to be present for the ceremony, he was publicly acknowledged for his participation (Holm and Vanderhoop 2015, xv–xvii).

Colleague of Erna Gunther and Bill Holm, Dr. James D. Nason, Comanche, was instrumental in actively doing decolonization work during his 40 years at the Burke Museum and the UW. He retired from the Burke Museum and teaching at the UW in 2005 and currently serves as Curator Emeritus of American and Pacific Ethnology of the Burke Museum (Webley 2005; Burke Museum 2017c). Dr. Nason was co-founder and co-chair of UW's American Indian Studies (AIS) program in 1970. He later became the Director of AIS providing leadership from 1991 to 1997, helping the center for AIS become its own entity in the university. Nason also served as a professor in the department of anthropology, adjunct professor in the AIS program, and faculty associate in the Canadian studies program. He created 33 of the 41 different courses he taught at UW (Webley 2005).

Founding the UW's graduate museology program in 1972 and creating a Certificate in Museum Studies through UW's Extension Program, Dr. Nason served for thirteen years as the program's Director. A former student of his 1972 courses noted that Dr. Nason "professionalized the museum profession" (Webley 2005). James Nason is a knowledgeable advocate for tangible and intellectual cultural property rights and laws and their connections to the national identity of colonized peoples, in particular Native American communities (Nason 2001b). During 1992-93, he surveyed "American and Canadian tribal and band museums and cultural centers" through a project with the NMAI to find out what policies they have

put in place and concerns they have for controlling research on Native and First Nations tangible and intellectual cultural property in mainstream museums.

The results of the survey were used to develop key elements recommended to be included in mainstream museum research policies as well as key points to include in guidelines such as those used in the Burke Museum's collections and research policies during his tenure (Nason 1996). His recommendations called for including the following ten points for descendant community research guidelines in a museum's collections policy (Nason 1996):

- community members' rights as research participants
- access to and copying of tribal data
- the involvement of tribal personnel in the research as collaborators
- tribal control, access, and copyright to research data
- tribal interests in the publication of research data
- sensitive data collection and specialized research permits
- the identification of restricted data or subjects
- mandatory community review and concurrence as a condition of research funding and research work
- compliance procedures and/or contractual obligations
- the possibility of cooperative research agreements with individuals or other institutions

Additionally, Dr. Nason contributed his curatorial expertise to the field through development at the Burke Museum of *Visitor and Staff Guidelines for Safe Handling of Collection Objects* that may have been contaminated by pesticides. This was and is an important policy to protect staff, all researchers using the collections, and the public who may come in contact with objects through exhibits and educational programs (Nason 2001a).

Overview of the Contemporary Burke Museum

Since the 1990s, the Burke Museum has worked to resolve crowding and lack of environmental controls in its collections storage areas and explored options such as remodeling and expanding the current facility. Based on space constraints and expenses inconsistent with proposed solutions, the UW and the Burke Museum abandoned these options. In 2010, ongoing formal outreach was begun "to solicit community input on the New Burke" using "listening sessions, visitor surveys, evaluation, and consultation with subject-area experts, including Washington tribes and communities whose cultures are represented in the Burke collections" (Burke Museum 2016l). The Burke intends to continue consulting with all stakeholders about exhibits and education programs being developed for the New Burke (Godinez 2016).

The budget of $99 million "includes design and construction of the new building, exhibits, moving costs, an operating endowment, and landscaping for the new facility" (Burke Museum 2016l). The budget breakdown allots $79 million to construction and exhibit infrastructure, $6 million to exhibits, furnishings, and equipment, $1.5 million for the move, $8 million to the endowment, and $4.5 million for the campaign which includes In-Kind contributions. Funding sources come from Washington State at $54 million, private gifts of $33 million, the UW and other public funding at $10 million, and In-Kind donations equaling $2 million (Burke Museum 2016l). The $8 million endowment to support operations in the Burke comes from the fundraising campaign of private gifts (Burke Museum 2016j).

The design features include Northwest "sustainable wood siding, a native plant garden, and a shed-style roof inspired by traditional Coast Salish dwellings" (Burke Museum 2016l). The building is designed to be a LEED Gold status green building, located 1.5 blocks from the future U District light rail station (Burke Museum 2016k). The New Burke is expected to have 140,000 visitors per year helping support efforts to revitalize the U District as a new tourist destination (Burke Museum 2016l).

The Burke Museum and collections are scheduled to move to the newly constructed building located across from the current building in the Summer of 2018. The current Burke Museum will remain open until September, 2018 (Burke Museum 2016l). Construction began on the New Burke Museum in May, 2016, and the new museum will open to the public in 2019 (Burke Museum 2016k). The location of the old building will become a new courtyard and parking area after all collections have been relocated to the new building and the old Burke is demolished (Burke Museum 2016l).

At 113,000 square feet, the New Burke (Figure 6.6) will feature visible collections and lab spaces in 60% of the space and will be 66% larger than the current Burke Museum building. The integration of visible climate-controlled collections and lab spaces with exhibit areas is designed to invite visitors to "be part of a working museum" (Burke Museum 2016l). Access to state-of-the-art labs and workshops and more education space will allow the Burke to serve more artists, researchers, and college students, and double the number of Pre-K-12 students served annually (Burke Museum 2016l).

Existing trees had to be removed in order to break ground for the New Burke. However, the landscape design calls for planting three trees for every two removed for the project. Additionally, UW's wood recycling program uses felled trees to create materials for new buildings. The Burke Museum hopes to integrate some of this material from the removed trees into outdoor exhibits and construction of the New Burke. A large Madrone (*Arbutus menziesii*) tree was among the trees removed and plans are included to use wood from it to cover the walls of the east entrance (Burke Museum 2016n).

The museum also intends to make wood from the felled trees available to artists (Burke Museum 2016l). Plans are being made to use some of the white pine and cedar reclaimed from the site as part of a

continuing program to revitalize traditional knowledge (TK) through working with Indigenous descendant communities. The program includes educational programming in exhibit spaces of the Burke Museum offering live demonstrations of rediscovered traditional artisan techniques (Burke Museum 2016n, 2015l).

Figure 6.6: Architectural artists' renderings of the New Burke showing exterior and interior visualizations of proposed spaces in the new museum (screenshot of a Burke Museum webpage) (Burke Museum 2016l).

There were over 500 people at the groundbreaking where "Washington educators, elected officials, tribal members and UW leaders spoke about the impact of the New Burke" (Godinez 2016). Dr. Julie K. Stein noted that the "project is a true partnership, and . . . is an opportunity for us to recognize the hard work and contributions of everyone who helped us reach this milestone. Together, we will bring the New Burke to life for everyone" (Godinez 2016). Leonard Forsman, Chairman of the Suquamish Tribe reminded the crowd of the importance of sustaining the collaborations of the past, present, and future: "As we move forward, let's remember all of the relationships and good work that happened here in the current building, and have that be the foundation of what happens in the new museum" (Godinez 2016).

The Burke Museum is administered by the University of Washington College of Arts and Sciences (Burke Museum 2015a) and governed by the University of Washington Board of Regents (Burke Museum 2015h). The Burke Museum Association (BMA), a separate 501(c)(3) non-profit organization, provides additional financial support through "fundraising, increasing public visibility, and providing strong ties to the community" (Burke Museum 2015h). The Burke Museum's 2016 Annual Report states that 33% of the museum's funding for fiscal year 2016 came from UW College of Arts and Sciences; 28% was from UW

in-kind support; 14% came from Restricted Funds released; 9% from earned income; 8% from gifts; and 7% was from the Endowment (Burke Museum 2016r).

The Burke Museum receives leadership and direction from the Native American Advisory Board (NAAB) on “exhibits, collections policy, outreach, repatriation, and collaborative tribal and museum programs” related to Native American descendant communities (Burke Museum 2015h). Its focus is on Native American tribes in the Northwest. The NAAB consists of twenty-three members who are Native cultural heritage specialists and Native individuals having involvement with cultural centers and museums in the area (Burke Museum 2015h). Members of the NAAB represent Native American territories in the states of Washington, Idaho, and Oregon (Burke Museum 2015h).

Permanent exhibits at the Burke focus on themes exploring cultural identity, evolution, artistic expression, ecosystems, and the natural and cultural history of Washington state (Burke Museum 2015e). The Burke Museum’s exhibits, outreach, community involvement, and educational and public programs reflect its holistic mission, vision, and values (see Appendix B) (Burke Museum 2015a).

Developed with seventeen Indigenous descendant communities, the permanent exhibit *Pacific Voices* asked each community “to consider the question: How do we pass our culture along from one generation to the next?” (Burke Museum 2015i). The themes that emerged were “language and stories, teachers and elders, and ceremonies” (Burke Museum 2015i). Based on these themes, each community participated in curating examples to include in the exhibit (Burke Museum 2015i). Entering the exhibit, visitors are welcomed by a wall of portraits of Native peoples and an interpretive panel explaining who is represented in *Pacific Voices* (Figure 6.7). The images are mounted on poles in front of a large wall mural of a world map. The text from the interpretive panel in Figure 6.7:

> Who Are We? – We are people of the Pacific. Our ancestors come from around this ocean. We and our children live near Seattle today. We each have a different history, so we tell different stories. But we all value our languages and stories, our teachers, our ceremonies. These are the source of our cultures. They make us unique and give us a sense of our identity. Come learn about what makes us who we are.

Visitors are presented with narratives in the words of Indigenous peoples about each of the descendant communities represented. The section on Northwest Coast art includes textiles and weaving, wood carving, and several pieces by contemporary Northwest Coast Native and First Nations artists. Included are historic and contemporary photographs of Indigenous artists at work and their artist statements.

Figure 6.7: The view as visitors enter the permanent exhibit, *Pacific Voices*, at the Burke Museum. Photograph by author, 2016.

The Burke Museum also has a Traveling Exhibits program, currently on hiatus while the museum prepares for the opening of the "New Burke" in 2019. The traveling exhibits program has developed partnerships across the United States and in Washington state as a result of the 18 exhibits it has traveled over these areas since 2007 (Burke Museum 2016p).

The Burke Museum of Natural History and Culture is considered to be among the last of the encyclopedic museums on the West coast of the United States. At over 130 years old, it is also the oldest museum in the state of Washington. The Burke and its facilities function as a teaching and research museum containing over 16 million objects representing thirteen categories of knowledge (Burke Museum 2015k; Kangas 2017). The museum and its staff are a valuable resource to the public for research and professional expertise with its collections of natural history specimens and cultural objects, art, and artifacts. The collections support the research of in-house experts, UW students, other students, and researchers around the world. Burke in-house experts specialize in cultural studies and material culture as well as the natural history disciplines of biology, geology, and paleontology (Burke Museum 2015g).

In addition to providing access to collections for researchers and university students, the Burke provides educational experiences to over "35,000 Washington Pre-K–12 students annually" and educational outreach "to 70,000 additional students through programs that travel throughout the state" (Burke Museum 2015a). Educational programs for K-12 at the Burke are provided through school and group programs, camps, scout programs, Girls in Science programs, and through Burke Boxes and the

BurkeMobile (discussed below). The Burke also works with K-12 teachers providing tools to augment the museum's education programs and through the DIG Field School (Burke Museum 2015b). Each of these programs focuses on specific areas of interest in science and cultural topics. The school and group programs are segmented into age groups and provide guided and self-guided educational experiences (Burke Museum 2015m).

The Burke Museum provides off-site educational experiences through portable teaching collections called Burke Boxes and the BurkeMobile. Burke Boxes are available for rent by educators and contain "museum objects, background information and activity suggestions" for multiple grades. The BurkeMobile travels to classrooms and communities in Washington state with Burke educators who facilitate standards-based, hands-on educational activities with classroom participants using real museum objects (Burke Museum 2015c).

The Burke Blog provides virtual educational outreach to communities with the latest news of activities at the museum related to science, culture, and the museum's collections. Recently, the Burke Museum began working with the Muckleshoot Indian Tribe to collaborate on the research and study of a canoe that had been in the Burke's collection since 1963. The canoe was identified as a rare type of river canoe, *S.deWxit*, that was once used by the Coast Salish peoples (Burke Museum 2016a).

On the Burke Museum's *About the Burke* web page, commitment to working collaboratively with descendant Indigenous communities and recognition of their ancestral land tenure of the UW campus is clearly stated (2015a):

> The Burke recognizes that the museum sits on traditional Indigenous lands. The Burke holds deep respect for Indigenous knowledge, and is dedicated to collaborating with diverse Native populations, sharing collections and learning together.

The Burke Museum regularly schedules programs and events designed to bring together museum visitors with Native, Alaskan Native, and First Nations artists and culture bearers, promoting education, cultural revitalization, and prioritizing Indigenous voice in the community (Burke Museum 2017f). A major annual collaborative event is the Native Art Market providing opportunities for visitors to purchase contemporary Native art and speak with artists about their creative processes and work. The event includes special cultural performances and demonstrations featuring "woodcarving, basketry, jewelry, graphic design, metalwork, and forging" (Burke Museum 2016i). Another community outreach event is the annual Artifact ID Day. This day presents the opportunity for the public to bring in up to three pieces of art, artifacts, or natural history specimens for identification by specialists in the Burke Museum. Past Artifact ID Days have led to the identification of rare Indigenous art and objects, such "as a 5,000 year old stone

tool, a twined basketry doll made by a Tlingit weaver, and a drinking cup made from a walrus' tusk" (Burke Museum 2017a).

The Coast Salish peoples have lived in the Puget Sound area and on the land beneath the city of Seattle and the UW for more than 10,000 years. Coast Salish "refers to a language family" and is a term used to signify "a cultural group of indigenous peoples who speak or spoke these languages" (Burke Museum and Wright 2014). Seattle, specifically Pioneer Square, was known as Little Crossing-Over Place (*sdZéédZul7aleecH*) by Wulshootseed speakers (Coast Salish) until at least World War II. The Indigenous place name for Puget Sound was Salt Water (*XWulcH*) (Thrush 2009). Seattle, named after a "local Indigenous leader of Duwamish and Suquamish heritage," Seeathl (Thrush 2009, 5), and its original Indigenous inhabitants have been closely intertwined from the city's beginnings in 1851. Thrush explains that "visitors and residents alike tell and are told stories about this city: that it is built on Indian land, that that land was taken to build a great metropolis, and that such a taking is commemorated by the city's Native American imagery" (Thrush 2009, 4).

The Burke's *Archaeology of West Point* online exhibit overviews some of the changes that occurred to the cultural landscape after the signing of the1855 *Treaty of Point Elliott* (Burke Museum 2003). The forced removal to reservations changed the configuration of tribes resulting in the Stkamish, Yilalkoamish, Skopamish, Smulkamish, and Tkwakwamish being moved to the Muckleshoot Reservation and the Snohomish, Snoqualmie, Skagit, Suiattle, Samish, and Stillaguamish being grouped together as the Tulalip Tribes. The people on the Muckleshoot Reservation became known to most area residents as the Muckleshoot Tribe and those who were moved to the Tulalip Tribes, are known as Tulalip to outsiders. The Suquamish Reservation remained mainly Suquamish although people from other tribes and bands came to live there (Burke Museum 2003).

The landscape of Seattle, the UW campus, and home of the Burke Museum was very different when the ancestors of modern Coast Salish peoples inhabited the pre-1851 Indigenous landscape. In the 1920s, two men worked with Duwamish, Muckleshoot, and Suquamish peoples to record information about Seattle and surrounding areas prior to arrival of Euro-Americans (Thrush 2009). Thomas Talbot Waterman (1885-1936), UW teacher of anthropology and sociology and former student of anthropologist, Franz Boas, began researching the original topography of Seattle and Puget Sound through interviews with local Native Americans. Waterman collected hundreds of Indigenous place names and attempted to associate them with maps, often misunderstanding their meanings. Waterman's work, "Puget Sound Geography," although Euro-American biased and riddled with mistakes, did much to record the rich Indigenous heritage connected with the topography of the area (Thrush 2009, 209–10).

The second man, John Peabody Harrington (1884-1961), former student of anthropologist A.L. Kroeber at U.C. Berkeley, taught Northwest Coast ethnology and linguistics at UW during the summer of 1910. During this time, Harrington kept extensive field notes on his work with the Duwamish people on the Suquamish Reservation. Harrington was hired as an ethnographer in 1915 by the Bureau of American Ethnology (BAE) and spent 40 years collecting data on over a hundred North American Indigenous languages. His field notes preserved languages and cultural practices that would otherwise have been lost (Thrush 2009, 211–12). The work of Waterman and Harrington was improved upon by several researchers over a period of about 25 years, culminating in Native cultural revitalization projects and a public art exhibition focusing on the importance of place and place names.

Waterman's manuscript was edited in the 1990s by Upper Skagit tribal member Vi Hilbert, amateur linguist, Almai Zahir, and anthropologist, Jay Miller. The team corrected previous translations and translated place names Waterman had not, ultimately connecting the results to contemporary Indigenous language revitalization (Thrush 2009, 211). Coll Thrush, Nile Thompson, and Amir Sheikh used information from the studies of Waterman, Harrington, and Hilbert, et al., along with field notes and plat maps of the General Land Offices 1850s survey of the area; information from a 1920s land claim case; former Burke Museum Director, Erna Gunther's book, *Ethnobotany of Western Washington*; and archaeological data from the database of the Burke Museum to create an atlas of Coast Salish place names (2009, 212). Even so, the atlas is only as accurate as the surviving historical information available to create it. As Thrush states in his historical introduction to the atlas (2009, 214):

> Instead of a stable "zero datum" on which the rest of Seattle's history takes place, it is perhaps more accurate to think of this atlas as merely a partial snapshot of the indigenous world just prior to white settlement.

From the Burke Blog, "Duwamish meanders: A river ran through it," Amir Shiekh, discusses the loss of traditional food sources and resultant reconfiguration of the Coast Salish peoples' relationship with the area of Seattle. Place names were not only ways of labeling the landscape, they had cultural and societal connotations, containing historical meanings and memories (Burke Museum and Sheikh 2015). The work of Thrush, Thompson, and Sheikh in the book, *Native Seattle*, along with collaborative work with the Burke Museum resulted in the *Duwamish Revealed Project*, (June 1-September 30, 2015) a public, outdoor art installation and social commentary that combined natural and cultural history and environmental sciences (Burke Museum and Sheikh 2015).

The public art installation was a project of the Environmental Coalition of South Seattle (ECOSS), in partnership with Artistic Directors, Nicole Kistler and Sarah Kavage. The art installation consisted of

visual and performing artists and three large community events which included, *Revealing Coast Salish Cultures: Journeying by Canoe and Art*. The canoe and art community event celebrated the First Peoples of the Duwamish River with tribal songs, dances, storytelling, and artist demonstrations led by local Indigenous peoples (ECOSS 2015). The installation raised awareness of the cultural heritage and connection to place of the Duwamish Tribe whose ancestors lived along the Duwamish River prior to the arrival of Euro-Americans. A main theme of the event was the importance of restoring and maintaining a sustainable and clean ecosystem for the future of all (Waterman 2015).

The Burke Blog of June 9, 2015, discusses archaeobotany research at the Burke and its role in helping Coast Salish peoples revitalize traditional ecological knowledge (TEK) (Burke Museum 2015j). Specifically, the article focuses on Coast Salish women's contribution to social systems and well-being that were created through maintaining relationships important to harvesting plants and observing a traditional Coast Salish diet. The September 14, 2013 blog article, *Salish Bounty: Traditional Native Foods of Puget Sound*, is an online exhibit including historical and contemporary images and audio files of interviews with local tribal members about the importance of food in Salish culture. The interviews bring the voices of living Coast Salish peoples into the story (Burke Museum 2013).

Using mapping of 130 archaeological sites, Dr. Peter Lape, Curator of Archaeology at the Burke Museum, and Dr. Robert Kopperl, traced knowledge about traditional Native American foods. In a video embedded in the article, they discuss the way the land was changed by natural and artificial forces between the 1850s and today. The loss of access to traditional food sources began when marshes and tributaries were reshaped by dredging and rechanneling of the river to support Euro-American activities of the city of Seattle. The archaeologists are using the results of their research to work with elders from the Coast Salish communities and help them remember their people's TEK. For the Coast Salish peoples "food is the center of culture"(Burke Museum 2013).

Salish Bounty, was created collaboratively by the Burke Museum and co-curators Warren King George, Muckleshoot/Upper Skagit Indian Tribe, and Elizabeth Swanaset, Nooksack/Cowichan/Laq'amel Tribes in close partnership with native Coast Salish advisors. It is currently a traveling exhibit (AM 2017). The exhibit was part of a larger exhibit with an international focus at the Burke, *Hungry Planet: What the World Eats*. After closing at the Burke in June, 2012, the exhibit and its accompanying educational programs traveled next to the Tulalip Hibulb Cultural Center. It takes a "positive approach to the serious issues of food and health in Indian country—soaring rates of diabetes, hypertension and obesity" (Mapes 2012). Additionally, the timeline of the exhibit looks at food sources for Coast Salish peoples pre- and post-1855 *Treaty of Point Elliott* and the impact on cultural heritage (Harpe 2012). The exhibit recently traveled

to Peninsula College Longhouse (February 7 – March 3, 2017) and the Jamestown S'Klallam Tribe's Red Cedar Hall (March 6- April 14, 2017) (AM 2017).

The Burke Blog also features articles about the art of Coast Salish peoples and its cultural importance to the past and the present: historical art from the archaeological record (dated back to at least 5,000 years ago) and contemporary art; and the style and meaning of Coast Salish art. The article points out that to understand Coast Salish art, one needs to converse with and receive the associated story from the maker of the art (2014b, 2014c, 2014d, 2014e). The Burke Museum's Ethnology collection contains many Coast Salish objects, both historical and contemporary. Artists, researchers, historians, educators, and others use the collection as a resource. The Burke Museum website provides an interactive map showing selected objects, their locations, and information about Coast Salish art. The interactive map project was funded by the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA), the Bill Holm Center (BHC), and an award from 4Culture (Burke Museum 2014a; King County Cultural Services 2017; NEA 2017).

In collaborating with Coast Salish peoples on the creation of a variety of forums to tell their stories, the Burke Museum helps revitalize the cultural heritage and TEK of the original inhabitants of the Seattle area. The Native American Art collections of the Burke Museum extend beyond the lands of Coast Salish peoples, encompassing the diverse Native American, Alaskan Native, and First Nations cultures of the Pacific Region, whose descendant communities the Burke regularly collaborates with on cultural heritage revitalization efforts (Burke Museum 2015n).

The Burke shares the distinction of being one of the top four institutions housing Pacific Northwest Coast Native Art in the United States with the NMAI's two collections locations in Washington, D.C. and New York city; the AMNH; and the Chicago Field Museum (Kangas 2017). The Burke's collection is the fifth largest in the United States of Northwest Coast ethnological collections, with almost 11,000 items (Burke Museum 2016e). The Burke's Cultural Collections are comprised of two sections. The largest is the Archaeology Collection containing artifacts, flora, faunal remains, and soil samples along with associated field records numbering more than one million objects. The main focus is on the Pacific Northwest and the Pacific Rim (Burke Museum 2016e). The other section is the Ethnology Collection, which contains over 42,000 objects and over 50,000 archival records focusing on the cultures of the Pacific Rim (Burke Museum 2017e).

The items in the Burke's Ethnology Collection were acquired from collectors and Native artists and date from the late 18th century to present. The Cultural Collections Curatorial department also provides Curatorial Services to "public agencies and tribes in the Pacific Northwest" and through curatorial service agreements via the Held-In-Trust Program. Some collections in this program are at the Burke to "ensure long-term preservation and access" while others are stored temporarily at the Burke. The Burke does not

own any of the collections in the Held-In-Trust Program (Burke Museum 2016e, 2017d). While the Burke can facilitate access to these collections for students and researchers, research access to these collections may sometimes be restricted. An example of this was the secure housing and care of the Kennewick Man during the 21-year repatriation process.

The Burke Blog kept postings up to date about developments in the case of the Kennewick Man, known as The Ancient One by the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation, the Confederated Tribes and Bands of the Yakama Nation, the Nez Perce Tribe, the Confederated Tribes of the Colville Reservation, and the Wanapum Band of Indians, who claimed him as their ancestor. The five Tribes have worked since the 1996 inadvertent discovery of human remains by two UW students along the Columbia River in Kennewick, Washington, for the return of The Ancient One (Sams 2017).

Based on morphological analysis of bone structure by independent archaeologist, Dr. James Chatters and the Benton County Coroner, the Kennewick Man was initially pronounced to be "Caucasoid." Following this pronouncement, scholars formed a group and sued the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers in an effort "to prevent the remains from being returned to the tribes under NAGPRA" in order to retain access for ongoing study (Burke Museum 2017g). Recent DNA analysis results confirmed that the 8,400 to 8,690-year-old remains of The Ancient One are Native American and are most closely related to the five Tribes making the claim.

Updated legislation, the Water Infrastructure Improvements for the Nation (WIIN) Act, superseded the NAGPRA process (Burke Museum 2017g; Sams 2017), creating the legal impetus for the return of The Ancient One to the Tribes (Obama 2016). The Ancient One was never part of the Burke Museum collections, nor were his remains ever displayed publicly by the museum.

Resulting from a 2004 court ruling, the museum was designated to provide curatorial services, traditional care, and secure housing to his remains under a Memorandum of Agreement (MOA) with the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers throughout the repatriation process. "The remains of The Ancient One, otherwise known as the Kennewick Man, were returned to the tribes who claim him as their ancestor" on Friday, February 17, 2017 (Burke Museum 2017g). The Ancient One was finally laid to rest on the morning of February 18, 2017 at an undisclosed location on the Columbia Plateau. The Burke Museum played an important facilitative role in this unique repatriation case (Sams 2017).

Reinforcing its role as an active partner with Native American tribes in the repatriation and consultation process, the Burke Museum publicly states its commitment to "the legal and ethical principles of NAGPRA" and that it "no longer knowingly accessions any objects subject to NAGPRA" (Burke Museum 2016m). The Burke states plainly on its website that the museum (Burke Museum 2016m):

> values open communication and respectful relationships during [the repatriation process], and also works with tribes throughout the U.S. and Canada to respectfully and appropriately preserve Native American cultural items, assist tribes in their cultural heritage efforts, and promote collaborative research and public education.

Additionally, on the Tribal governments, museums, and cultural centers web page for the Burke Museum, a declaration of respect for the government-to-government relationship with Native descendant communities and recognition of their sovereign status is stated along with contact information for the Government Relations Director (Burke Museum 2015n):

> The Burke holds deep respect for Indigenous knowledge, and is dedicated to collaborating with diverse Native populations, sharing collections and learning together. We work with a number of stakeholders, including Indian Tribes of the Pacific Northwest. As the Washington State Museum of Natural History and Culture, we honor the government-to-government nature of our relationship with these sovereign nations.

All access to the collections for research is based on staff availability and space, and is by appointment only (Burke Museum 2017d). The Burke Museum's Culture Department curation services and facilities are in "accord with standards set forth by the National Park Service in "36 CFR Part 79," as required by many state and federal agencies and permits" (Burke Museum 2016f). Curation processes, fees, and guidelines are posted online as downloadable PDF documents as well as the forms necessary to request curation services at the Burke Museum (Burke Museum 2016f).

The Bill Holm Center: Staff, Programs, Exhibits, and Outreach

The Burke Museum established the Bill Holm Center (BHC) for the Study of Northwest Coast Art in 2003 (NEH). The main work of the Burke Ethnology staff at the BHC is to help educate all people about Northwest Native art by providing "research grants, public programs, online resources and publications, [and supporting] research about and access to the Native art collections at the Burke" (Burke Museum 2017b). Research grants are offered to Native artists, UW graduate students, and other researchers through an application process. The Bill Holm Center Advisory Board reviews applications submitted through the Connections to Culture grant program and makes awards every spring. The main grant programs are the Visiting Artist/Researcher Grants and Collections-Based Workshop Grants (Burke Museum 2016c). As a global learning center, BHC provides grants through donations made to funds processed through the University of Washington Foundation (Burke Museum 2016g):

- Bill Holm Center Research Endowment funds public programs, web site development, visiting researchers and artists using Burke Museum collections, and publications;

- Bill Holm Center Graduate Fellowship for UW graduate students researching Northwest Coast Native art; and the
- Bill Holm Center Professorship Endowment, which funds UW faculty and visiting faculty researching and teaching course on Northwest Coast Native art.

The BHC receives additional funding for its Connections to Culture grant program through the Native Arts and Cultures grant program of Margaret A. Cargill Philanthropies. The organization's goal for the Native Arts and Cultures grant program is to "strengthen networks of Native artists, supporting their livelihoods and helping communities of practice throughout [the Upper Midwest, Montana, Idaho, the Pacific Northwest, and the Southwest] regions to thrive sustainably" (Margaret A. Cargill 2017). An additional focus is on culture revitalization by supporting "the intergenerational transference of artistic skill and knowledge, where skills and meaning are rooted in longstanding traditions defined by local communities of practice" (Margaret A. Cargill 2017).

Robin K. Wright was Director of BHC until 2016, playing a proactive role in guiding the Center's mission and building its programs with the BHC staff. She worked at the Burke Museum throughout her career from 1975 to 1985, as a graduate student of Bill Holm, and from 1985 to 2015 as a curator (Wright and Bill Holm Center 2015). Among Wright's accomplishments throughout her years of service to the UW, the Burke Museum and its communities, is the acquisition of contemporary Northwest Coast art into the collections beginning in the 1980s (Wright and Bunn-Marcuse 2013).

The current Director of the Bill Holm Center and Curator of Northwest Native Art is Kathryn Bunn-Marcuse, who received her PhD in Art History under Dr. Robin K. Wright (Burke Museum 2015o, 10:00). Dr. Bunn-Marcuse is also an Assistant Professor teaching courses in the School of Art + Art History + Design at UW. Her work with artists and Native community members in her roles as researcher, teacher, curator, and museum administrator is collaborative. The goal of collaborative work for Bunn-Marcuse is to "build on knowledge and skills that collectively enrich the projects at-hand, while supporting the urgent needs of communities access to, and use of, their own heritage" (Burke Museum 2016h).

Dr. Bunn-Marcuse's own research concentrates on "the indigenization of Euro-American imagery" and the use of body adornment taking into consideration the connections between the "visual aspects of historical Native art [and] the intangible properties to which they are connected, [such as] song, dance, language, and genealogy" (Burke Museum 2016h). The Burke Museum Executive Director, Dr. Julie K. Stein said of Bunn-Marcuse in 2016, "For the past eight years, Kathryn has been dedicated to connecting Indigenous communities and the public as a whole to Northwest Native Art here at the museum. In her new role as curator, she will be able to expand on this great work for many years to come" (Burke Museum 2016h).

Bridget K. Johnson, MA, Choctaw (Johnson 2016b), was recently named Assistant Director for the BHC. Johnson began working at the BHC as assistant to Robin K. Wright in 2013. Before coming to the UW for graduate work, Johnson received a BA in art history from Santa Clara University in 2009. She interned at Autry National Center, Southwest Museum of the American Indian and at the Summer Institute in Museum Anthropology at the National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution in 2012 (BHC 2013). Prior to her promotion as Assistant Director of the Bill Holm Center in 2016, Bridget Johnson was the Administrator and Regional Outreach Coordinator for the BHC (Johnson 2016b).

Johnson's MA thesis research at UW was funded by a Bill Holm Center Fellowship. She learned how to make a Columbia River style mountain sheep horn bowl as part of her thesis learning process under the guidance of Bill Holm (BHC 2013). Ms. Johnson's thesis focused on a historical study of Columbia River style Chinookan mountain sheep horn bowls. The art form was lost for over a century as a result of colonization and has been undergoing revitalization in the last decade by "contemporary Chinookan artists and culture bearers" (Johnson 2016a).

The Bill Holm Center Collections Outreach Coordinator, Justin McCarthy, MA in Museology, Yup'ik, grew up in Spokane, Washington, where he formed meaningful community bonds to the Plateau tribes of Eastern Washington and Northern Idaho. McCarthy has a BA in Cultural Anthropology and attended the Pre-Law Summer Institute for American Indians at the University of New Mexico prior to coming to the UW. He conducted legal research for the Kalispel Tribe's legal department for several years (BHC 2012). In his role as Collections Outreach Coordinator, Justin McCarthy "facilitates visits for artists, researchers, and various Indigenous communities to the Burke's ethnology department"(BHC 2012). He serves as an assistant collections manager as well as assisting UW museology student work with the collections in the course of their studies (BHC 2012).

In May and June of 2016, the BHC funded the Upper Columbia United Tribes (UCUT) for the last two months of a multi-tribal (Colville, Spokane, and Kalispel), year-long dugout canoe project to help complete canoe preparation for an historic journey to Kettle Falls (Burke Museum 2016b). UCUT citizens carved shovelnose canoes to gather for the first time in eighty years, advocating for environmental stewardship and revitalization of traditional and ancestral culture. The project included several staff members of the Burke museum who assisted with carving and launching of the Kalispel canoe, among them McCarthy (Burke Museum 2016o).

In 2015, the BHC awarded four grants to researchers from the Bill Holm Center Research Endowment, as well as five artist and three workshop grants to Washington and Oregon tribes through the Connections to Culture Program. An additional four community workshop projects were funded that year through the BHC to Native communities (BHC 2015a). One of the results of the Connections to Culture

Program 2015 was a collections based workshop led by Suquamish Master weaver, Ed Carriere, followed by private student lessons in the Master weaver's home (BHC 2015c).

The BHC sponsored Carriere's table at the Northwest Native American Basketweaving Association (NNABA) where the Master weaver "gave a presentation with archaeologist Dale Croes on [Carriere's] work replicating the 2,000 year old Biderbost burden basket" found at the Biderbost wetsite (BHC 2015c). The BHC Outreach Team had a table at the gathering and shared materials promoting the BHC grant program with NNABA attendees. They brought examples of historical baskets from the Burke collections for Native artists and gathering attendees to explore (BHC 2015c).

From March 2 to September 3, 2007, the Burke Museum ran the exhibition, *In the Spirit of the Ancestors*, curated by a team of four: Dr. Robin K. Wright, Bill Holm, and Coast Salish artists Susan Point (Musqueam) and Shaun Peterson (Puyallup/Tulalip) (Wright and Bunn-Marcuse 2013). Essays written by four of the Indigenous artists from the 2007 show were included in the catalog. The exhibit featured work created since 1985 from over 60 contemporary artists and was "the first comprehensive exhibition of contemporary Northwest Coast Native art from the Burke's own collections" (Burke Museum 2007).

Evelyn Vanderhoop is a Haida artist from the Gaw Git'ans Git'anee family of Massett, Haida Gwaii, British Columbia and specializes in *naaxiin* and Ravenstail weaving. Her essay discusses the language of the Pacific Northwest Coast art as being woven into garments, which distinguish the level of social hierarchies of the wearer, as well as convey messages during particular social, political, and cultural events (Bunn-Marcuse 2013).

The personal journey of discovery behind the art and work of weaving baskets, hats, and shoes using spruce root and cedar bark is told by Lisa Telford, Gawa Git'ans Git'anee Haida weaver from Ketchikan, Alaska. Telford remembers her time researching in the Burke's collections (Telford 2013, 56–57):

> I am happy to say the objects I have studied will be available to teach and reconnect with when my granddaughter is ready. . . . The Burke is a house of knowledge waiting for her to open the door.

Joe David, Tla-o-qui-aht, born and raised in the village of Opitsaht on Vancouver Island discusses his creative process as a mask carver and the importance of spirituality. He remembers watching his father carve at a very early age and the "extra-strong special energy and life" the masks possessed (David 2013, 60). Crediting Duane Pasco and Bill Holm as "Grandmasters in Northwest Coast art," (2013, 60) David notes that "the art market [dominated by male buyers] is mostly responsible for the development of a generic Northwest Coast style and representation" of contemporary masks (2013, 63).

Qwalsius-Shaun Peterson is an enrolled member of the Puyallup tribe. In his essay, "Coast Salish Design: An Anticipated Southern Analysis," he explains that the Salish style is unique "among the many tribal styles of the Northwest Coast" (S. Peterson 2013, 13). Peterson has analyzed Salish forms and determined that it is "negative areas rather than positive formlines [as previously identified by Holm] that initially define the composition" among other differences, such as the repetitive use of trigons and crescents to form patterns (2013, 14).

Seven years after *In the Spirit of the Ancestors*, Dr. Bunn-Marcuse curated, with the assistance of Bridget K. Johnson, MA, the exhibit, *Here and Now: Native Artists Inspired*, November 22, 2014 through July 27, 2015 (Burke Museum 2015f, 2016h). The exhibit featured the artwork of fifteen Native artists who had previously received BHC research grants. Their work was informed by historical objects they studied in the Burke Museum's ethnology collection (BHC 2014). In order to share the results of their "conversations with collections" with the public, the Native artists provided text and audio discussing the ways their studies informed their work and their personal relationship with the historical object (BHC 2014).

As part of the *Here & Now: Native Artists Inspired* exhibit programming, Wright, Johnson, and Bunn-Marcuse organized an ArtTalk Symposium with support from a UW Simpson Center for the Humanities grant. The keynote program on Friday, March 27, 2015, featured Robin K. Wright and Native artists Shaun Peterson and David R. Boxley. A series of speakers presented the next day (University of Washington 2015). Native American and First Nations artists along with leading scholars participated in presenting research and current work. Among the themes of the symposium were "the past 50 years of Northwest Coast Native art, including the impact of Bill Holm's influential text *Northwest Coast Indian Art: An Analysis of Form*, collaborative research and community based scholarship, retrospectives on Northwest Coast art history and methodologies, and contemporary Northwest Coast art and challenging pre-conceptions" (BHC 2015b).

The symposium presentations are viewable on the Burke Museum's YouTube channel in a series of four videos (Burke Museum 2015o, 2015p, 2015q, 2015r). Discussing the transformation of pre-colonization and contemporary Native art during the keynote presentation, Tsimshian artist, David R. Boxley stated, "If the art is to move forward, we have to look at where it was when it got stopped" (Burke Museum 2015o, 35:32). Session 1 included "presentations on collaborative research and community-based scholarship (Burke Museum 2015p). The following are selections from the Session 1 Panel Discussion relevant to decolonizing museums and collaboration between museums and descendant communities.

Kathryn Bunn-Marcuse explained the project "G̱alg̱apoła," centers around a Franz Boas film in the Burke Museum archives. As a standalone film, it is problematic and disconnected from its cultural context.

The film was originally intended for use as visual field notes by Boas. However, the silent film of Kwakiutl dancing creates an anonymity about who the participants are in the film without providing real contextual information. Without the accompanying music and song, the strength of identity and Native voice is diminished. The goal of the long-term, ongoing project is to re-contextualize the historical film and wax cylinder sound recordings located in the Archives of Traditional Music, Indiana University through privileging 21st century Native community interests and priorities. Collaborating with the Kwakiutl descendants of the people represented in the film is returning identity, voice, and context to the material (Burke Museum 2015p, 49:38).

Tom Child noted the ability to re-listen to the old songs on the wax cylinders and capture their power affirms the power of Indigenous peoples' use of oral history because the songs and techniques have not changed (Burke Museum 2015p, 1:04:07). Coreen Child stated the project has provided an opportunity to "make affirmations that are already known to our people." She reiterated the importance of creating and maintaining community connections and relationships when working in partnerships. Coreen recognized the value in collaborative projects and access provided to collections stating, "there are things and items that are very near and dear to us that are just sitting within walls" of museums and archives (Burke Museum 2015p, 51:20).

Bunn-Marcuse explained to the audience that an integral part of the collaborative process is all of the institutions working together. She noted that sometimes the process is challenging. For the G̱a̱lg̱a̱poła project, the film is at the Burke, the wax cylinder recordings are at the Archives of Traditional Music, Indiana University, and Boas' field notes are at the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia. Each have different catalog numbers that don't correlate to one another between the institutions. She went on to describe how it is impossible to make connections without the Indigenous language speakers and the people who recognize what is in the film and recordings and Boas' field notes, and how they all go together. (Burke Museum 2015p, 1:20:39).

During the panel discussion, Sven Haakanson answered a question from the audience which started a discussion. The question was, "The Bill Holm Center does a lot of work with Native artists, what other ways are you working to decolonize the Burke Museum and the Bill Holm Center?" Dr. Haakanson started by saying, "Where do you even start? One of the first things to think of is how has this accessibility to museums changed our lives." The BHC started over a decade ago bringing people in to see the collections with the open access policy started by Bill Holm and carried on by Dr. Wright and Dr. Bunn-Marcuse. He further explained the Burke doesn't own the pieces, that the Burke staff are only caretakers for them, and inviting everyone in to come see the pieces is the Burke Museum's policy. Haakanson stated, "It's exhausting and sometimes we stumble, but we keep these policies because we know the power of

what these relationships mean and what we learn from them to take them forward." He went on to say that the *Here and Now* exhibit is a perfect example of what accessed collections mean and the power of what is learned from these collaborations by all participants (Burke Museum 2015p, 1:34:03).

An audience member from Alaska stated that museums with strong Native presence already had a tradition of bringing Indigenous peoples in to the museum, while mainstream museums were forced into decolonizing practices through the passage of NAGPRA. Kaleb Child responded that in the decolonization work of museums and institutions, and in the education system, Indigenous people have to first work at developing relationships with those institutions. He stressed the need to tell a current story—not a static reflection of the past—noting that mainstream museum spaces normally say nothing about how Native people are still here (Burke Museum 2015p, 1:38:21). Pat Courtney Gold, Bill Holm Center Board Member, acknowledged the importance of the relationship between museums and Indigenous communities. She stated that some holders of collections in communities realize their homes are not the ideal place to store cultural heritage objects. They reach out to museums and ask museums to care for their cultural heritage with the agreement that the family can come and borrow them for special events and ceremonies (Burke Museum 2015p, 1:41:17).

Nadia Jackinsky Sethi, PhD, recognized the importance of the way museums are changing the way they care for cultural heritage objects and the way these objects are stored in collections based on Traditional Care practices. She also noted the importance of language revitalization and how that is being applied to collection cataloging and labeling through use of correct tribal names and names of artists when they are known (Burke Museum 2015p, 1:42:49). Kathryn Bunn-Marcuse added that it's also important to work with other institutions that hold the intangible cultural property related to physical objects in museum collections such as recordings of dances and songs. The intangible property needs to be brought back into relation with the physical objects and Indigenous descendant community members need to be included to complete the circle. She stressed that one of the important and complicated new goals to move towards is figuring out protocols, access permissions, and copyrights for those objects, all of which should be updated in catalog records (Burke Museum 2015p, 1:43:50).

Interview Results: Developing and Implementing Relationships and Initiatives with Descendant Communities

Erna Gunther's work with Native communities in Washington state and First Nations communities along the coast, coupled with the work of Bill Holm, informed the Bill Holm Center's working relationship with Indigenous descendant communities and helped form the Center's mission (Bunn-Marcuse 2016). As stated on the Burke Museum's website, the BHC's mission is to (Burke Museum 2017b):

- establish a globally accessible learning center at the Burke Museum;
- promote scholarly research on Northwest Coast Native art;
- increase Native and public access to research resources; and
- foster appreciation and understanding of Native art of the Pacific Northwest Coast.

James Nason's work with UW's Museology program and his encouragement for the museum to be involved with Native descendant communities provided scaffolding and reinforcement to these efforts (Bunn-Marcuse 2016). The Burke Museum's involvement with Native American communities predated NAGPRA. As a result of Nason's development of cultural protocols for working with collections, the Burke's cultural collections policies were instituted. He created an open door policy with tribal peoples and opened collections access up to them, which is sometimes difficult to reconcile with the formal policies of the museum (McCarthy 2016).

The NAAB meets two times per year and focuses on issues in the education department and developing policy and protocol. Among the NAAB members are individuals from the Tlingit, Wasco, Alutiiq, Colville, Puyallup, and Kwagiulth peoples. The NAAB developed the site blessing protocol for the ground-breaking ceremony for the New Burke. The BHC has its own advisory board, many of whom are members of Native descendant communities, which helps make decisions on grant recipients for the year and publications (Bunn-Marcuse 2016).

Curators and staff continually have interactions that create and maintain collaborative relationships with Native descendant communities (Bunn-Marcuse 2016). These interactions take place both at the Burke Museum and off-site at community centers, workshops, and events (Bunn-Marcuse 2016; Johnson 2016b; McCarthy 2016). The Burke Museum has about 80 research visits per year by tribal communities and the BHC keeps statistics on the visits (Johnson 2016b; McCarthy 2016). The BHC primarily promotes access to collections to the larger public by promoting understanding and appreciation of Native art and culture through grant programs. Justin McCarthy and Bridget Johnson work on the grants and with the grant recipients throughout the process. Justin McCarthy's position at the BHC is dedicated to fulfilling funded and unfunded, formal and informal, tribal requests related to collections (Bunn-Marcuse 2016).

The planning process when working with Native descendant communities is different in some ways. It is important to understand the social standards of each tribal group the museum works with. Flexibility is key to success along with the understanding that scheduling enough time to engage in small talk before business—something very important to relationship building—is integral to the planning

process. Additionally, communications between the Burke Museum as a state institution and Native and First Nations communities are considered to be government-to-government. There is a protocol to learn with each tribal group such as knowing who is in charge and who the museum is allowed to work with on collaborative projects. This is facilitated by the Tribal Liaison Officer of the Burke Museum's Executive Director office who works with the Tribal Councils to establish protocol (Bunn-Marcuse 2016).

Getting word out to communities about opportunities for collaboration helps form relationships. Artists from Native descendant communities are always invited to come to the BHC and work with the collections, whether established or apprentice artists, or in groups (Bunn-Marcuse 2016). Museum professionals who are working to establish and maintain relationships with Indigenous descendant communities can strengthen bonds by going to and participating at public community events. Talking with people and watching them work on contemporary or traditional art pieces helps to make connections with artists and artisans in Indigenous communities (2016).

The BHC developed an outreach program which takes collections out to communities as a way to help establish relationships with them as a result of Nason's policy development (McCarthy 2016). By registering and having a table at annual gatherings, the BHC Outreach Team can bring cultural art and artifacts from the collection that are related to the communities having the event. This provides opportunities to meet and get to know people in the communities and facilitates connection between descendant communities and their objects housed at the Burke Museum (Johnson 2016b). The BHC Outreach Team goes yearly to the NNABA and the Coastal Plateau gatherings which occur on alternate years (BHC 2015c; Johnson 2016b). The team also goes to Elders' luncheons and workshops. On occasions when the team is visiting Native events, they stop by descendant community tables to meet people. If the team is off-site and near a Native community event that is typically closed to outsiders, they stop by the Tribal offices and ask permission to come to the event (Johnson 2016b).

The BHC's work is closely connected to regular programming with Native descendant communities. Funding is provided to facilitate BHC programs through the Burke's Public Programming and Development departments. Volunteer support is also provided to help with programs (Bunn-Marcuse 2016). The goal is for successful programs to become self-sustainable. The Native Art Market began in 2012 with an NEA grant to promote Coast Salish art and it has turned into a permanent Spring program (Bunn-Marcuse 2016; Burke Museum 2016i). The BHC hopes to grow it into a regular festival that will be self-sustainable by selling memberships to the Native Art Market. This will help artists continue to make connections with the community (Bunn-Marcuse 2016).

Although the BHC does not normally develop and implement exhibitions, *Here & Now: Native Artists Inspired,* was an outcome of the BHC's daily work with descendant communities and grant

programs. The exhibition was intended to showcase what happens when open access to collections is provided to descendant communities for research (Bunn-Marcuse 2016). In the year following the exhibition, several artists implemented public programming which was incorporated into the Burke's Education department (Bunn-Marcuse 2016).

Working together with Indigenous descendant communities on exhibit development and implementation involves prioritizing their object choices and their voices in the process (McCarthy 2016). The Burke accomplishes this through consultation with descendant communities on all exhibits related to their cultures. Policy development for exhibition consultation with Native descendant communities is handled by the Tribal Liaison Officer. The New Burke is planning to install a new exhibition with Native descendant communities. The development and implementation of the new exhibition will involve a consultation process that will build on the BHC's and the Burke's ongoing relationships with Native, Alaskan Native, and First Nations descendant communities (Bunn-Marcuse 2016).

Interview Results: Evaluating Exhibitions and Initiatives with Descendant Communities

The BHC's development of the evaluation protocol is overseen and implemented by Bridget Johnson. The BHC team does most of the writing and an outside consulting firm works with them on the best ways to develop the protocol and evaluate the results of data collection and research. The results are shared with the people involved in the grant process. When requested, the BHC shares program evaluation results with the Development department and the community (Johnson 2016b).

The BHC uses formal evaluations related to the grants it administers. First, the team visits the grant recipient(s) in their community or workshop and does an on-site front-end interview. Next, when the research project is completed, the team does an exit interview. They ask questions of the grant recipients about the level of access to collections and what they were able to record for their research. Most of the interview questions are open-ended (Bunn-Marcuse 2016; Johnson 2016b). Some grants from the states of Oregon and Washington request demographics and a pre-collections-visit survey, followed by a collections-visit survey, and ending with a 5- to 10-minute evaluation on site at the museum as an exit interview (Bunn-Marcuse 2016; Johnson 2016b).

The BHC team does a check-in interview, ten to twelve months after each grant related research project is completed to find out how grant recipients feel about their art or research. They ask questions about where they are in their research or creative process and whether they have made anything based on their research in the collections. Sometimes grant recipients also share photographs of their work for the evaluation reports. The exhibition, *Here & Now: Native Artists Inspired* was a result of this type of grant related evaluation process (Bunn-Marcuse 2016; Johnson 2016b).

The BHC also uses a focus group approach and periodically invites 30 or more artists to come and spend the day giving feedback on the types of programs they would like the Burke Museum and the BHC to offer (Johnson 2016b). During a recent day-long focus group, the BHC team learned that paying workshop leaders for their time is important. The team also learned that having workshops supporting how to gather, harvest, and process materials used in Native descendant community art is important (Johnson 2016b). Another outcome of the grant evaluation process are workshops developed by Native descendant communities both on-site at the Burke and off-site. People from the descendant communities come to the Burke in a group and a workshop artist or leader facilitates the work of the group by handling and examining the collection objects (Bunn-Marcuse 2016). These elements have been integrated into the museum's programming based on research and evaluation done by the BHC.

Discussion and Assessment of Museum

The early days of UW and the Washington State Museum were steeped in colonial entanglement through early practices of collecting and Edmond S. Meany's role in hosting the AYPE. The AYPE was not only an opportunity for the UW to gain new land—cleared of Indigenous vegetation—and buildings, it affirmed the colonial aspirations of the city of Seattle and many of its Euro-American citizens. Articles written about the AYPE in 1909 are examples of propagandist rhetoric designed to promote westward expansion and exploitation of the "last frontier," which symbolized the Euro-American social, political, and cultural ideology of the time (Raymond 1909; Thomas 1909; Wilhelm 1909). As the centennial of the AYPE approached, John Findlay wrote that "the fair never stood as an expression of the totality of the city; rather, the world's fair—including its landscape design and architecture—was largely the creation of a particular group of citizens in pursuit of a particular agenda" (2008, 10).

The acts of collecting Native American, Alaskan Native, and First Nations cultural objects and art illustrates a common theme in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. In the case of Caroline McGilvra-Burke, her collecting and display of Native American objects and art may have represented an attempt to create an individual identity centered within the newly formed Euro-American capitalist identity of Seattle (Hinsley 2000). The appropriation of Native imagery by the city of Seattle and AYPE visitors, and of Native objects by collectors provided a basis for the colonizers to take power over the identity of the colonized (Dubin 2001; Hendry 2005). Collecting Native cultural heritage objects with the conviction that Native peoples were vanishing or vanished contributed to the loss of cultural practice and transfer of knowledge from one generation to the next. The knowledge represented by the collected objects was transferred to museums, such as the Burke, holding them in their collections (Cooper 2008; Lonetree 2012).

The social and political relationships between Native peoples and Euro-Americans were both complex and convoluted in the formative years of Seattle (Thrush 2009), and these relationships contributed to the past and future institutional culture of the UW and the Washington State Museum. Life in Seattle for Native Americans during Erna Gunther's tenure at the UW and the Burke Museum (Washington State Museum) was changing. The 1930s represented a cusp between the past and present of Seattle's history that brought a shift in cultural, social, and political perspectives (Thrush 2009, 152). The 1960s and 70s represented a significant turning point in relations between the Indigenous peoples of the Seattle area and non-Native inhabitants. Erna Gunther's involvement with the American Indian Women's Service League represents a decolonizing act of outreach advocating social justice for Native descendant communities. Her work on the *Northwest Coast Indian Art* exhibit at the 1962 Seattle World's Fair and others like it helped set the stage for curators (both non-Indigenous and Indigenous) to place Pacific Northwest Native American art as fine art objects in art museums nationwide (Blecha 2009).

Gunther's influence on decolonizing the museum carried forward with Bill Holm. Through his classes at the UW, Holm influenced generations of Indigenous and non-Indigenous artists as well as future UW professors, curators, and staff of the Burke Museum (Averill 2003; Illman 1997a). Holm is acutely aware of his role in revitalizing Northwest Coast Native art and recognizes the designs he has worked with and carved throughout his career as an artist and sharer of knowledge are the intellectual property of Native and First Nations peoples. He has been a lifetime participant in the healing process of Native American communities (Sutton-Holcomb 2014).

Dr. James Nason's experience and contributions to the field of museology represent significant strides towards decolonizing the institution of museum at the Burke and beyond. Karen Coody Cooper cites Nason as reporting "that the Burke Museum began changing its method of operation in the early 1970s when it began to recognize "mutual responsibilities that exist and should exist between curators and specialists within Native American communities" (2008, 176). Nason states that "change in . . . traditional museological culture came during the Native American social and political activism of the 1960s"" (Nason and Wright 1994). Nason was paraphrased as stressing that "the Burke always works with representatives of tribes when creating an exhibit of Native American artifacts" noting that "tribes are working hard with museums to document and preserve their historical legacies" (Peter 2008). In the same article, he was quoted as saying of the Burke, "We've been a part of the development of almost every tribal museum in the Northwest" (Peter 2008).

Dr. Wright's research of historical art and artifacts during her 30 years at the Burke Museum led to the decolonizing work of "attributing artists to pieces when they were previously unknown, and connecting those artists to their descendants, who are carrying on the art forms today" (Burke Museum 2016q, 13). Dr.

Bunn-Marcuse works in partnership with First Nations communities and artists prioritizing and facilitating cultural revitalization through research projects using the collections of the Burke Museum (Burke Museum 2016h).

An example of the ongoing commitment to honoring the Indigenous inhabitants of the land under the UW and the Burke Museum was made clear when throughout the ArtTalk program for *Here & Now*, the Duwamish were recognized and thanked in both English and Indigenous languages for hosting the symposium and welcoming other tribes and bands on their ancestral territory (Burke Museum 2015o, 2015p, 2015q, 2015r). The exhibit and the symposium illustrate the Burke Museum's decolonizing work and cultivate a culture of sustainability and transparency through the facilitation of personal reflection, encouragement of community dialog, and by motivating public involvement (Worts and O'Neill 2012).

The Burke Museum and the Bill Holm Center's collaborative approach to outreach and research honors the holistic nature of Indigenous networks, challenges categorization of museum objects and art based on formalism and aesthetics, and maintains an institutionalized decolonizing methodology that prioritizes the usefulness of museum collections to Indigenous cultural revitalization efforts (Dubin 2001; Sleeper-Smith 2009; Lonetree 2012; Smith 2012). The Burke Museum and the Bill Holm Center have worked to decolonize the museum through daily actions and the prioritizing of Native voices via open access to collections and providing spaces for collaborative engagement with cultural heritage objects which revive and affirm Indigenous narratives (Sleeper-Smith 2009; Boast 2011; Lonetree 2012; Smith 2012; IARC 2018b).

7. Case Study, Portland Art Museum

> *When artists give form to revelation, their art can advance, deepen and potentially transform the consciousness of their community.*
>
> – Alex Grey, Artist

INTRODUCTION

This case study examines the Portland Art Museum (PAM). The Portland Art Museum took up residence in its current location at 1219 SW Park Avenue in the Cultural District of Portland, Oregon, on November 18, 1932. First, an overview of the development of the Museum and its collections since its founding in 1892 to modern-day is presented. An overview of PAM's role in creating the Pacific Northwest College of Art (PNCA) is then discussed. This section also reviews the Museum's membership, staff, and volunteers as well as services, programs, and professional development workshops. Changes made to the Museum over time are highlighted.

The next section reviews PAM's early exhibition, programming, and collections history between 1892 to 1924. A brief discussion of the Museum's involvement with the 1905 Lewis & Clark Exposition is presented, after which, snapshots of important moments in the development of collections and exhibitions are outlined, including a 1924 groundbreaking shift in display technique that labeled non-European art as fine art. The third section overviews important developments from 1925 through 2004. The primary focus here is on the acquisition of Native American Art collections at PAM with a review of the various collections and their collectors in more detail through the lenses of curatorial catalogs and media reports.

The fourth section overlaps in time with the previous section and reviews PAM's Curators of Native American Art and the galleries created specifically to showcase Native art from 1997 through modern-day. Three curators and their significant contributions to PAM's relationship development with Native descendant communities are discussed by outlining the exhibitions they curated, the programs they developed, their involvement with NAGPRA, and their efforts in the areas of funding procurement, collections development, and community outreach and education participation. The results of the author's interview with the most recent Curator of Native American Art at PAM are presented in the fifth section of this chapter. The final part of the case study concludes with a discussion and assessment of the Portland Art Museum's progress towards decolonizing its institution, using information presented in this chapter and insights derived from the review of the literature.

OVERVIEW OF DEVELOPMENT OF THE MUSEUM AND COLONIAL HISTORY

Founded in late 1892 by the Portland Art Association, PAM is the seventh oldest museum in the United States and the oldest art museum in the Pacific Northwest. The PAM campus of landmark buildings covers two city blocks in Portland's Cultural District, west of Oregon's Willamette River. Over a century ago, the goal of the Portland Art Association was to "create a first-class art museum that would be accessible to all citizens" (Portland Art Museum 2016a). The vision held by the seven leaders from Portland's early business and cultural institutions remains steadfast today as expressed in PAM's core values of creativity, connection, learning, accessibility, accountability, and the pursuit of innovation. PAM's mission "is to engage diverse communities through art and film of enduring quality, and to collect, preserve, and educate for the enrichment of present and future generations" (Portland Art Museum 2016m).

PAM's 1892 inaugural exhibit consisted of objects from its first acquisition, a collection of over 100 plaster casts of Greek and Roman sculptures, created in Europe and purchased by Mr. and Mrs. Winslow B. Ayer with a gift of $10,000 from Henry Corbett. The Ayers received professional advice on selecting the casts from the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York and the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. Named the Corbett Collection, selected casts of Greek and Roman sculptures were displayed alongside prints of European paintings in the public library at SW 7th and Stark Streets in Portland. As its collections grew, PAM moved to a new site in 1905, dedicated solely to the museum at SW 5th and Taylor (Oregon Encyclopedia 2016b; Portland Art Museum 2016a).

In its new location, PAM held its first exhibition showcasing paintings and watercolors from the 1905 Lewis & Clark Exposition. The exhibition was organized by PAM's first Curator of the Museum, Henrietta H. Failing (Portland Art Museum 2016a). Officially, the 1905 Lewis & Clark Exposition was known as the *Lewis and Clark Centennial and American Pacific Exposition and Oriental Fair* and was conceived of to promote trade through Oregon's portal to the Pacific with East Asia. The Exposition also functioned as a platform to display scientific and technological advances attributed to Euro-American ingenuity. The fair, like others of the time, contained racist exhibits portraying non-Europeans as savages. "Westward the Course of Empire Takes Its Way" was written on the entrance gate arch to the 1905 Lewis & Clark Exposition. This sentiment was reflected in the portrayal on one of the fair's programs of a lone Native American person standing on the hills and looking down into the bustling fairgrounds, the trope of the vanishing Native observing the "power of European Americans" in the pursuit of progress (Churchill 2001; Oregon Encyclopedia 2016a).

The Museum Art School, headed by Anna Belle Crocker and originally housed within the museum, opened in 1909 the same year Crocker's 27 year tenure as Curator of the Museum commenced

(Portland Art Museum 2016a). In addition to developing a fine arts school in Portland, Crocker was responsible for bringing Modern Art to American audiences in the Pacific Northwest with the 1913 New York Armory Show which included works by Cezanne, van Gogh, Gaugin, Matisse, Manet, Renoir and Marcel Duchamp's *Nude Descending a Staircase*. Under the curatorial direction of Crocker, another important event in the development of art appreciation at PAM occurred when the daughter of a prominent Portland family, Sally Lewis, organized her second exhibition at the museum containing subject matter which rendered it a bold endeavor in the eyes of museum goers. Lewis' 1924 exhibition displayed European artworks meant to be viewed in aesthetic contrast with African masks (Portland Art Museum 2016a). This was the first exhibition containing objects interpreted as non-European fine art at the Portland Art Museum.

Mid-20th century was an important time for PAM. In 1943, the first full inventory of the collection was completed resulting in a count of 3,300 objects in the permanent collection and 750 long-term loan works (Portland Art Museum 2016a). The Director of the Portland Art Museum from 1939 to 1947 was Robert Tyler Davis, whose background in art history specializing in Pacific Northwest Native American art led to the acquisition of Axel Rasmussen's collection of Northwest Coast art (Smithsonian Institution Archives 2016). This purchase by PAM in 1948 introduced a significant selection of Native American art into the Museum's collection (Portland Art Museum 2016q). Prior to the acquisition of the Rasmussen Collection by PAM, the earliest catalog numbers for Native American Art accessible through searching on PAM's Online Collection portal belong to two bracelets cataloged in 1934 (Portland Art Museum 2016s).

Davis published *Native arts of the Pacific Northwest, from the Rasmussen Collection of the Portland Art Museum* (1949). Dr. Erna Gunther, served as the Washington State Museum's (later Burke Museum) Director as well as professor of anthropology of the University of Washington, in the 1940s, and contributed to the volume by checking the text for anthropological accuracy (Davis and Rasmussen 1949). The "Foreword" to this volume, written by the then President of the Portland Art Association, R.F. Arragon, describes the nature of the collection as being objects "made [by Natives] for practical and ceremonial purposes….and not newly made for sale to tourists and traders," (Davis and Rasmussen 1949, xi) in other words, 'authentic' Native artist produced objects (Dubin 2001). Arragon goes on to say that the collector, (Davis and Rasmussen 1949, xi–xii):

> [Axel] Rasmussen [of Skagway, Alaska] collected as a friend of the Indians, who responded with such confidence in him that they brought him artifacts discovered in old burial sites and even totemic objects, priestly paraphernalia, and fetishes that seldom leave native hands. His purpose was to establish a collection that would demonstrate the distinctiveness of the native crafts. His notes show a combination of anthropological and aesthetic interests, including attention to the

> techniques and qualities of decorative and totemic designs. These notes were made with such care that they have proved invaluable for the study of the articles.

The Rasmussen Collection was acquired by PAM, in 1948 from private collector Earl Stendhal of Los Angeles who reassembled the collection after it was broken up upon Axel Rasmussen's death. The collection was distributed to the Skagway Museum, and locations in Wrangell, Alaska, and Indiana and Colorado "for safekeeping during the war emergency" (Davis and Rasmussen 1949, ix). The acquisition includes Haida, Inuit, Kwakiutl, and Tlingit carved artworks using materials of wood, bone (marine and land mammal), horn, ivory, and stone (defined as the work of men). Also in the collection are textiles such as ceremonial Tlingit and Tsimshian clothing and blankets (Chilkat), and spruce root, fern, and dyed grass baskets (defined as the work of women) (Davis and Rasmussen 1949).

Davis declares in his curatorial statement that the objects in the Rasmussen Collection represent the work of "artists of extraordinary creative energy, skill, and ingenuity" (1949, 7). He goes on to say that "the only poor and feeble works to come from this culture were those produced explicitly to please the foreign taste of the white men" (Davis and Rasmussen 1949). Similarly, in his discussion of abstract geometrics used in basket designs by women, Davis differentiates between the "fine craftsmanship and distinguished design" of baskets and hats produced for Indigenous peoples and those made for "the tourist trade…[in which] the designs [were] debased" (1949, 11).

A large Potlatch food dish in the shape of a human figure accompanied by several large carved bowls is part of the Rasmussen Collection. The Potlatch dish remains on display in the Grand Ronde Center for Native American Art (Figure 7.1) and represents an important Pacific Northwest First Nations peoples' economic, social, and cultural institution that was outlawed as a religious practice in Canada in 1884 by amendment to the Indian Act of 1876. While the 1951 amendment to the Indian Act reversed the potlatch ban in Canada, it essentially returned the Act to its 1876 form and included new reforms (Henderson 2017).

This important First Nations object was acquired by Axel Rasmussen sometime during the 1920s or 1930s (TFAO 2017) while the potlatch ban was enacted in Canada. According to the illustration description in Davis' catalog, Rasmussen left no information in his records about the provenance of this potlatch dish (1949). PAM's online collection database cites a Native artist as maker and a creation date for the artwork indicating that the dish has been properly identified and attributed since the Rasmussen Collection was acquired in 1948. Prior to Davis' tenure at PAM, the Museum's collections were comprised primarily of European and Euro-American artworks.

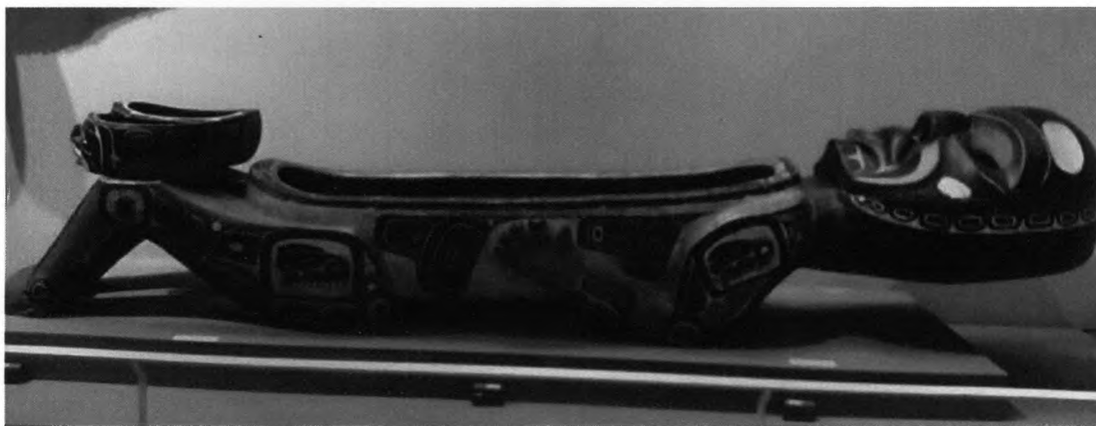


Figure 7.1: Large Dzunuk'wa Feast Dish in shape of human figure, carved cedar and paint, ca. 1900. There are five bowls and a mask piece that accompany the dish. Artist: Charlie James, Kwakwaka'wakw, 1870-1938. PAM No. 48.3.523a-g. Photo by author, 2016.

Another important milestone at PAM during the mid-20th century was an increase in visitors resulting from two major exhibitions. The first in 1956, was organized by PAM and traveled to nine other cities after its six-week showing in Portland. Almost 55,000 visitors viewed paintings from the collection of Walter Chrysler at this exhibition. The second was a Vincent van Gogh exhibition in 1959 attended by more than 80,000 people, which generated proceeds that were used to purchase Claude Monet's *Waterlillies* for the Museum's permanent collection (Portland Art Museum 2016a).

After the mid-20th century, PAM's Native American Art collection grew substantially in 1986 when Elizabeth Cole Butler started donating her comprehensive collection of Native American Art of North America. Mrs. Butler's donations to PAM ended with her final bequest upon her death in 2004 (Portland Art Museum 2016q). Prior to its acquisition by PAM, the Elizabeth Cole Butler Collection was at the Philbrook Art Center in Tulsa, OK (now Philbrook Museum of Art) starting as early as 1981 (Philbrook Art Center et al. 1983).

Elizabeth Cole Butler (1929-2004) (Find A Grave 2017) was of Choctaw descent and raised in Euro-American culture. She had no meaningful contact with Native peoples raised in Native American cultural environments until 1972. At that time, she agreed to host in her home a group of Native American students completing a high-school equivalence program at the University of Oregon and share her knowledge with them about her early collection of Native American objects. Based on a conversation with one of the young women, she learned that Native American youth had been losing knowledge of and pride

in their heritage. As a result, she resolved to learn more about the Native American experience from the Native perspective (Philbrook Art Center et al. 1983).

After that experience, Butler systematically collected Native American objects and art from Native American cultural regions on the North American continent and was determined to open her own museum. Elizabeth Cole Butler ran the Butler Museum of American Indian Art in Eugene, OR, from 1974-1982, and staffed it herself with the mission of creating "an understanding, an appreciation, a respect for the genius and creativity of Native American culture" (Philbrook Art Center et al. 1983, 13). When Mrs. Butler knew the lease for her museum site was ending in 1982 and she was unable to renew it, she named Philbrook Art Center as a candidate for receiving her collection. She started by donating a Shoshone elk hide painting to the Center in 1981. According to the catalog published by the Philbrook Art Center in 1983, Elizabeth Cole Butler "elected [the Center] to preside over twelve years of her collecting life" (Philbrook Art Center et al. 1983, 15).

In spite of the catalog published on the collection by the Philbrook (Philbrook Art Center et al. 1983), there is no indication on the Philbrook Museum of Art's website regarding the history of the collection and how it came to be moved to the Portland Art Museum. However, an excerpt from an archived 1987 news article from Oklahoma provides clues as to the reason for the transfer from one institution to another (Oklahoman 1987).

> Tulsa's Philbrook Museum of Art is about to lose a collection of American Indian art to the Portland Art Museum. Personnel from the Portland [Art Museum] are registering and packing the 1,500 objects in preparation for the transfer, said Marcia Manhart, Philbrook director. The art, known as The Elizabeth Cole Butler collection, was donated to Philbrook in 1982 following the closing of her museum, the Butler Museum of American Indian Art in Eugene, Ore....A controversy arose when Butler said she was unhappy with the handling and display of her objects [by Philbrook] and asked for the return of the collection, said Manhart.

A search in PAM's online collections database for "Elizabeth Cole Butler Collection" returns 1,498 records and a quick visual review of these records reveals matches for the objects selected as illustrations in the Philbrook Art Center catalog for their 1983 exhibition, *As in a Vision: Masterworks of American Indian Art* (Philbrook Art Center et al. 1983; Portland Art Museum 2016q). From the Elizabeth Cole Butler collection were eighteen Crow Medicine Bundles acquired by Butler through purchases from art and antiquities dealers, which "were removed from the Crow Indian Reservation in Crow Agency, MT" between 1970 and 1980 (Federal Register 2015). Butler donated the medicine bundles to PAM between 1986 and 2004. Although the Crow Nation previously responded to a 1993 NAGPRA summary of Crow objects sent to them by PAM, the Crow Nation concluded at the time that medicine "bundles would not be

of interest to the tribe as a whole since bundles are exclusively owned by individuals" (Federal Register 2015). The subject was revisited in 2014 by Dr. Deana Dartt.

THE CONTEMPORARY MUSEUM, EXHIBITS, PROGRAMS, AND CURATORS

On December 31, 1974, the Portland Art Museum was listed on the National Register of Historic Places (National Register ID 74001710) due in large part to the design of its buildings (Figure 7.2) by the noted Pacific Northwest, Italian born architect, Pietro Belluschi (NPS DOI 2016). Belluschi designed the original 1932 building, expansion wings and subsequent buildings, growing the PAM campus over a period of 40 years. Within these buildings are the Gilkey Center for Graphic Arts (established in 1993) and the Northwest Film Center (established in 1978) (Portland Art Museum 2016b).

In 1970, the completion of the Hoffman Wing (resulting from the museum's first capital campaign) provided studio and classroom space for the Museum Art School, along with an auditorium, expanded collections storage, and a sculpture mall. The Museum Art School changed its name to the Pacific Northwest College of Art (PNCA) in 1981 to announce its independence from the Portland Art Museum. PNCA remained housed in PAM's Hoffman Wing until 1998 when the private fine arts and design college moved to its own location in Portland's Pearl District at 511 NW Broadway, completing its separation from PAM. PNCA offers undergraduate and graduate degrees in the visual arts (PNCA 2016).

During the 1994-2005 tenure of former PAM Director, John Buchanan, the PAM campus was updated and expanded further at a cost of $125 million dollars through bountiful fundraising campaigns, blockbuster exhibitions, and the leveraging of other Museum finances (Oregonian 2008; Oregon ArtsWatch 2012). Buchanan's notable accomplishments as Director of PAM included the procurement of works of art by Cezanne, Van Dyck, and the Clement Greenberg Collection, retrofitting the buildings with temperature and humidity control systems, and the renovation of the Mark Building, which was completed by 2005 (Oregonian 2012).

The Mark Building, a former Masonic Temple, was purchased by the museum in 1994. The renovation of the former Masonic Hall added 141,000 square feet to the museum's usable gallery and collections storage space. The Mark Building currently houses the Crumpacker Family Library on its top floor with a reading room and a non-circulating collection of 35,000 volumes of archival materials, museum exhibition catalogs, and fine art books dating from 1895 to the present (Portland Art Museum 2016j). The Mark Building houses the Jubitz Center for Modern and Contemporary Art in 28,000 square feet of galleries, along with curatorial and administrative offices, ballrooms, and meeting spaces (Portland Art Museum 2016a).

PAM's Director, Brian Ferriso, was hired in 2006 (Portland Art Museum 2016a). Under Director Ferriso's leadership the Museum reached debt free status in 2014 (Portland Art Museum 2016d) and was awarded a four-star rating from Charity Navigator in 2015 (Portland Art Museum 2016p). Whereas Buchanan focused on renovations and capital campaigns, Ferriso has focused on accomplishing his goals of transparency and fiscal accountability initiated by implementing financial and staff changes (Oregonian 2008).

Figure 7.2: The Portland Art Museum exterior in 1974. (NPS DOI 1974).

Ferriso outlined "art, access, and accountability" as the three areas of primary focus for PAM. During his tenure, he has used these pillars as the foundation to transform the Museum into the institution it is today. Assuming the role of Chief Curator of PAM in 2014, Ferriso was appointed as President of the Association of Art Museum Directors effective for a one-year term beginning May 25, 2016. Director Ferriso is also a member of the American Alliance of Museums (AAM) (Portland Art Museum 2016n). The Portland Art Museum's AAM Accreditation was successfully renewed in 2011 and is up for renewal in 2024 (Oregonian 2011a).

Over 350,000 people visit the museum every year, over 50,000 of whom are school children (Portland Art Museum 2016o). Educators and college students receive Museum membership discounts (Portland Art Museum 2017k). Daily operations at the museum are supported through the efforts of 300

volunteers and about 150 full time staff (Portland Art Museum 2016o). The Museum's Docent Council was created in 1955, founding a group of volunteers which continue to provide a variety of docent tours encompassing permanent and special exhibitions in the museum (Portland Art Museum 2016c).

Family programs at PAM provide ways for children and their parents or caregivers to explore art through activities and interactive informal education experiences through the *Miller Family Free Day*, *Family Tours*, and *Baby Mornings* (Portland Art Museum 2017d). Public programs include the *Artist Talks Series* which provide opportunity to visitors to discuss works of art with the artists in the galleries; *Art & Conversation* created for adults aged 62 and over consisting of coffee and an art lecture; and *Midday Art Breaks* which provide a tour of special or permanent exhibitions with a Museum educator, curator or special guest as guide (Portland Art Museum 2016t).

The Education department offers professional development workshops and lectures, which include earning Professional Development Units (PDUs) to help teachers bring the arts into their curricula. PAM has a Teacher Advisory Council that works closely with the Education staff in support of professional development, as well as fostering student and teacher participation with the Museum. Docent and Museum staff led programs provide training for upcoming teachers in Oregon to learn ways to incorporate the arts into their future lesson plans. PAM's Education department also offers the *Museum to You* program which facilitates "in-depth arts engagement" in classrooms led by docents prior to student field trips to the Museum. Youth programs are focused on teens and support a Youth Council and Workshop Series (*The Mythos Challenge*) and an annual event for LGBQT teens and members of Gay-Straight Alliances (*Alternative Identities Youth Event*) (Portland Art Museum 2017k).

The core of PAM's Collections are European art with selections dating from Classical Antiquity including Greek, Roman and Etruscan objects; Renaissance and Baroque paintings and sculptures; and French 18th century Impressionist paintings and others on into the 19th century (Portland Art Museum 2017c). A Silver collection showcases historical representations of European silver art objects from the 15th century to the mid-Victorian period (Portland Art Museum 2017l). Representing the Northwest's relationship with Pacific cultures is the Asian art collection with works from China (Neolithic to the 10th century), Japan (17th to 20th centuries), Korea (4th century to present day), and a small collection of South Asian Buddhist art and Islamic and Indian paintings (Portland Art Museum 2017b).

Much of the rest of the Museum's collections are comprised of Euro-American art from the late 19th to mid-20th centuries (Portland Art Museum 2017a); Graphic arts containing 26,000 prints, drawings, and photographs representing European and American artists (Portland Art Museum 2017e); the Modern and Contemporary Art collection of European, North and South American, and Asian artists from the 20th century dating back to World War I (Portland Art Museum 2017f); and the Northwest Art collection

containing historical and contemporary art objects dated pre- and post-1960s by regional artists from Oregon, Idaho, Montana, Washington, and Wyoming (Portland Art Museum 2017h). The Photography collection contains around 5,000 works dating from the 1850s to late 20th century. Among the earliest of acquisitions in the Photography collection is a 20-volume set of Edward Sheriff Curtis' photographs in *The North American Indian* (Portland Art Museum 2017j).

Part of the collection is digitized and available to browse online through either a public portal or a registered account. Users can search by collection area, exhibition name, or object type (Portland Art Museum 2016h). Of these 42,000 objects and artworks, more than 5,000 represent pre- and post-colonization Native American objects and artworks from approximately 200 North American Native cultural groups, including a large selection of contemporary Native American Art works (Portland Art Museum 2017g). Through a Museums for America IMLS grant (IMLS 2015a), PAM digitized nearly 3,500 works of Native American Art and enhanced online access as part of the grant (Murawski 2015). As a partner institution, PAM provided the non-contemporary Native art records to the Reciprocal Research Network (RRN) to facilitate dialog, discussion, and greater access by descendant communities in a non-public forum (RRN 2016b).

The Grand Ronde Tribe's sponsorship of and involvement in creating the 1997 exhibition, *Lená taku wasté*, were fundamental in the development and implementation of a dedicated gallery space for Native American Art. In the year 2000, new galleries were opened for the Grand Ronde Center for Native American Art (CNAA) and the Arlene and Harold Schnitzer Center for Northwest Art, in a renovation funded by a capital campaign raising $45 million, the largest in the State of Oregon by a cultural organization (Portland Art Museum 2016a). Selections from the Native American Art collection at PAM are exhibited in CNAA and include Native American works by contemporary masters (Portland Art Museum 2016q).

The exhibits in the CNAA are displayed as regional groupings of Native American cultures and tribes in North America and are reminiscent of the description presented by Wade, et al. of Elizabeth Cole Butler's exhibit arrangements in her museum (1983). Visitors enter the CNAA from a marble staircase and are greeted with a dedication on the wall from the Confederated Tribes of Grande Ronde. Since CNAA's inception, there have been three Curators of Native American Art at PAM – Bill Mercer, MA, Anna Strankman, MA, and Deana Dartt, PhD

Bill Mercer curated *Lená taku wasté | These Good Things, (*a Lakota phrase pronounced: *lay-nah' tah-ku wash-tay'),* the first Native American Art exhibition installed in the former Pacific Northwest College of Art space at PAM. The exhibition was sponsored primarily by the Grand Ronde Tribe and Spirit Mountain Casino through a grant from the Spirit Mountain Community Fund. The exhibition featured 150

Native American Art objects from the Museum's Elizabeth Cole Butler Collection. The Grand Ronde Tribe included funding in the grant to support art education that covered admission and transportation costs for 3,500 school children "from Portland, Salem, Grand Ronde, Willamina, and Sheridan" (Eugene Register-Guard 1997).

The Tribe's Spirit Mountain Community Fund grant also financed other programming associated with the exhibit including three *Living Traditions* programs that highlighted Native American artists, docent led tours, a *Museum Family Sunday* program, and publication of the catalog for the exhibition (Eugene Register-Guard 1997; Smoke Signals 1997). Then Chairwoman for the Grand Ronde Tribal Council, Kathryn Harrison, noted the importance of their participation, "We hope this exhibition will build new bridges between our tribe and every Oregonian, young and old, by teaching about the cultural history of tribes and helping them understand who we are and where we come from" (Eugene Register-Guard 1997).

Lená taku wasté | These Good Things ran from July 12, 1997 through January 18, 1998. Mercer was appointed to his position as Curator of Native American Art to organize the exhibition. In the "Introduction" for the exhibition catalog, Mercer pointed out that many Native American languages lack a word translatable as "art." Instead, traditional Native American objects have multiple meanings, and the aspect that is called art is the "the creative process [that] is traditionally a constant presence: every action, thought, and deed is considered to be a creative and aesthetic expression" (Mercer 1997).

The other notable exhibition of Native American art curated by Mercer was *People of the River: Native Arts of the Oregon Territory*. The exhibition ran from January 22, 2005 through May 29, 2005 and is listed as the first "major museum exhibit to focus specifically on the artistic expressions created by the Native Americans who traditionally lived along the Columbia River" (Portland Art Museum 2017i). Over 200 Native American art and objects from PAM, private collections, and loans from other museums represented dozens of Columbia River tribes. This material representation of cultural heritage has largely been lost outside of museum collections as a result of damming of the Columbia River. The river damming project began in the 1930s and submerged ancestral areas of residence of Columbia River tribes between the Oregon Coast and the Snake River (Tucker 2005). George Horse Capture, senior counselor to the NMAI Director, stated of the exhibit that it "'would *begin* to tell [the story of the Columbia River peoples],' but for those who listen, 'they have many stories to tell'" (author's emphasis) (Tucker 2005). Selected objects from the exhibit are viewable through PAM's online collection database (Portland Art Museum 2017i).

The second Curator of Native American Art at PAM since CNAA's inception, Anna Strankman, (paternal heritage Anishinaabe/Blackfeet), was hired in 2008 to replace Mercer and resigned in 2010

(Oregonian 2010; NMSU 2014). Strankman does not seem to have had a strong connection with Native descendant communities associated with PAM, although she curated one Native American Art exhibition during her short tenure entitled *Surrounded by Beauty: Selections from the Elizabeth Cole Butler Bequest*. The exhibition ran from December 15, 2009 through July 11, 2010 and featured "new selections from [Butler's] extensive and diverse collection…on view for the first time" (ArtSlant 2009). Strankman conceived of the exhibition as a way to "[celebrate] the generosity of Elizabeth Cole Butler and her vision to share works of Native American art with the public" (ArtSlant 2009).

Prior to her tenure at PAM, Dr. Deana Dartt, (Chumash/Californio/Mayo/Cochimi) was Curator of Native American Ethnology and Assistant Professor of American Indian Studies at the University of Washington and its Burke Museum of Natural History and Culture. She was appointed PAM's Curator of Native American Art in late 2011 and began her tenure there in early 2012 (Oregonian 2011b; Janiak 2012). During her time at PAM, Dr. Dartt curated, developed, implemented, and facilitated important exhibitions, programs, outreach, funding, and repatriation actions that have helped make great strides towards decolonizing the Museum's practices.

As Dr. Dartt began her tenure at PAM, she was interviewed by the blog, *Contemporary North American Indigenous Artists*, where she argued "that older museums can use outdated exhibits to discuss outdated narratives and how these narratives helped shape the current perceptions of Native people" (Janiak 2012). She went on to discuss her curatorial vision for PAM, which involved direct engagement with Native communities to incorporate Native voice and perspective, and to create a balanced integration of contemporary Native American artworks with historical material in PAM's CNAA galleries (Janiak 2012). Dartt stated that the collecting of Native American art "is a highly political act [that] relates to social issues that beg transparency" surrounding how the objects were acquired by art museums, and the types of influences on "collections, collecting, and the art market itself" that Native peoples have (Janiak 2012). Integrating the Native perspective into public and private school curricula and complementing that with museum education programs and docent-led tours are important steps towards decolonizing museums (Janiak 2012).

By 2015, Dr. Dartt had quadrupled the Museum's collection of contemporary and modern Native American art works and created exhibits in the CNAA galleries that featured contemporary Native artists' works interpreted alongside historical objects and art works with the inclusion of Native voice (Murawski 2015; Portland Art Museum 2016k). The exhibits are designed to "meaningfully engage visitors in the issues critical to Native American art practice now, and the unique perspectives that inform that work" (Murawski 2015).

An example of an institutional effort on behalf of the Museum to incorporate this vision was the February 6 through May 8, 2016 exhibition, *Contemporary Native Photographers and the Edward Curtis Legacy* (Murawski 2015; Portland Art Museum 2016i). The exhibition featured the contemporary works of "Native American photographers Zig Jackson, Wendy Red Star, and Will Wilson in dialogue with photographs from Edward Sheriff Curtis' *The North American Indian*" (Portland Art Museum 2016i).

Aside from the contribution by groundbreaking contemporary Native American photographers of images that created apposition to Curtis' work, educational programming was provided to facilitate dialog and critical thought "about the portrayal of Native experience through photography" (Portland Art Museum 2016i). A significant educator workshop related to this exhibition was held on February 17, 2016, *Exploring Race and Social Justice Through Art at the Museum*. The workshop was created to facilitate students' understanding of their social and ethical responsibilities and 140 participants attended. The workshop discussions created a "foundation for educators to deepen the conversation about race, history, and issues of identity" based on the students' experiences of touring *Contemporary Native Photographers and the Edward Curtis Legacy* (Portland Art Museum 2016u).

Native Fashion Now, a large-scale traveling exhibition of contemporary Native fashion—the first of its kind—was another institutional effort by PAM to provide meaningful experiences for visitors integrating Native voice. The exhibition was organized by the Peabody Essex Museum and host-curated by Dartt, running from June 4 through September 4, 2016. Native fashion designers use their work to "express artistic agency, cultural identity, and their unique personal perspective," (Portland Art Museum 2016r). This concept was illustrated by a live painting performance by Nike N7 designer, Bunky Echo-Hawk during the August 2016 *Miller Family Free Day* as one of the educational programs associated with *Native Fashion Now* (Portland Art Museum 2016e). Along with his work with "the Nike N7 fund that supports Native communities with grants for youth sports and activities," Echo-Hawk uses his art "as a vehicle of change" donating his work to art auctions "to raise money for Native American nonprofits and businesses" (Portland Art Museum 2016e).

Dartt's curatorial vision played out in part by the formation of the Center for Contemporary Native Art (CCNA), implemented through a 2014, three-year IMLS grant to provide a "'community anchor' space to foster deeper understanding of Native American art and artists in the contemporary world" (Murawski 2015). Additional funding for the Center was provided by "*generous gifts from Mr. Mark J. and Dr. Jennifer Miller, Taffy Gould, Anonymous, and Exhibition Series Funders*" (Portland Art Museum 2016w). CCNA was conceived of to rotate two exhibitions of contemporary Native art per year along with associated programming and education containing Native perspectives from Native peoples (Portland Art Museum 2016w). The center was planned collaboratively with Native artists and regional people actively

"involved in Native American artistic practices" and front-end evaluations were done by the Native Advisory Committee of PAM based in Portland to inform decision making (Murawski 2015). Of CCNA, PAM states (Portland Art Museum 2016w):

> At the core of this Center's mission is the Museum's commitment to partner with Native artists in co-creating the exhibitions, interpretation, and programming for the space. The Center's exhibitions parallel the institution's larger curatorial vision of intentionally bridging the past and present through integrating more contemporary artwork into the Native American galleries. This approach allows visitors to take away a greater understanding of Native peoples as not only still living but as sophisticated, dynamic, and changing.

Dartt worked together with PAM's education department to help unite Native descendant communities with the Museum's collections through the CCNA (Murawski 2015).

The CCNA opened in the Fall of 2015 with *Thlatwa Thlatwa: Indigenous Currents* (October 17, 2015 through March 12, 2016) featuring artwork and voices of three local contemporary Native artists representing the "continuum of Native living cultures and artistic practices:" Greg Archuleta, multimedia artist and educator (Clackamas Chinook/Santiam Kalapuya/Shasta and member of the Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde); Greg A. Robins, carver and sculptor (Chinook Indian Nation); and Sara Siestreem, weaver and multimedia artist (Hanis Coos and member of the Confederated Tribes of Coos, Lower Umpqua, and Siuslaw Tribes) (Portland Art Museum 2016w).

The next exhibition in CCNA, *Dene bāhī Naabaahii* (March 19 through August 28, 2016) was curated by Deana Dartt with artists, Demian DinéYazhi' (Diné (Navajo) clans Tódích'íi'nii (Bitter Water)/Naasht'ézhí Tábąąhá (Water's Edge)), and Kali Spitzer (Kaska Dena/Jewish), whose work viewed together presented the concept of 'survivance,' "defined [by Anishinaabe scholar, Gerald Vizenor] as Indigenous self-expression in any medium that tells a story about an active Native presence in the world now" (Portland Art Museum 2016f). Dartt also curated *Restoring the Breath–Sacred Relationship*, which ran from September 3, 2016 through February 26, 2017; and organized *The Art of Resilience: A Continuum of Tlingit Art*, which has been postponed until 2019 (Portland Art Museum 2016g, 2016v).

The Art of Resilience plans to show 100 historic works of Tlingit art from PAM's Rasmussen Collection. An additional 50 art works from contemporary, active professional Alaska Native artists will be included. This exhibition is a collaborative work with the Tlingit community, and will have the narrative of "survival and resistance, continuity and change, and ultimately [a celebration of] Tlingit art past and present" (Portland Art Museum 2016v). Dartt's vision for organizing this exhibition is to "[offer] a fresh, hybrid dialogue of informed perspectives—drawing on generations of knowledge in tandem with the cutting-edge views of today's artists" (Portland Art Museum 2016v). A multi-author, multi-vocal catalog of

this exhibition is planned for publication and will significantly impact Northwest Coast art scholarship through its "contributions by Native and non-Native scholars across multiple disciplines, ...Tlingit elders, and traditional knowledge holders" (Portland Art Museum 2016v).

Figure 7.3: Contemporary Coast Salish weaving of Coast Salish chief's robe, Angela George (Sts'ailes First Nation) and Chief Simon Baker's headdress, Chief Tommy Williams (Coquitlam Nation) with detail of accompanying labels. *Restoring the Breath*, CCNA. Photo by author, 2016.

Restoring the Breath was co-created with Deana Dartt by Susan Pavel, Coast Salish weaver, and features 40 years of Coast Salish weaving. The concept of the exhibition places the sacred art form in both historical and contemporary contexts. Panel text and labels were written collaboratively with Coast Salish weavers and incorporate Native voice. The weavers "reimagined" and wove the "chiefly robes and headdresses" pictured in a photograph of a 1906 delegation of British Columbia Salish chiefs that was used as the backdrop to showcase these contemporary artworks (Figure 7.3) (Portland Art Museum 2016g).

In 2014, the issue of the eighteen Crow medicine bundles raised by the 1993 NAGPRA summary (mentioned above) was revisited when Dr. Dartt facilitated a Consultation with Dr. Timothy McCleary,

archaeologist for the Crow Tribal Historic Preservation Office (Olp 2011; Dartt 2016; Little Big Horn College 2017). As a result, PAM published a NAGPRA Notice of Intent to Repatriate (NIR) the Crow medicine bundles in the Federal Register on, July 8, 2015. The Crow Nation determined that the bundles belong to the community as sacred objects based on a relationship of shared group identity (25 U.S.C. 3001(3)(C) and 25 U.S.C. 3001(2)) and they have since been repatriated to the Crow Nation in Montana by PAM (Federal Register 2015; Joseph Rose 2015; ICMN 2016).

Interview Results: Developing and Implementing Relationships and Initiatives with Descendant Communities

The legacy of colonialism and history of museums' relationships with indigenous peoples defines fundamental aspects of the curatorial process at PAM when working with descendant communities. PAM respectfully negotiates and recognizes these historic relationships. Such an approach takes into account the flow and quantity of interactions when working in partnership with descendant communities (Dartt 2016).

Prior to the tenure of the first Curator of Native American Art in the late 1990s, there were no attempts by PAM at developing lasting relationships with Native American descendant communities (Dartt 2016). The initial impetus for PAM's engagement with Native descendant communities, however, was NAGPRA. The first official outreach to Native descendant communities occurred when PAM, as a recipient of Federal funding, completed their NAGPRA object Summaries in 1993. Because PAM has never had any human remains in its collection, the Museum was not required to complete NAGPRA Inventories (Dartt 2016). During the process of completing NAGPRA Summaries a few tribes visited; however, sustainable relationships were not formed. At the time, PAM's administration was concerned that Native American descendant communities would remove all Native American Art objects from the collections (Dartt 2016).

The first formal NAGPRA claim after the Summaries were posted was in the year 2000 (Dartt 2016). Bill Mercer, then Curator of Native American Art, recognized that creating a connection to Native descendant communities was a necessary piece to starting the process of relationship development (Dartt 2016). Despite Mercer's efforts to create sustainable relationships with Native descendant communities and the founding of the CNAA, few were formed, and PAM developed a reputation for not working well with Native people (Dartt 2016). The position of Curator of Native American Art went unfilled for two years after Curator of Native American Art Anna Strankman's resignation in 2010 (Dartt 2016).

In 2012, PAM's curatorial department began a campaign to nurture and cultivate sustainable relationships with Native descendant communities. Due to her previous work with Oregon tribes at the University of Oregon, Dr. Dartt brought established relationships with Native descendant communities to

PAM. Dr. Dartt's curatorial processes focused on relationship building with Native descendant communities as organic, community centered interactions that facilitate getting to know people, developing relationships, and building trust (Dartt 2016).

This approach has opened the door to larger groups of people in descendant communities and expanded communication opportunities to include multiple modes of access. For example, Dr. Dartt and staff from the Education department met with people from descendant communities on-site at PAM. In addition, they went out into the communities and to Native organizations for meetings and were formally invited to attend Pow-Wows as emissaries of PAM (Dartt 2016). Furthermore, PAM has now regularly used phone calls, email, and social media in addition to face-to-face meetings to communicate with descendant communities and to cultivate sustainable relationships (Dartt 2016).

The ongoing goal of the Museum is to resolve challenges posed by unconstructive past relationships and nurture a lasting, trustworthy reputation with Native descendant communities (Dartt 2016). Working to establish straightforward relationships in this way has communicated to members of descendant communities that PAM is open to working with them (Dartt 2016). As a result, descendant community members and Native artists interested in exhibition and program planning are more receptive to working with PAM. Additionally, visits to collections by descendant community members have increased because of the Museum's sincere work to establish ongoing relationships (Dartt 2016).

Since 2012, the curatorial strategy at PAM regarding CNAA, CCNA, and the Native American Art collection has privileged the living Native artist and the voices of descendant communities. This has included acquiring significant works of art by living Native artists and staging exhibitions of content specifically driven by Native American voices. During August 2016, PAM collaborated with Bunky Echo-Hawk—a well-known Native American artist and designer—who performed a live painting exhibit for PAM's *Miller Family Free Day* as part of the *Native Fashion Now* exhibition programming (Dartt 2016; Portland Art Museum 2016e). Currently, the only staff working directly with Native descendant communities are the Curator of Native American Art and the Education department. The Communications staff works with Native artists under the direction of the Curator of Native American Art to develop publicity materials for CNAA and CCNA exhibitions (Dartt 2016).

Recently, the Education department collaborated with Native advisors to work with PAM's docents in developing a new program that incorporates Native American voice. The implementation of this docent program has since informed hundreds of docent led tour groups, informally educating the Museum's visitors to CNAA and CCNA (Dartt 2016). Over the last few years, the Education staff has facilitated ongoing interactions with descendant communities as a result of being involved with exhibition development. Educational outreach often lasts for months with Native organizations when working to

coordinate programming. The Education department worked with Dr. Dartt to create a program for *Indigenous Art and Comedy Night*, working with an advisory team consisting of point people in local Native organizations. The advisory team coordinated buses for people to come to the event and booked *the 1491s*, a Native American comedy troupe as entertainment, along with artmaking stations and food (Dartt 2016; Portland Art Museum 2016l).

Only recently has the process of creating exhibitions, programming, and outreach initiatives involving Indigenous descendant communities become an institution wide, cross-departmental endeavor. To facilitate this work, PAM created a formal process for exhibition development and implementation with descendant communities (Dartt 2016). The process began with planning meetings of internal key staff. The group of key staff then continued the process in planning meetings with teams from installation, design, communication, education, the director of collections and special exhibitions, the registrar staff, and an interpretive media person (Dartt 2016). The first successful outcome of this formal process was the exhibition *Contemporary Native Photographers and the Edward Curtis Legacy*. PAM did not work with any Native American descendant communities during the planning process. However, the exhibit team was in regular communication with the three Native photographers and co-creators of the exhibit: Zig Jackson, Wendy Red Star, and Will Wilson (Dartt 2016; Portland Art Museum 2016i).

This level of engagement with Native descendant communities has been operationalized through Federal grants such as the IMLS CCNA grant (IMLS 2015b); the NEH grant for a traveling Tlingit exhibition and ceremonial presentation of a sacred object from PAM's collection to the Tlingit; and a Mellon Foundation Grant, which provides for deep research of the Northwestern art collection, including descendant community engagement (Dartt 2016). At present, the search for funding to develop, implement, and evaluate exhibitions, programs, and outreach initiatives with Native descendant communities is supported by PAM's administration and the Museum Board. Sustainable funding from PAM for exhibitions and programs created in partnership with descendant communities will depend upon evaluation results, visitor experiences, and the financial success of the CNAA and CCNA exhibitions and programs, including revenue generated from gift shop sales of inventory associated with same (Dartt 2016).

Funding through the Mellon Grant also supports the work of the Registrar staff and the Curator of Native American Art surrounding activities that provide access to collections for members of Indigenous descendant communities (Dartt 2016). As with all museums holding collections associated with Indigenous descendant communities and actively working to decolonize museum practices, PAM takes into account its colonial history and listens to the voices of those descendant communities when implementing museum practices (Dartt 2016). Sometimes this means relaxing museum authority.

PAM has also been consulting with Native descendant communities in order to better document the history of the Native American Art collection (Dartt 2016). Because the plan for CCNA states that access to the entire Native American Art collection be provided, the Registrar and Collections staff work regularly with Native descendant community members. One result of these interactions is the development of a "no gloves" policy when facilitating access to collections for descendant community members. This policy supports a deeper level of connection between descendant community members and objects in PAM's collection associated with their communities (Dartt 2016), which is important for a variety of cultural reasons. Of course, if objects have been treated with any substance which may be harmful to people handling them, protective clothing is provided or alternative, safe means of connecting with cultural heritage objects are enabled (Dartt 2016). Another relaxation of museum control and authority involves loaning cultural heritage objects from PAM's Native American Art collection to descendant communities for off-site contemporary cultural ceremonies and events. Recently, PAM loaned the Raven's Tail Robe for a Weaver's graduation ceremony and a Chilkat Robe for another important cultural ceremony (Dartt 2016).

Members of PAM's Board do not typically work directly with Native descendant communities. However, the Collections Committee votes on acquisitions and deaccessions based on the recommendations of the Curators presented to the board by the Chief Curator (Dartt 2016). Recently, they voted to deaccession and repatriate the Crow Medicine bundles to a facility in Arizona, which now houses the Medicine bundles for the Crow. This was an agreement made from a request resulting from voluntary and mutual recognition by PAM collections staff and Native American descendant community members that the Crow Medicine bundles should be returned to the Crow Nation (Federal Register 2015; Rose 2015; Dartt 2016; ICMN 2016).

PAM is slowly diversifying its staff, volunteers, and Board in order to better represent the Museum's communities and include Native voice. One of the newest Board members is from the Cowlitz Tribe and represents PAM's only Native American currently in a governance leadership position (Dartt 2016). The Native American Arts Council, a long-established PAM Member's group, has two Native people out of the 130 volunteer members on the council. The Teacher Advisory Board in the Education Department has three Native American members (Dartt 2016). Most recently, Dr. Dartt facilitated the formation of the Native Art Advisory Board (NAAB), comprised of volunteers from interested Native descendant communities.

As part of the implementation of the CCNA IMLS grant, descendant communities are involved in planning exhibitions, programming, and initiatives from the beginning and are working with key staff at PAM to create a sustainable model (Dartt 2016). Historically, involvement by Native people from descendant communities in PAM's museum planning processes has been approached with the intent to

meet requirements of exhibitions, programs and initiatives the Museum wanted to implement. However, the Museum did not consider the need for ongoing relationship development (Dartt 2016). The goal of establishing the NAAB is to provide a continuum of relationship development (Dartt 2016).

Interview Results: Evaluating Exhibitions and Initiatives with Descendant Communities

Formal evaluation is written into the IMLS CCNA grant for the model being designed for working in partnership with descendant communities (IMLS 2015b; Dartt 2016). PAM hired the Native Nations Institute (NNI) from the University of Arizona as outside evaluators to help develop the formal evaluation protocol. NNI has been working with internal evaluators from PAM's Education, Membership, and Visitor Services departments to develop investigative protocol, thereby making the evaluation process a joint effort between external and internal evaluators (Dartt 2016). The Native descendant communities are involved in the development and implementation of evaluations to help determine what Native descendant communities want and what is effective for them in regards to exhibitions, programming, and initiatives with PAM (Dartt 2016). This particular IMLS evaluation project is designed to privilege the voice of Native descendant communities associated with PAM's collections (IMLS 2015b; Dartt 2016).

Evaluation was never done at PAM in regards to exhibitions and programming involving Indigenous descendant communities until the creation of the CCNA. Additionally, PAM has not historically evaluated exhibitions or programming in general making the process new to the Museum overall (Dartt 2016). PAM and NNI are using typical approaches to gather evaluation data: focus groups, front-end interviews, and prototyping as part of summative evaluations; they intend to use exit interviews, intercept interviews, telephone surveys, web surveys, mail surveys, and exit surveys; and are currently using social media and have created a hashtag to track online engagement (Dartt 2016). Because the constituent descendant community is personally invested in this process, PAM and NNI expect they will have more to say about the exhibitions and programs of the CCNA. Therefore, the methods used for evaluating the development and implementation of exhibitions, programs, and initiatives at PAM's CCNA are specialized and different than those typically used for evaluating exhibitions, programs, and initiatives that do not involve Indigenous descendant communities (Dartt 2016).

All of this work is driven by PAM's mission (Dartt 2016) "to engage diverse communities through art and film of enduring quality, and to collect, preserve, and educate for the enrichment of present and future generations" (Portland Art Museum 2016m). PAM's goal with evaluating the development and implementation of the exhibitions, programs, and initiatives of the CCNA is to develop both a sustainable working model and to institute best practices for artist-centered, community-anchored exhibitions and programs specific to working with Indigenous descendant communities (Dartt 2016).

DISCUSSION AND ASSESSMENT OF MUSEUM

As a well-known art museum holding a significant Native American Art collection, PAM is subject to accepting responsibility for the colonial ideologies inherent in all museums that perpetuate negative impacts on Native peoples' lives by their collecting and ongoing stewardship of ethnographic art and objects (Cooper 2008; Silverman 2010; Lonetree 2012). Previous to Dartt's tenure, Curators of Native American Art maintained traditional Euro-American curatorial practices when curating exhibitions in spite of their efforts to create meaningful relationships with Native descendant communities. While more sensitivity was shown in interpretation and relationship development with regional Native descendant communities, there was a distinctive lack of Native voice and partnership in curation or co-creating exhibitions.

The main participation seems more to have been sponsorship from tribes for exhibitions and related programming. For example, Mercer's *Lená taku wasté | These Good Things* catalog has aesthetic value and provides education to the reader from a mainstream position of curatorial authority. Although the Grand Ronde Tribe paid for the catalog's publication, there is no indication that any Native artists or scholars worked with Mercer to select the objects or provided Native voice in the curatorial process (Mercer 1997; Smoke Signals 1997). This type of neocolonial curatorial approach is more in line with the concept of "contact zone" where the descendant community is the conditionally invited other and supplier of resources while the museum and curator remain the dominant authority (Boast 2011; Kreps 2011; Message 2015; Norton-Westbrook 2015).

With the hiring of Dr. Dartt in 2012, a transformation is observed in PAM's approach working with Native descendant communities. The types of multipronged, innovative curatorial approaches and the iterative work with descendant communities illustrated in the exhibitions, programs, community outreach, and educational opportunities for the museum community at large show beginnings for the Museum's integration of Indigenous voice into its previously mainstream exhibitions (Ames 1992; NATHPO 2005; Wakeham 2008). Furthermore, the subject matter of several of the exhibitions speak to the hard truths of Native history post-colonization. With exhibitions and associated educational programming for *Contemporary Native Photographers and the Edward Curtis Legacy* and *Dene bāhī Naabaahii*, among others, the Museum illustrated a willingness to participate in creating spaces and opportunities for dialogs aimed at promoting healing and reconciliation. This represents more than collaborative development of exhibitions and programs, it reaches out to the broader community and brings the issues to a broader audience, as Lonetree (2012) has noted. The expansion of the collection under Dartt to include significant works of contemporary Native artists and the exploration of Indigenous social and political issues through

their display in juxtaposition to pre- and post-colonization historic collections reminds visitors that Indigenous culture is not static and helps to decolonize PAM's exhibitions.

Using PAM's collection of Native American Art as a foundation for creating dialog exploring the effects of colonization on Indigenous peoples' lifeways and art is a way to decolonize the original act of collecting by Euro-American's that was originally a way to establish control over history and the environment and create power, as Hinsley (2000) has noted in a more general context. Although Elizabeth Cole Butler began to understand late in life what it means to be Native American, due to her Euro-American cultural upbringing, she could never have truly known. Her collecting was an attempt to save Native American art works from loss by placing them in a museum context, and helped to educate the general public about Native American art. In doing so, while she preserved Indigenous cultural materials and associated heritage by donating them to a museum, she simultaneously perpetuated the cycle of the art and antiquities market which contains much looted and otherwise ill-gained Indigenous objects, as is evidenced by her continued collecting of the Crow medicine bundles (Dubin 2001). The repatriation of the Crow medicine bundles in 2015 was a milestone in PAM's work with Native peoples. NAGPRA is only one aspect of decolonizing work; as Daehnke and Lonetree emphasize, the relationships built during Consultations are the real work of repatriation (2010).

Another significant measure taken to decolonize the museum is the use of the Reciprocal Research Network. The RRN is an important tool for both PAM as a partner institution, and the descendant communities it serves because it provides a platform for receiving and sharing information between PAM and descendant community members about Native American art and objects stewarded in its collection. The RRN provides a bridge to help PAM grow stronger partnerships with descendant communities because it creates opportunities for descendant community members to comment on and dialog about PAM's Native American Art collection's catalog records in a non-public, online environment (Duarte and Belarde-Lewis 2015; RRN 2016a).

RRN partner institutions can cross-reference information exchanged within the network with the result that they may learn more about the original provenience and provenance of collection objects. Such new knowledge may lead to reconnecting cultural heritage objects and art with descendant communities. Information exchanged in a network such as RRN may also inform updates to catalog records with descriptions, names, and makers provided to curatorial staff through partnerships with Native descendant community members rather than records based solely on non-Native, mainstream curatorial authority (Duarte and Belarde-Lewis 2015). By participating in this research network, PAM has taken a step to decolonize its institutional practices.

By hiring a Native American/Californio with strong ties to the regional Native descendant communities as the Curator of Native American Art, PAM illustrated a desire to internally institutionalize decolonizing methodologies, moving beyond surface decolonizing practices such as collaborative exhibition and program planning (Lonetree 2012). By supporting grant proposals and securing additional funding to facilitate the inclusion of Native descendant communities both in curating and creating exhibitions and related programming, PAM shows growth in working to create a climate of sustainable dialog and partnership with descendant communities, which is consistent with the analyses of Kreps and Lonetree (2011; 2012).

The NAAB formed by Dartt just prior to her resignation is written into one of the IMLS grants received by PAM for CCNA (IMLS 2015b; Dartt 2016). It is hoped that sustainable funding will be procured to institutionalize the NAAB and programs started under CCNA as a core part of PAM's internal culture and external policy. Maintaining the relationships with Native descendant communities is important to continue the work of decolonizing PAM (Kovach 2010; Lonetree 2012; Smith 2012). Based on the sweeping changes regarding working with Native descendant communities discussed above during Dartt's four-year tenure, hiring another Curator of Native American Art with Native ancestry, or at the very least, supporting a sustainable, strong, positive relationship with regional Native descendant communities is integral to further success in this area (AAM 2010; Fleming 2012; Lonetree 2012; Bennett et al. 2017).

8. Case Study, San Diego Museum of Man

We cannot change the past, but we can reshape the future.

– Dalai Lama

INTRODUCTION

This case study examines the San Diego Museum of Man (SDMoM) located at 1350 El Prado, San Diego, California, which is part of Balboa Park's complex of museums and cultural institutions. First, an overview of the colonial history of Southern California and how this intertwined with the development of the Museum and its collections since its founding in 1915 to modern-day is presented. Attention is paid to SDMoM's beginnings as an anthropology and research museum from its role in the Panama-California Exposition, 1915-1916. The next section reviews SDMoM's current exhibitions, programs, and collections related to decolonization practices with regards to recent transformation processes the Museum has undergone since 2010.

The results of the author's interview with SDMoM's Deputy Director and the Director of Cultural Resources are presented in the third section of this chapter. The last section of this case study provides a discussion and assessment of the San Diego Museum of Man's work and approaches to decolonize its institution, using information presented in this chapter and insights derived from the review of the literature.

OVERVIEW OF DEVELOPMENT OF THE MUSEUM AND COLONIAL HISTORY

SDMoM had its beginnings in San Diego's Panama-California Exposition, 1915-1916. Planning for the Panama-California Exposition began in 1911 when Congress agreed to support San Diego's plans to "portray the romance, history, and beauty and the native arts of the Great Southwest and of Latin America" with the intent of making this exposition different from others before (Bokovoy 2005, 27). Whereas other world's fairs and international expositions focused on European and Euro-American expansion and industrial progress with building themes echoing classical architecture of the Greeks and Romans, the Panama-California Exposition would focus on the social and cultural connections between Spanish, Mexican, and Native American peoples of Southern California, the American Southwest and the area's ongoing socio-cultural relationship with Mexico (Rydell 1987; Bokovoy 2005). The architectural styles used in the buildings designed for the exposition reflect the Spanish Mediterranean aesthetic with a mix of Classical and Northern European architectural embellishments (Bokovoy 2005; SDMoM 2018a).

SDMoM has been located in the Panama-California Exposition's California Building since 1915. SDMoM's staff offices are in the Irving Gill Administration Building, which as the first building of Balboa Park (constructed in 1911) was the headquarters for planning the Panama-California Exposition (SDMoM 2018a). The California Building and its three-story tower with its Spanish outline and Mexico inspired color and details are notable in studies of American architecture. The California Building is included as part of the California Quadrangle in the National Register of Historic Places (National Register Information System number 74000548) (NPS DOI 2018; SDMoM 2018a). The California Building has an interesting portal façade (Figure 8.1 (Kelsey 1915)), reflecting the Spanish architectural style known variously as Churrigueresque, Ultra-Baroque, or Late Baroque, which had its roots in Moorish and Gothic architecture of 14th century Spain. The style was popular with 18th century Spanish architects and is also found on colonial architecture in Mexico and Peru (Stokstad 2005).

Like certain propagandist sculptural elements found on European cathedrals, the nine figures and busts above the main entrance to the California Building reminded visitors to the Exposition—and all visitors since—of the Spanish and Euro-American colonial history of San Diego and Southern California (Stokstad 2005; SDMoM 2018a). The façade also portrays the United States Shield (above Serra) and two Coats of Arms, Mexico (upper right), and the State of California (upper left) (SDMoM 2018a). The figures were created by the Piccirilli Brothers, two Italian marble carvers who came to the United States, in 1888 (SDMoM 2018a):

- *Junipero Serra*, Father of the California Missions, top of frontispiece;
- Charles V of Spain, below Serra on right;
- *Philip III* of Spain, below Serra on left;
- *Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo*, who sailed into San Diego Bay in 1542, below and to right of Serra;
- *Don Sebastián Vizcaíno*, a Spanish sailor who named San Diego Bay, below and to left of Serra;
- *Gaspar de Portola*, the first Spanish governor of Southern California, below Cabrillo;
- *George Vancouver*, an English navigator, below *Vizcaíno*;
- *Fray Antonio de la Ascensión*, a Carmelite historian, lower right;
- *Father Luis Jayme*, Franciscan missionary, lower left.

The figures chosen for representation on the portal façade of the California Building were significant in shaping Euro-American history, specifically during the Doctrine of Discovery era and the Spanish Mission period (Churchill 2001; Bokovoy 2005). It is interesting to note that, despite the Panama-California Exposition's claims to promote intercultural harmony between Euro-Americans and Indigenous

Peoples in Southern California (Bokovoy 2005), there are no prominent figures representing historical figures of Indigenous Peoples of the Americas on the portal façade. A brief overview of the colonial significance of central figures on the portal follows.

Figure 8.1: California Building portal façade, Panama-California Exposition of 1915. Balboa Park, San Diego. Photographer, F.W. Kelsey, ca. 1915. Photograph provided by the San Diego Museum of Man, ID# P001288.

In 1542, Admiral Cabrillo, of Portuguese heritaage, captained two ships flying the flag of Spain, the *San Salvador* and the *La Victoria*, and claimed the area now known as San Diego and the rest "of Alta

California for the Spanish Crown" (Bokovoy 2005, 3). Cabrillo's landing at Point Loma is suggested to be the first encounter between California Indigenous Peoples (likely of the Kumeyaay bands) and Europeans (Bokovoy 2005). The relationship did not begin well as news of Spanish treatment to other Indigenous Peoples inland had already reached the area (Bokovoy 2005).

In 1602, during Vizcaíno's mission to find the best harbors and inlets to protect Spanish Manila galleons from seizure by English buccaneers, the Kumeyaay greeted them in the San Diego harbor area with bows and arrows, although they did not attack. After negotiations led by Vizcaíno, Admiral Toribio Gomez de Corvan, and Father Antonio de la Ascensión ended with exchanges of food and gifts, the Spaniards stated in the voyage chronicles that "the Indians came peaceably and took us to their rancherias" and repeatedly provided gifts to the Spanish in their camps (Bokovoy 2005, 6). Using this experience as a litmus test, the Vizcaíno expedition reported back to Spain that the Indigenous Peoples of Alta California were peaceful and would give no trouble to Spain if colonization efforts were pursued (Bokovoy 2005).

The Spanish colonization efforts in this area of California were not resumed until 1769. Six years later, the head cleric of the San Diego mission, Fray Luis Jayme, who worked directly with Fray Junipero Serra, was killed by Kumeyaay warriors when they attacked the mission in response to injustices perpetrated on the Kumeyaay by the Spanish soldiers and missionaries (Bokovoy 2005). In spite of Kumeyaay attempts to expel the Spanish colonizers, they stayed. Eventually the Spanish missions were secularized by the Republic of Mexico who removed control of mission lands from the Catholic Church, converting the land for agricultural use (Bokovoy 2005). Promise was made of rancho ownership by the Mexican government to Indigenous Californians. However, only those considered of Mexican citizenship or descent were granted land for ranchos between 1822 and 1848. Indigenous Peoples found work as servants, laborers, and cowhands on the Mexican ranchos (Bokovoy 2005).

As the late 19th century drew to a close, Euro-American San Diegans revived romanticized versions of the Spanish colonial period intending to promote San Diego as a port city for commerce with connections to the east coast via the railroad (Bokovoy 2005). In preparation for marketing the Panama-California Exposition, the romanticized versions of the Euro-American vision of the lost past were promoted as important shared "Spanish and Indian heritage in the Southwest" and dictated the style of architecture and the types of exhibitions the exposition organizers believed would set the San Diego exposition apart from others (Bokovoy 2005, 17–18).

An element of the Exposition planners deemed would be different was presenting a history of humanity in an exhibition, *The Story of Man Through the Ages*, the work of Dr. Edgar Lee Hewett of the School of American Archaeology and Dr. Aleš Hrdlička, physical anthropologist at the Smithsonian Institution with ties to the eugenics movement of the early 20th century (Rydell 1987; Bokovoy 2005;

SDMoM 2018i). This exhibition was a departure from previous world's fairs because it was meant to "reveal the racial origins of humanity" through an exhibit entitled, *The Natural History of Man*, presented along with Indigenous arts and crafts, archaeological collections of material culture, and romanticized overviews of ancient Western European and Mediterranean history. The displays included physical anthropology exhibits with cases of human remains and skulls, and plaster face casts of perceived "racial types" (Bokovoy 2005, 72). A collection of thirty busts cast in bronze representing Indigenous Peoples of the world was created as part of this exhibit that "promoted ideals of Social Darwinism…advanced American imperialism, continued oppression of American Indians, and supported racial Anglo-Saxonism" (Bokovoy 2005, 73; SDMoM 2018h).

Like the other world's fairs and international expositions preceding it, the Panama-California Exposition, had live ethnographic displays of Indigenous Peoples on a thruway. Native Americans were paid to perform daily representing Euro-American conceptions of Native life, Native dances, and other 'authentic' Native American activities (Bokovoy 2005). The *Painted Desert* was an exhibition consisting of ten acres of interpretations of different Indigenous southwestern dwellings and communities representing the Apache, Hopi, Navajo, and Pueblo Peoples. The *Painted Desert* was designed by the Fred Harvey Company's architect, Mary Colter with the help of general superintendent of marketing for the Santa Fe Railway, Herman Schweizer (Bokovoy 2005). While Native Americans working in the Exposition's *Painted Desert* indicated treatment at the Panama-California Exposition was better than at other world's fairs and international expositions, they grew tired of the Euro-American crowds and the stress placed on their families by being expected to perform 'primitive' activities daily in the ethnographic displays (Bokovoy 2005).

Live pottery making and crafts demonstrations were part of the performances. Native American artists sold these works at the Exposition through the Fred Harvey Company (Bokovoy 2005). One such artist was the renowned ceramicist, María Martínez, of the San Ildefonso Pueblo. Martínez was interviewed about her experiences working at the Exposition and recounts memories of culturally insensitive and frequently rude verbal interrogations from Euro-American visitors. She recalls in spite of the poor social behavior of the visitors, the Pueblos "engaged audiences in a manner to maintain dignity and respect" (Bokovoy 2005, 137). Martínez established her own pottery studio and gallery when she returned home and encouraged other women in her community to produce and sell pottery at her business. By the 1930s, María Martínez had attained notoriety as a prominent Native American artist (Bokovoy 2005). SDMoM stewards some of María Martínez' ceramic works in its *Historic Pueblo Ceramics* collection (SDMoM 2018b).

In November of 1915, the San Diego Museum Association, led by George Marston, was formed to maintain ownership of collections gathered for the Panama-California Exposition and establish a research

museum of anthropology (SDMoM 2018i). The Panama-California Exposition directors sold the archaeology, ethnology, and anthropology exhibits to the San Diego Museum Association for $1.00 on June 20, 1916. There were around 5,000 objects in this original collection (SDMoM 2018b).

The institution's name was changed to the Museum of Man in 1942, and again changed to the San Diego Museum of Man in 1978. Throughout much of SDMoM's history, the museum has focused on collecting anthropological specimens and material culture. During the first half century, SDMoM's collecting and research activities were focused globally on Indigenous Peoples and the antiquities of Egypt. The collecting focus was narrowed in 1966 to Indigenous Peoples of the Western Americas (SDMoM 2018i). The Museum's mission was amended in 1980 to allow for temporary exhibits that included a "cross-cultural perspective" (SDMoM 2018i).

Improvements were made to the Museum in the 1980s that doubled collections storage space, updated the HVAC system, and added an elevator. The improvements also included a 16,000-foot expansion for a design and education center. Permanent exhibits were renovated during this period of growth. By the 1990s, SDMoM had increased its research collections to 72,000 items, as well as 37,000 historic photographs mostly portraying Native Americans. The Museum also had substantial archaeological holdings that had not yet been inventoried and cataloged (SDMoM 2018i). With the advent of the 21st century, SDMoM began the process of shifting its focus to embrace institutional development and culture change.

In 2018, the mission, vision, and values of SDMoM reflect that shift. Its mission of "inspiring human connections by exploring the human experience" and its vision "to be San Diego's dynamic place to go to learn from each other, reflect on our place in the world, build a better community" provide a foundation for the values of the Museum to be "adventurous, passionate, engaging, disciplined, open, and accountable" (SDMoM 2018f). Since 2010, with the hiring of Chief Executive Officer (CEO), Micah D. Parzen, anthropologist (PhD) and attorney (JD), and subsequent hiring of a "team of outside-the-box thinkers, skilled strategists, and talented museum professionals willing to roll-up-their-sleeves, day-in-day-out...that team has gradually transformed SDMoM from a musty, dusty, and tired institution in significant distress into a leading edge museum that is thriving inside and out" (SDMoM 2018g).

The eight-year *Master Plan Narrative | 2015* comprehensively outlines SDMoM's journey of transformation through the beginning of the year 2023. The plan includes key planning related to audience and market research studies; interpretive master planning for exhibits and programming; capital improvements to the building to increase and improve collections storage as well as the visitor experience; a capacity study for development and fundraising; implement internal evaluation protocol and practices;

complete a full inventory and catalog of the archaeology collection; and implement decolonization initiatives in collections documentation (SDMoM 2015b).

SDMoM is focusing on three core exhibit and programming areas designed to address topics of social importance often avoided by mainstream museums. The intent of the Museum is to engage visitors in developing a broadened understanding of the human experience (SDMoM 2015b). As a counter-balance to the intensity of the core areas, SDMoM's plan includes creating non-core exhibits and programming "designed to bring visitors into the fold of the Museum in a fun and/or celebratory way" (SDMoM 2015b, 15). A major focus for the Museum that supports capacity building is the initiative to create a "culture of visitor studies at the museum" (SDMoM 2015b, 9). To that end, SDMoM plans to work with professional research and evaluation consultants funded by an IMLS grant (2017) to train staff through a three-tiered approach (SDMoM 2015b, 9):

1) the entire staff will be introduced to the basic principles of, and rationales for, becoming a visitor-centered museum;
2) the consultant will focus more deeply with a smaller cohort (10-15 staff) to train them in basic evaluation and visitor-studies practice so that creating feedback loops with visitors can become regular practice; and
3) the consultant will work closely with three key staff members to provide the deepest level of training in visitor studies and to create a plan for on-going evaluation at the Museum.

Because of the focused strategy staff follows based on targeted approaches outlined in the *Master Plan Narrative | 2015,* SDMoM has become a leading advocate and model for change in the field. Both CEO, Micah Parzen, and Deputy Director, Ben Garcia, present at museum professional conferences with SDMoM staff collaboratively and with other museum professionals (Indigenous and non-Indigenous) on topics of social justice, creating unity, and decolonization of museum practices (WMA 2016; AAM 2017; AMA / WMA 2017). In the Curatorial and Cultural Resources and Education and Public Engagement departments staff titles reflect innovative changes at SDMoM: Cultural Resources Manager, Indigenous Partnerships; Cultural Resources Partner, NAGPRA; Education Specialist: Race, Equity, and Social Justice; and Education Specialist: Indigenous Cultures and Decolonization (SDMoM 2018j).

SDMoM received a 4-star rating from Charity Navigator for three consecutive years (2014-2016) as a result of "maintaining strong financial health, while staying committed to accountability and transparency in [its] mission" (Charity Navigator 2016; SDMoM 2017a). As of fiscal-year ending June 2016, SDMoM received contributions and funding through 76.6% contributions, gifts, and grants; 18.6% government grants; and 4.8% fundraising events. For the same period, SDMoM's expenses were 78.7% for programs; 15.2% administrative, and 6.1% on fundraising (Charity Navigator 2016).

This financial success and public faith in the shifting culture of the museum is reflected in SDMoM's increase in visitor-ship of 25% between 2014 and 2015. There were over 225,000 visitors to SDMoM in 2015, and 11,700 of them were students, meeting goals outlined in the *Master Plan Narrative* (SDMoM 2015b). Over 28,000 of the visitors came to SDMoM on its free days, December Nights, and the third Tuesday of each month. The demographics of SDMoM's visitors were captured through research conducted by the Alexander Babbage firm with results indicating that a little over half of the visitors are female, over 53% identify as non-white, and the top two things visitors want to experience at SDMoM are "to learn something new and to see something cool" (SDMoM 2015a, 8).

In 2015, SDMoM improved their online and social media presence. User metrics showed that there were more than 462,000 visitors—with over 112,000 of them being Spanish-language speakers—to the new website with over 1,330,000 page-views representing a 56% increase in users and a 67% increase in views over the previous year. The number of Spanish-language visitors to the website represented 24% of the website traffic and marked an increase of 310% for Spanish-language users over the previous year. Social media followers increased to more than 20,600 representing a 42% increase from 2014. The year, 2015, also saw SDMoM's launch of a new Instagram account @Museumofman to create a place for users to share their experiences at the Museum (SDMoM 2015a, 10).

Exhibitions, Programs, and Collections

SDMoM's exhibits are intertwined with educational and public engagement programs. The Education and Public Engagement staff develop and facilitate educational programs collaboratively with other departments that are "unique to [SDMoM] and rooted in the value of the love for all humanity" (SDMoM 2018c). The Museum has educational programs for K-12 school visits, college or university groups, community groups of all ages, and summer camp programs (SDMoM 2018c). Exhibits have interactive components and opportunities for participatory and reflective engagement which address different styles of learning (Morgan 2016, 2017). Three significant exhibits representing core exhibit and programming types outlined in the *Master Plan Narrative* (SDMoM 2015b) closely related to the beginnings of the Museum and addressing topics of decolonization, racism, and social justice are: *Kumeyaay: Native Californians; Race: Are We So Different?*; and *Facing Artifacts* (SDMoM 2018d, 2018e, 2018h).

The exhibit, *Kumeyaay; Native Californians*, looks at the traditional lifeways of the thirteen California bands and four Baja, Mexico bands of the Kumeyaay Peoples, who are the original people of "present-day Southern California (San Diego and western Imperial Counties) and Northern Baja" (SDMoM 2018e):

California Bands

- Campo Band of the Kumeyaay Nation
- Viejas Band of Kumeyaay Indians
- Barona Band of Mission Indians
- San Pasqual Band of Indians
- Inaja Cosmit Indian Reservation
- Capitan Grande Indian Reservation
- Santa Ysabel Band of Diegueño Indians (Iipay Nation of Santa Ysabel)
- Ewiiaapaayp Band of Kumeyaay Indians (Cuyapaipe)
- Manzanita Indian Reservation
- La Posta Indian Reservation
- Jamul Indian Village, A Kumeyaay Nation
- Mesa Grande Indian Reservation
- Sycuan Band of the Kumeyaay Nation

Baja, Mexico Bands

- La Huerta
- Juntas de Nejí
- San Antonio Necua
- San José de la Zorra

Through carefully chosen selections of artifacts and photographs from SDMoM's ethnographic collections, visitors learn about the "rich cultural heritage" and "life of the ancestors" of contemporary Kumeyaay Peoples (SDMoM 2018b, 2018e). SDMoM's website and educational programs make clear the Kumeyaay were here "many generations before the arrival of the Spanish" settlers in the mid-18th century and had developed "sophisticated means of adapting to the diverse environments" of "the deserts, mountains, and coasts" (SDMoM 2018c, 2018e). Interpretive materials focus on "the art of pottery and basket making, food procurement, dress and adornment, traditional medicine, games, and ceremonies" (SDMoM 2018e). This exhibit was recently reassessed and content was updated in consultation with Kumeyaay bands.

During the summer of 2016, the author was invited to be present on a day when staff from the Curatorial and Cultural Resources department were inventorying the exhibit as part of the Museum's "multi-phase plan to elevate stewardship" (SDMoM 2015b, 22; Hyberger 2016; Morgan 2016). In the case of this exhibit, the staff were working mainly to assess whether or not there were any potential NAGPRA objects on display (SDMoM 2017d). Collections staff explained this was the first systematic inventory in twenty years of the 278 objects in this exhibit and was part of SDMoM's initiative to decolonize collections management and exhibit practices (SDMoM 2015b; Hyberger 2016; SDMoM 2017d). SDMoM's primary

goals for the inventory and assessment were to locate any missing objects and determine if anything on exhibit was subject to NAGPRA (Hyberger 2016; SDMoM 2017d).

The collections staff reviewed the catalog records for locations and associated archaeological site files. They found that there were 50 archaeological sites associated with the Kumeyaay exhibit. Each site file was checked against related objects in the exhibit for any association with human remains (Hyberger 2016; SDMoM 2017d). As the staff worked on the inventory and survey, they pulled flagged objects based on their findings and stored them using traditional care as appropriate to each object until final consultations with associated Kumeyaay bands could be completed (Morgan 2016; SDMoM 2017d). The team worked to evaluate whether or not to remove objects from the cases as potential sacred or patrimonial objects based on their findings and consultations with associated Kumeyaay bands. SDMoM consulted with the associated Kumeyaay bands on all objects in the exhibit, whether or not they were flagged as NAGPRA objects (Hyberger 2016; SDMoM 2017d). The final phase of this exhibit update project would involve decision making on whether or not to reinterpret and re-exhibit the objects after consultation with the associated Kumeyaay bands. Museum security staff were present and the public were not allowed in the area for the duration of this assessment and inventory project (Morgan 2016).

The centennial of the Panama-California Exposition was the impetus for an extension of the *Kumeyaay: Native Californians* exhibit that "explores the traditions and meanings of [the] cosmological beliefs [of the Kumayaay Peoples] (SDMoM 2018e). This was "the first-ever exhibit about Kumeyaay astronomy," and explains that the Kumeyaay recognize many of the same constellations as Western astronomy, including the North Star (Kwellyap Ketull) as center of the sky, although they have different names and meanings to the Kumeyaay (SDMoM 2018e). The stories associated with the constellations are part of a "deeply-rooted cosmological belief system that centers on the Kumeyaay *Mat'taam* (calendar year), *My Uuyow* (sky knowledge), and constellation map" (SDMoM 2018e). The exhibit "was developed by curator and Kumeyaay scholar, Michael Connolly Miskwish, and *Mataam Naka Shin*, the San Diego-Panama Exposition Centennial Intertribal Committee" (SDMoM 2018e).

The award-winning exhibit, *Race: Are We So Different?*, was created by the American Anthropological Association (AAA) and the Science Museum of Minnesota and was first installed at SDMoM as a traveling exhibit (SDMoM 2018h). The success and importance of the exhibit and its fit with SDMoM's mission resulted in SDMoM purchasing the exhibit and retaining it as a permanent installation. The exhibit is a "platform to engage schools and teachers, the general public, and other groups, in feeling, thinking, acting, and reflecting on race and identity, and to raise awareness, build community, and positively impact the ways in which [people] treat each other" (SDMoM 2018h). SDMoM's Education department created pre and post-visit resources and activities in two booklets designed to support gallery

and dialogue workshops related to race and racism: one for adult groups, the other for school groups (grade levels 6 and up) to help visitors learn and engage with the challenging topics presented in this exhibit (SDMoM 2017b, 2017c). The introduction to the adult activities and resources guide is very similar to the introduction in the youth guide. From the adult guide (SDMoM 2017b, 3):

> During your visit, your group will gain a greater understanding of the history and formation of race, the biology and science behind human diversity and variation, and the experiences of race as a social and cultural reality. …
>
> This exhibition offers people a chance to explore their own feelings about race, understand how it is defined and what role it has played in our history, and consider identity and the related issues and ideologies that influence and impact our lives.

Pre-visit activities for adult groups center around setting boundaries to have brave, respectful dialogues about race and racism with scaffolding provided in the form of questions, guidance, videos, writing, and reflection assignments for the group. Post-visit activities reflect back to pre-visit activities and ask the group to revisit their earlier ideas, continue conversations they had at the exhibit, watch more videos, have more safe, brave dialogues to gain a deeper understanding of cross-cultural and personal identity formation related to the concept of race, and consider personal actions they can take to change the dynamics of race and racism in our society (SDMoM 2017b).

The youth lesson planning guide for the *Race* exhibit contains more material, geared to learning levels relevant to public school grades 6 and up and grades 9 and up. The pre and post-activities for youth are similar to the adult activities, however, there is more structure and they are meant to be facilitated by an educator. Scaffolding provided in the youth education packet includes a glossary of terms related to race and racism; worksheets to help students understand prejudice, discrimination, and the concept of racial profiling; an abundance of extension activities educators can use to continue discussions back in the classroom; and action items designed to empower students to change the role of race and racism in society (SDMoM 2017c).

SDMoM created an addition to the *Race: Are We So Different?* exhibit called, *Inter+Face*, that displays three of the thirty original busts from the Panama-California Exposition, 1915, exhibit *The Natural History of Man* (SDMoM 2018h). The people who modeled for the original thirty busts did not give their stories with their likenesses to the exhibitors for display and it is unlikely they were asked (SDMoM 2018h). The only thing attached to the original busts from 1915 are the ages, names, and "assigned races" of the models (SDMoM 2018h). *Inter+Face* changes the dynamic. SDMoM took six of the original "1915 busts into three San Diego neighborhoods in order to start a conversation about how race and labels relate

to who we are today" asking participants "how they wanted to represent themselves" (SDMoM 2018h). The collaborative outreach project between SDMoM and the AjA Project (a non-profit organization supporting transformative photography programs for San Diego youth) resulted in community dialogues and participatory photography that became part of the *Inter+Face* exhibit, which explores "how race, representation, and identity have been experienced in both past and present San Diego" (AjA 2018; SDMoM 2018h).

Another exhibit at SDMom relating directly to and challenging colonialist assumptions present in the original *The Story of Man Through the Ages* exhibit while speaking to contemporary issues of race and cultural identity is the public art project, *Facing Artifacts*. The exhibit is a partnership between SDMoM and Kate Clark, artist and director of Parkeology, "a public art and webtv series" that "partners with museums, archivists, artists, and locals [in San Diego] to develop performances, installations, tours, and more" (SDMoM 2018d). The project "invited museum visitors to experience what it's like to have part of themselves transformed into an artifact" like the individuals whose faces were cast for the Panama-California Exposition, 1915 (SDMoM 2018d). Artist, Kate Clark (SDMoM 2016):

> In the specific case of these 1915 face casts, the reason they came to the Museum is far from neutral. Like other institutions in the same era, the Museum has a complicated history connected to physical anthropology, and in general, the categorized depiction of people. In hindsight, of course, we can see the difficulty of this. I wanted this event to serve as a way of connecting the dots between how a seemingly inert artifact, that somehow seems like it always belonged in a museum's archive, to the reality that it came from a living, breathing person, just like us.

The *Facing Artifacts* exhibit features eighteen century-old face casts juxtaposed with eighteen face casts from 21st century participants (SDMoM 2018d). Unlike the voiceless face casts of individuals who had no opportunity to state their perspectives and may not have felt they had the authority to deny or give consent to have their faces cast for the 1915 exhibit, the 21st century participants volunteered through a raffle process and were given a questionnaire to fill out highlighting "their personalities and beliefs" (SDMoM 2018d). The 21st century participants will get to keep their face casts and take them home after the exhibit ends. The face casts of the likely reluctant models for the 1915 exhibit will return to storage in SDMoM's collections facility.

The cataloged collections at SDMoM currently consist of approximately "150,000 ethnographic objects, … 300,000 archaeological objects, 100,000 photographic images, and a small archival collection" (SDMoM 2018b). In 2015, SDMoM was in the midst of its most intensive inventory process in the history of the museum. Museum staff successfully digitized and cataloged 10,000 images as part of its continuing collections digitization project funded by a grant from the Council on Library and Information Resources

(CLIR) (SDMoM 2013, 2015a). In 2017, an updated Collections Management Policy (CMP) was approved by the Board of Trustees with additions addressing changes in the Museum's mission and vision since 2010 (SDMoM 2017d). There are three main areas of collections at SDMoM: Ethnographic Collections; the Physical Anthropology Collection; and the Archaeology Collections, which all include associated archival documents and photographs (SDMoM 2017d, 2018k). The SDMoM's main areas of archaeological collections "focus on three specific geographic areas in which the museum has already developed world-class collections: Southern California, Mesoamerica, and Egypt" (SDMoM 2017d, 8).

Particular to active collecting are changes in the CMP that state "SDMoM will no longer assemble comprehensive or systematic ethnographic collections [but instead] … will actively seek out objects that can be used to tell compelling stories about the human experience" (SDMoM 2017d, 6). The CMP goes on to list key collecting areas for ethnographic objects, among which are "Ethnicity, Race, Colonialism" (SDMoM 2017d, 7). The CMP also includes clearly defined criteria and policy for photography both in the galleries and in the collections facility, reproducing digital images created as part of the collections, and submitting copies of deliverables produced as a result of access to the Museum or its collections for research or commercial purposes (SDMoM 2017d).

SDMoM holds an extensive physical anthropology collection and clearly defines its Policy on the Curation of Human Remains, which includes access by researchers, descendant community members, and need to provide Spiritual Care to human remains or ethnographic objects. Additionally, SDMoM clearly defines its commitment to NAGPRA compliance by accommodating all legitimate requests for repatriation from descendant communities both within and outside of NAGPRA's legal purview (SDMoM 2017d). SDMoM's CMP policy on access to collections by descendant community members states (SDMoM 2017d, 26):

> Subject to SDMoM's discretion, any member of a descendant community, given reasonable purpose and advance notification shall be allowed accompanied access to relevant collection materials unless particular objects or documentation bear restrictions that otherwise prohibit this access. Access to collection materials is dependent upon the availability of facilities and staff, compliance with donor restrictions, and the stability of the requested object(s), among other factors.

When a non-descendant community research request is made related to Native American collections at SDMoM the CMP stipulates (SDMoM 2017d, 27):

> When the research request involves Native American human remains, Native American burial items, images of Native Americans, or Native American items of cultural patrimony or spiritual significance, permission for the research access must be obtained in writing by the researcher from

an authorized designee of the descendant community (unless an applicable research agreement is already in place between the Museum and the descendant community).

SDMoM has committed to transforming its collections and improving long-term preservation of objects as part of its *Master Plan Narrative | 2015,* maintaining that while in the past the Museum was a "storehouse of artifacts and knowledge, and … a platform for scholarly explorations of its large collections…[the Museum now] places people at its center, and aims for social betterment outcomes rooted in dialogue … [with] collections … as catalyst for, the ideas, explorations and reflections embodied in exhibits, rather than collections as an end unto itself" (SDMoM 2015b, 22; IMLS 2016).

Interview Results: Developing and Implementing Relationships and Initiatives with Descendant Communities

SDMoM has been working on and off with Native American descendant communities over the past twenty-five years. The Museum's active engagement with Native American descendant communities became more consistent starting around five years ago when the first Native American (Kumeyaay) became a member of the SDMoM Board of Trustees. This relationship led to conversations and the beginnings of some engagement. The barrier faced by SDMoM with regard to establishing collaborative relationships with Native American descendant communities was the museum's past position on ancestral remains (Garcia 2016). This position shifted in 2014 when SDMoM formally accepted the Kumeyaay lines of ancestral evidence. Once the Museum began to work with the Kumeyaay Peoples toward repatriation (Durán 2016), SDMoM was invited by the thirteen Southern California bands of the Kumeyaay to join their intertribal advisory group, *Mataam Naka Shin*, and work together on the Centennial of the Panama-California Exposition in Balboa Park (Garcia 2016). SDMoM was invited to collaborate with the Kumeyaay curator to design the cosmology exhibit (SDMoM 2018e) as well as collaborate in the kick-off celebration for performances of Kumeyaay Birdsong. As of 2016, these partnerships and NAGPRA repatriations have been the main collaborative pieces of work the Museum has done (Garcia 2016).

The third major way SDMoM has been engaging with Native American descendant communities is with interpretive planning processes. The exhibit planning consortium invited descendant community members to come to the Museum and discuss future programs and exhibits. This resulted in collaborative brainstorming sessions, walk-throughs of galleries, and discussions around use of space and types of narratives to use in Kumeyaay exhibits moving forward (Garcia 2016). Staff in the Curatorial and Cultural Resources department and the Museum's programmatic areas have been interested in engaging with Kumeyaay descendant communities in meaningful ways and have worked to facilitate recent collaborations (Garcia 2016). The Museum's decision to recognize Kumeyaay ancestors and begin developing meaningful

partnerships originated with SDMoM's leadership under CEO, Micah Parzen, and Deputy Director, Ben Garcia. This decision was quickly acted upon by the Museum's Director of Cultural Resources, Kelly Hyberger (Garcia 2016). The impetus for SDMoM's shift was the momentum driven by the Kumeyaay bands who consistently lobbied the Museum to recognize their ancestors (Garcia 2016). SDMoM's leadership met the determination and energy of the Kumeyaay with its own, taking a positive stance to recognize the Kumeyaay ancestors with respect and dignity, taking cultural cues from the Kumeyaay and operating in compliance with NAGPRA (Garcia 2016).

SDMoM has a clear understanding that it stewards extensive cultural materials of the Kumeyaay and their ancestors. Although the Museum is on ancestral Kumeyaay land and stewards their ancestors in its collections, there had been no meaningful collaboration or sustained engagement for a century (Garcia 2016). This realization prompted a shift in the institutional policies and practices of the Museum. SDMoM is in the beginnings of a transformational process with "love for all humanity at its core" (SDMoM 2015a, 2015b; Garcia 2016). The Museum has been working to reveal and overturn the pieces of its history (in particular, the legacies of colonialism) that do not line up with that philosophy (Garcia 2016). In response to this realization, SDMoM is stewarding the organization on creating a policy on decolonization that will be voted on by the Board, starting with NAGPRA and human remains (SDMoM 2017d), then moving on to broader decolonization practices (SDMoM 2015b; Garcia 2016). As part of this process, the entire staff and all board members completed NAGPRA training in May 2016 (Garcia 2016).

Staff from Collections, Exhibits, and Education have begun reaching out and working collaboratively with members of Indigenous descendant communities associated with the Museum. Additionally, the Development department has engaged with Kumeyaay around obtaining funding to support collaborative work between the Kumeyaay bands and SDMoM (Garcia 2016; IMLS 2017). The Museum interacts with eighteen different Native American bands in San Diego County, not all are Kumeyaay (Garcia 2016). Meetings and interactions occur at tribal sites, SDMoM spaces and offices, and at museum sites in Balboa Park. The main methods of communication between SDMoM staff and Native American descendant communities are through phone calls, SDMoM staff attendance at descendant community meetings, lunch meetings, and events at the museum (Garcia 2016).

Amy Lonetree advises that there be Native American decision makers at every level of the organization (Lonetree 2012; Garcia 2016). SDMoM is working to become known as a place where Kumeyaay and other Native Americans are welcomed as part of the organization. The Museum's archaeologist has been working to recruit more local California Indian Board members from other tribes in San Diego County, although it takes time to build trust and there must be a willingness to commit financially to the museum (Garcia 2016). SDMoM recently hired Lael Hoff (Kumeyaay), a bio-

anthropologist as the Collections Manager for physical anthropology and NAGPRA (Garcia 2016). Currently the Museum has a number of staff who identify as members of descendant communities, whether Kumeyaay or Maya. SDMoM is actively working to have more descendent community members involved in the Museum's interdepartmental working relationships as staff, trustees, and/or as consultants, documenting collections, participating as curators, and developing programming (SDMoM 2015b; Garcia 2017; IMLS 2017). The Museum also intends to work with Native American descendant communities to develop an advisory board. The Museum will invite members from all the bands to meet regularly with its staff to make important decisions that affect the Museum's collections from all the Native American territories associated with the collections (Garcia 2016; IMLS 2017).

Although SDMoM is in the early stages of developing collaborative working relationships with Native American descendant communities, the planning process for exhibit development and installation so far is slightly different than when working on mainstream exhibit development (Garcia 2016). Respecting the rhythm and flow of conversation and engagement that occurs working with Native American descendant communities is important. The aggressiveness of the Western business model is not always productive, although some meetings SDMoM has had with Native American descendant communities have been successful using that model. What SDMoM has noticed that works best is making time for storytelling, developing trust, and providing avenues for autonomy (Garcia 2016).

SDMoM is still strategizing on the appropriate standards and practices to institutionalize through written policy and protocol for working in partnership with Indigenous descendant communities. Until then, if staff members or departments have established good relationships with Indigenous descendant communities they work directly with them. If such relationships have not been developed yet, staff goes through the Deputy Director to arrange the work and planning (Garcia 2017). The Deputy Director currently serves as a filter to identify colonized language and practices and develop approaches to overcome those (Garcia 2017). An IMLS grant will provide for developing and implementing institutionalized decolonization standards and practices with the Kumeyaay (Garcia 2017; IMLS 2017). This project will be overseen by the SDMoM leadership (Garcia 2017).

The Curatorial and Cultural Resources department has developed strong connections with Indigenous descendant communities and works directly with them using SDMoM's CMP as a baseline document for all collections related decision making (Garcia 2016; SDMoM 2017d). SDMoM's mission and vision statements are integrated into nearly all processes and tasks in the Curatorial and Cultural Resources department (Hyberger 2016; SDMoM 2018f). Because the Museum's mission is exploring human connections it is important that staff not speak for a culture outside of their own (Hyberger 2016). Hyberger expressed that her work since coming to SDMoM "has been [an] eye-opening and a paradigm

changing experience in curation…[because her] background as a Historian didn't take decolonization fully into account" (2016). At SDMoM, staff works closely with Native American descendant communities and takes the lead from them on decision making about which objects to include in the exhibit and how the objects should be interpreted (Hyberger 2016). Through institutionalization of practices that promote decolonization and inclusion, SDMoM is developing a sustainable mindset and culture that maintains openness and supports accountability (SDMoM 2015b; Hyberger 2016).

The Museum is about to embark on a substantial development process for the next iteration of Kumeyaay narratives. This process will require descendant community consultants, participants, and guest curators and will also include educational programs (SDMoM 2015b; Garcia 2017; IMLS 2017). An example of recent partnership between SDMoM and the Kumeyaay that started with the temporary exhibit in Balboa Park during the Panama-California Exposition Centennial, 2015, was SDMoM's providing of space in the Museum for a Kumeyaay Birdsong performance (Garcia 2017). SDMoM considers this to be long overdue justice work that recognizes the sovereignty of Kumeyaay territory and language (Garcia 2017). The Kumeyaay performed the Birdsong again on December 9, 2017 as a blessing of space in the Museum. A performance of cultural practice such as this helps non-Indigenous visitors to understand Kumeyaay cultural practices and realize contemporary Kumeyaay Peoples are thriving in Southern California (Garcia 2017). This performance also serves a Kumeyaay cultural need for healing and is a healing practice for the Museum and its staff. For the Kumeyaay, the performance of Kumeyaay Birdsong is a practice that is about affirming relationship with the Creator and reestablishing cultural continuity (Garcia 2017).

Interview Results: Evaluating Exhibitions and Initiatives with Descendant Communities

When partnering with Indigenous descendant communities regarding co-creating, evaluations will ensure Indigenous and non-Indigenous community-based goals are being met, not only the goals of the Museum (Garcia 2017). The evaluations being developed through the IMLS grant will be more qualitative and analyze perceptions of before and after visitor and institution perspectives, the effectiveness of visitor engagement, goals for visitors, and goals for partnership development with Indigenous descendant communities (Garcia 2017; IMLS 2017). The IMLS grant awarded to SDMoM to fund a number of initiatives related to decolonization goals and create working partnerships with Indigenous descendant communities includes two years of evaluation work done by professional evaluation groups (Garcia 2017; IMLS 2017). Because SDMoM has not historically had a standard approach to the evaluation process, it is difficult to prioritize at a deeper level the results of the work SDMoM is currently doing with Indigenous descendant communities until these evaluations are completed (Garcia 2017). SDMoM intends to use

outside evaluators whenever evaluation partnerships with Indigenous descendant communities are formed with the understanding that hired evaluators are professionals. At this point in the transformation of SDMoM, inside evaluations are less formal and are typically completed by interns (SDMoM 2015b; Garcia 2017).

SDMoM plans on working with Lois Silverman in the near future to develop an institutional culture of visitor studies through informal evaluations with a small cohort of staff. SDMoM is working with Silverman because she views museums as sites of personal reflection and internal exploration. Silverman's philosophy is that museums provide great value in healing professions because museums are places where charged emotional content can be safely engaged with (Silverman 2010; Garcia 2017). This type of engagement at SDMoM will help shift visitors' own colonized thinking and structural racism, concepts of white privilege, or other ideologies related to healing from the legacies of Western colonialism (SDMoM 2015b; Garcia 2017).

SDMoM is hopeful that the work it plans to complete with Silverman will help uncover what the Museum means to its communities (Garcia 2017). The evaluation results will help the museum understand what strategies are effective and which need to be revisited, which assumptions are valid and which assumptions are off-the-mark. Results are expected to provide better understandings around the ways Indigenous descendant communities and non-descendant communities view, through different lenses, the colonial privilege in the museum process (Garcia 2017). Evaluation results will be used to support and sustain the continuing work of decolonization internal to the Museum and external to associated communities, as well as inform ongoing work and partnership development around programmatic elements related to Indigenous descendant communities (Garcia 2017). SDMoM plans to transparently share the evaluation results from the IMLS grant work through deliverables published as part of that grant project (Garcia 2017; IMLS 2017). Results will be shared as broadly as possible through professional conferences, with the Museum's communities, and on the Museum's website (Garcia 2017; IMLS 2017).

Discussion and Assessment of Museum

The San Diego Museum of Man had its beginnings in a cultural milieu freshly formed on the heels of Spanish colonialism and the United States government's westward expansionist policies of Manifest Destiny in Southern California (Churchill 2001; Miranda 2014b). The Panama-California Exposition of 1915 supplied the initial collections and the California Building in which the Museum remains (Bokovoy 2005; SDMoM 2018i). The Spanish-Mediterranean architecture of the California Building with its Churrigueresque embellishments, echoed in Spanish colonial architecture in Mexico and Peru, reminds visitors of the Spanish and European heritage of the colonizers in Alta California and Mesoamerica

(Stokstad 2005). This is particularly striking on the portal façade that celebrates heroes of the Spanish colonization of Alta California and omits commemorating Indigenous Peoples whose subjugated history is also a part of this narrative (Bokovoy 2005). In 2010, the legacies of colonialism at SDMoM remained deeply entrenched nearly a century after its beginning. With 2010, SDMoM gained new leadership and an institutional paradigm shift began.

Focusing on improving the financials of the Museum was among the first of the transformation efforts SDMoM initiated. With a new CEO at the helm, initiatives to push boundaries began with hiring staff known for creative, innovative thinking and commitment to social justice (SDMoM 2015b, 2018g). By 2014, the financial situation of the Museum was much improved and trust in the institution by its stakeholders was being reestablished as evidenced by SDMoM's consistent Charity Navigator four-star ratings beginning that year (Charity Navigator 2016; SDMoM 2017a). SDMoM key staff have consistently been face forward presenting sessions and facilitating panel discussions at professional conferences on topics of decolonizing the museum, social justice, and engaging visitors in envisioning and creating a better world for all humanity (WMA 2016; AMA / WMA 2017).

SDMoM has developed a strategic plan with an eight-year vision for innovative transformation and updated its Collections Management Policy to include specific language related to working with Indigenous descendant communities. The Museum has set in motion long-term, funded strategizing to develop and institutionalize policies and protocol for sustainable, collaborative partnerships with Indigenous descendant communities related to collections management, exhibit and educational programming development and implementation, and visitor research and evaluation (NATHPO 2005; IMLS 2017; IARC 2018b). Within a five-year period, SDMoM has begun quickly rebuilding trust relationships with Kumeyaay bands of Southern California with the Museum's acceptance of Kumeyaay claims to ancestors held in the Museum's collections (Durán 2016; IMLS 2017; SDMoM 2017d, 2018e).

The Museum's *Master Plan Narrative* includes development and implementation of edgy exhibits and educational programming designed to spark thought and create understanding about humanity's shared heritages, while recognizing heterogeneity and differences of perspective (SDMoM 2015b). SDMoM's exhibits, programming, and collections management policies incorporate Indigenous descendant community perspectives and encourage and facilitate dialogic engagement and reflection by staff, descendant communities, and visitors (McKenna-Cress and Kamien 2013). SDMoM has incorporated opportunities for healing spaces and community outreach and participation using collections and exhibits as catalysts for narratives that explore human social, cultural, psychological, and political experiences (Duran 2006; Silverman 2010; Lonetree 2012; Duarte and Belarde-Lewis 2015). The Museum does not shy away from presenting challenging topics and proactively does so with appropriate scaffolding resources that help

visitors make their own meaning from these exhibits and programs (Silverman 2010; Lonetree 2012; Rose 2016).

Whether intense and inspirational, or easy-going and exciting, SDMoM provides a variety of engaging, well-scaffolded learning experiences supporting its mission of "inspiring human connections by exploring the human experience" and its vision "to be San Diego's dynamic place to go to learn from each other, reflect on our place in the world, [and] build a better community" (SDMoM 2018f). SDMoM is transforming itself into an institution that fits the five key concepts of the museum as social institution and place of negotiation and exchange with the power to transform and help heal the world through a multitude of large and small actions (Silverman 2010).

The Museum's ongoing internal and external work to decolonize an institution with a strong colonial legacy is helping to transform it into a 'museum that matters' for Indigenous Peoples as well as non-Indigenous peoples (Lonetree 2012). By developing and implementing exhibits and programs that use the Museum's colonial collections to address the legacies of colonialism and racism, SDMoM is moving beyond "tweaking the existing colonial system to make it more Indigenous-friendly" (Waziyatawin and Yellow Bird 2005, 4). The Museum is proactively working to institutionalize decolonization ethics, policies, and standards for best practice and take responsibility for its colonial legacy and resultant ongoing impacts on our society (Lonetree 2012).

9. Discussion, Conclusions, and Recommendations

> *The nexus, or coming together, of activism and research occurs at the level of a single individual in many circumstances. An activist must get the story right as well as tell the story well, and so must a researcher.*
>
> – Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2012, 226)

Introduction

This chapter is divided into four main parts. First, a brief discussion of the literature reviews identifies several themes that simultaneously contribute to the problem of the museum as colonial institution and present solutions for decolonizing it. Second, key findings of the case studies are outlined and discussed. Next, several conclusions and recommendations are outlined by presenting a new model for decolonizing the museums. Finally, the thesis closes with some final thoughts about how museums and Indigenous descendant communities can work to decolonize museums and heal the historic traumas shared by colonized and colonizer.

Discussion: Key Findings of Literature Review

The main question asked in this thesis by looking through the lens of mainstream (non-tribal) museum collaborations with Native American descendant communities was:

> How are museum curators working to create positive change with Indigenous descendant communities associated with museum collections in the context of changing museum and Indigenous descendant community relationship dynamics?

The goal was to uncover emerging and maturing practical methods real museums and Indigenous descendant communities are using while working in partnership to decolonize museum practices, as well as developing trends in the field. The role of curators as key collaborators with Indigenous descendant communities was explored in regards to developing sustainable partnerships that support inclusive, reciprocal relationships when developing and implementing exhibits, programming, and collections management practices.

Current literature from the field revealed that the topic of decolonizing the institution of museum is at the forefront of concern in the museum field for non-Indigenous and Indigenous museum professionals, and for Indigenous descendant communities. Moreover, three main themes emerged from the literature review: the historical context of museum-Indigenous interactions is important; Western and Indigenous approaches to research must be considered; and narratives and language matter. Taken together

the three themes represent interrelated foundational processes of colonial entanglement with museums and provide solutions for colonial disentanglement as museum professionals and Indigenous descendant communities work to decolonize the institution of museum. Each theme is discussed below.

The Historical Context of Museum-Indigenous Interactions

The history of museums is deeply intertwined with ancient practices of colonialism, racism, and power perpetuated by Western European concepts of how society, culture, and politics should manifest in the world. Some of the earliest writings from the Mediterranean, later revived by Western European Classics scholars, present clues as to the beginnings of imperialism and racism. With the stories of Ancient Greek travelers, early ideologies of racism and othering appear in the written record (Said 1979; Bernal 1987). Travelers' tales, such as those told in Herodotus' *Histories*, and the Homeric epics, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, bring stories of exotic lands with strange, unusual people and customs back to the travelers' society and culture (Homer 1919a, 1919b, 1924, 1925; Said 1979; Bernal 1987; Strassler, Herodotus, and Thomas 2009).

Such stories get retold and re-examined and those receiving the stories only know the side of the story told by the traveler. This is, of course, problematic, because it is an etic (outsider) interpretation of the journey or event. What is missing is the other side of the story, the story told by those being observed by the traveler. In this way, knowledge creation is a one-sided endeavor and unreliable as well as irresponsible. However, tales are not the only thing travelers and explorers collect. Those on journeys of exploration, discovery, conquest, and colonization also collect trophies and keepsakes to display.

In sum, one key theme that emerged from the literature review was that the historical context of museum-indigenous interactions is important to consider on both theoretical and practical levels.

Western and Indigenous Approaches to Research

The basis for knowledge creation in Western academia is grounded in established research protocols and paradigms that put something or someone at risk (Smith 2012). Museums stewarding collections of Indigenous descendant communities obtained those collections through a variety of means. One primary resource for creating museum collections is field research and the collecting of objects and data to support research, which is compounded by further research on objects and associated data in museum collections to further interpret and create or enhance knowledge systems. The Western research approach used by most museums does not take into account Indigenous approaches to research or the history and colonial contexts of Western research experienced by Indigenous peoples as subjects of that research (Kovach 2010; Smith 2012).

Observation and recording of information has always been one of the primary research methods used by historians, anthropologists, and ethnographers. With the introduction of Boas' participant activist approach to anthropological and ethnographic research, Western researchers not only observed Indigenous Peoples and recorded etic observations, they worked to become partially integrated into Indigenous communities and added identifying with the research subjects into the interpretation of data from their field observations. The fields of anthropology and ethnography are responsible for amassing large collections of tangible and intangible cultural heritage from Indigenous peoples, frequently under the watchful eye of and assistance by the government (Darnell 1998; Conn 2000). In the case of the United States the ongoing Manifest Destiny campaign of Westward expansion maintained a systematic attack on Indigenous Peoples that began in the 15th century with the Christian Doctrine of Discovery (Churchill 2001; Dunbar-Ortiz 2015). The resulting Euro-American belief that the Indigenous Peoples of the United States were vanishing led to increased collecting activities by academics and other collectors (Bennett et al. 2017).

Although collecting objects as part of personal or group identity formation is common to the human condition, the collecting, studying, displaying, and interpreting of Native American cultural heritage items and human remains was/is intertwined with forming personal and group identities for many Euro-Americans. This practice was a common means in the 18th, 19th, and early 20th centuries to elevate social and political status in one's community. This manifested in a variety of ways, among them donating large collections of Native American items to museums in one's name (Burke Museum 2016e; Portland Art Museum 2016h; SDMoM 2018b). In this way, collecting tells more the story of the collectors than the collected (Darnell 1998; Hinsley 2000; Dubin 2001; McMullen 2009; Silverman 2010; Dunbar-Ortiz 2015).

In sum, a second key theme that emerged from the literature review was that Western and Indigenous approaches to research must be considered in working to decolonize the museum, especially as it relates to understanding the collection both for education and interpretation (discussed below), and the appropriate care and acquisition of Indigenous objects.

Narratives and Language Matter

Predicated on the first two themes with Western research methods at its core, the third main theme of constructed narratives and choice of language used to present knowledge has historically been controlled by the dominant authority in a society. In the last few centuries of the history of the American museum, the central actor at the forefront of knowledge creation and narrative construction has typically been the curator. According to the AAM, there are three foundational areas of the curatorial profession:

preservation; research; and communications (2015b). As relates to constructing narrative and communicating through interpretive language, the second and third foundational areas apply.

First, a look at the core area of research in the curatorial profession and the three areas under it listed as scholarly research, object research, and applied research (AAM 2015b). The curator's role as museum authority for knowledge construction and presentation is based on Western academic research methods. Curators use objects or content to perform contextual scholarly investigations for publication in peer-reviewed journals and other scholarly publications, subject matter books, or exhibition catalogs as subject matter experts. Object research involves research and documentation of objects already in a collection or being acquired by a museum and involves using established discipline-specific nomenclature or lexicons, and the ability to categorize and classify with discerning attention to detail. Curators use applied research to synthesize and interpret scholarly research and data about objects and collections and make connections to the larger world in order to interpret and help make meaning for the museum visitor (AAM 2015b). Most curators are expected to be specialists in a particular area of museum collections, while others are generalists. Whether specialist or generalist, curators are also expected to become knowledgeable about the objects slated for exhibit through using a variety of research methods (Norton-Westbrook 2015).

Directly connected to research activities are the foundational area of communication and the three branches of exhibition development, education, and outreach and advocacy (AAM 2015b). With exhibits as one of the most complex and public elements of a museum, curators are at the forefront whether leading or participating on an exhibition development team. Communication is key because curators are expected to work in a collaborative manner interdepartmentally and often with outside community partners (AAM 2015b; Norton-Westbrook 2015). Curators are typically viewed as the subject matter experts and often help steer the course of the exhibition development team. Interpreting narratives to create meaningful panels and labels for visitor engagement is often the responsibility of the curator, whether writing or overseeing the writing of these exhibition elements.

Finally, a deep understanding of and active engagement with the communities of the museum is a core competency for curators whose role includes outreach and advocacy. In all of these ways, curators are expected to negotiate the internal socio-cultural politics of the museum and the external socio-cultural politics of the museum's communities with ethical diplomacy and tact (AAM 2015b; Norton-Westbrook 2015). If collaboration and sharing of authority with museum community partners is expected of the 21st century curator, even championed, then why is sharing authority still a challenging practice to put in place? It is helpful here to review Foucault's concepts of museums as authority, frequently examined by scholars of museology (Foucault 1966; Ames 1992; Foucault 1999; Boast 2011; Smith 2012; Bennett et al. 2017).

Museums authoritatively categorize, classify, control, interpret, display, and represent the collected heritage (tangible/intangible) of cultures outside their own with scholarly research methods developed through centuries of Western academic practice. These objects and collections of objects exist together in the storage areas of museums out of connection with their originating places, peoples, and times. The role of the curator as a respected voice of authority, in turn representing the museum as the respected authority of knowledge retention and creation, has historically supported the dominant socio-cultural and political narratives created to accompany the objects in museum collections. With such power, museums promote dominant social, cultural, and political values directly or indirectly by continuing to follow centuries old unspoken rules of authority entrenched in museum practice as legacies of colonialism (Foucault 1966; Ames 1992; Foucault 1999; Boast 2011; Smith 2012; Bennett et al. 2017). The narratives that are presented, the language that is used, the voices that are behind the narratives and language, and who is receiving and making meaning from it are important.

In the second part of the literature review (chapter 3), it was also established that museums are places for social justice and healing work to occur because they are sacred spaces of spiritual transformation; places of community and social affiliation; places where shared understandings of humanity develop; political establishments with power to influence external social conditions; and stewards of irreplaceable diverse cultural heritages and ways of knowing of humanity (Kovach 2010; Silverman 2010; Lonetree 2012; Smith 2012; Rose 2016). Even so, museums are still learning how to use their sacred spaces, community spaces, collections, power, and authority for good.

Sharing long-held authority is challenging for some in the traditional museum field. There is sometimes fear that the inclusive and reciprocal nature of collaborative partnerships between the Indigenous descendant community subject matter expert(s) and/or curator(s) and the mainstream museum curator and/or other staff will negate the knowledge systems in the museum created by generations of scholarly curatorial research (Norton-Westbrook 2015). As examined in the literature review section on curators, authority, and collaboration (chapter 3), the expectations of the 21st century curator call for creating meaningful connections with all communities associated with a museum's collections and actively participating in outreach and advocacy with all communities equally.

Another debated aspect of collaborative exhibit and programming development between United States mainstream museums and Indigenous descendant communities is the seeming reluctance to present the truths of the traumatic history of colonization in the Americas from the perspective of Native Americans. This reluctance to present difficult narratives is noted as coming from both mainstream museums and Indigenous descendant communities (Cooper 2008; Wakeham 2008; Sleeper-Smith 2009; Silverman 2010; Lonetree 2012; Smith 2012; Rose 2016). While this is not surprising due to the traumatic

historic relationship and ongoing complex power dynamics between colonized and colonizer descendant communities, this approach does not readily provide opportunities for constructive engagement with exhibitions and facilitated healing experiences to take place (Silverman 2010; Lonetree 2012; Rose 2016).

Interpreting and presenting narratives is connected to the authority attached to museum research and collections. Without using museums and exhibitions as 'sites of conscience,' without sharing authority and presenting the facts of the subjugated history of colonization in the United States (or anywhere on the globe), mainstream museums will not become 'places that matter' to Indigenous Peoples (Lonetree 2012). When presenting subjugated histories, museums must also incorporate scaffolding for visitors into interpretive elements that provide opportunities and moments for engagement with truth and reconciliation, enabling healing processes for both the colonized and colonizer in the audience to take place (Duran 2006; Silverman 2010; Rose 2016).

While there are differing opinions on how to present subjugated Indigenous histories in museums, the mainstream museum should follow the lead of the Indigenous descendant community as to how they wish to represent themselves in a collaborative exhibition and associated educational programming. This may manifest as developing powerful Native-voice narratives exploring painful truths of the traumatic history of colonization in the Americas and the ongoing legacy of colonialism from the Indigenous perspective, or it may be through more subtle representations of survival and resilience, or a combination of these approaches.

In sum, a third key theme that emerged from the literature review was that the narratives used by museums, underpinned by curatorial research, have an impact on decolonizing efforts, and that the type of language used in exhibits and by museum professionals can help museums become 'places that matter' to Indigenous people.

Discussion: Key Findings of the Case Studies

Each of the three case study museums—Burke Museum, Portland Art Museum, and San Diego Museum of Man—explored in this thesis initiated decolonizing actions through collaborative projects with Indigenous descendant communities. Each museum is at a different stage in its active development and implementation of decolonizing practices. Each museum had its main beginnings in world's fairs and international expositions that resulted from policies of Westward expansion and imperialist ideologies. The world's fairs and expositions were staged and funded with assistance by the United States Federal government to promote social constructs of racism, progress, and Euro-American colonial political interests to the masses (Rydell 1987; Bokovoy 2005). Each museum has complex historic relationships of colonial

entanglement with Indigenous descendant communities on whose ancestral lands the museums are located. Three types of museum collecting schemes are represented: natural history/ethnology (Burke Museum), art (Portland Art Museum), and anthropology (San Diego Museum of Man). Of the three museums, only the art museum did not begin as a museum holding collections associated with Indigenous Peoples. Below, key findings of each of the case studies are discussed.

The Burke Museum

Of the three case study museums, the Burke Museum has the longest history of purposeful decolonizing work with Indigenous descendant communities and as such is the most complicated to discuss. The Burke's beginnings as a natural history museum included Indigenous cultural heritage objects obtained after the Alaska-Yukon Pacific Exposition (AYPE) of 1909 closed. Later, these collections were reclassified into the category of ethnological collections. Collections grew with ethnographic research and private collecting of Indigenous Peoples cultural heritage items (later donated to the Museum) by Seattle's social elite.

Because of Seattle's complex and convoluted socio-cultural and political relationship with Indigenous Peoples during its formative years and during contemporary times, the dynamics between the Burke Museum and local Indigenous descendant communities have been developing collaboratively for nearly 80 years. Although not formally stated as such, decolonizing practices seem to have begun with Erna Gunther's tenure as Director of the Burke. Her outreach and advocacy with Indigenous descendant communities as well as her mentorship of Bill Holm (namesake of the Bill Holm Center (BHC)) led to creating deep roots in the institutional culture of the Burke surrounding working together with Indigenous Peoples. As early as the 1970s, the Burke began proactively acknowledging and working to foster shared responsibilities between museum staff and Indigenous descendant community specialists.

Dr. James D. Nason, founder of UW's graduate museology program (in 1972) implemented recommendations for criteria for descendant community research guidelines in a museum's collections policy. These listed the rights of community members to control and have access to sensitive data and subjects; control tribal interests in publication of research data; have rights as research participants; have mandatory community review and concurrence as a condition of research funding and research work; oversee compliance procedures and contractual obligations; participate in cooperative research agreements with individuals or other institutions; and oversee/approve sensitive data collection and specialized research permits (Nason 1996). Nason also created safety guidelines for visitors and staff when handling collections objects potentially contaminated by pesticides or other toxic substances (Nason 2001a). This occurred prior

to NAGPRA legislation, in 1990 and the policies are foundationally retained in the Burke Museum's contemporary collection management practices.

Many aspects of collaborative work between Indigenous descendant communities and the Burke Museum take place through the BHC and its grant programs to facilitate Indigenous researchers and community workshops. Through outreach and advocacy with local Indigenous descendant communities, the staff of the BHC have developed and sustained collaborative relationships over time. The BHC includes formal evaluation in its grants and has learned through iterative evaluations to change approaches and provide more scaffolding to Indigenous descendant community members to support workshop development and Indigenous research activities. The BHC's involvement in exhibition and programming development and implementation has created opportunities for visitor engagement and community healing through dialogic workshops and events.

The Burke Museum makes a practice of thanking the Indigenous descendant community for sharing its ancestral lands with the institution and UW and recognizes publicly on its website the importance of the Indigenous ancestral heritage and connections with the land. In the case of the Burke Museum, decolonizing has been informally internalized in institutional culture for nearly eight decades and began to be institutionalized in policy and procedure within the last five decades, long before most other museums. Indigenous descendant community members hold key positions on the Burke's staff and with the UW as staff and board members. The Museum's formal government-to-government relationships with Indigenous descendant communities as sovereign nations are facilitated by the UW Tribal Liaison.

The Portland Art Museum

The Portland Art Museum's relationship with Indigenous descendant communities did not begin with its founding in 1892. Although showcasing paintings and watercolors from the 1905 Lewis and Clark Centennial and American Pacific Exposition and Oriental Fair after its move from the library to its current location, PAM did not acquire any Native American art objects until the 1920s and serious collections of Native American art did not begin until the late 1940s. While not directly acquired from the Lewis and Clark Centennial, it is likely that objects in PAM's collections can be traced to the world's fair and exposition circuits because they were frequently collected by the same collectors and redistributed during and after the fairs and expositions. The next significant Native American art collection was acquired incrementally by the Museum through collector, Elizabeth Cole Butler beginning in the 1980s and ending in the early 2000s.

PAM's earliest attempts to work collaboratively with associated Indigenous descendant communities resulted in the establishing of permanent gallery space through a sizeable donation from the

Grand Ronde Tribe. While curated by PAM's Curator of Native American Art in the late 1990s, the exhibition was not promoted publicly as being collaboratively developed with the Tribe. However, educational programming was funded by the Grand Ronde Tribe and appears to have been developed and implemented with the Tribe on some level according to news reports from the time. One element of the Grand Ronde Tribe's financial support was the provision to support art education and cover admission and transportation costs for 3,500 school children from the surrounding geographical areas.

The exhibition and programming that resulted from the joint endeavor between PAM and the Grand Ronde Tribe represented the beginnings of establishing better working relationships with local Indigenous descendant communities. In spite of these beginnings, the joint endeavor fell into the area of the neocolonial 'contact zone' effort, not sustained after the initial event (Boast 2011). After the previous curator initiated joint undertakings with the Grand Ronde Tribe, the short tenure of the next Curator of Native American Art at PAM does not appear to have established or maintained ties with Indigenous descendant communities. A two-year gap followed that curator's departure.

With the most recent Curator of Native American Art at PAM, collaborative relationship development with Indigenous descendant communities was reestablished. Dr. Deana Dartt set in motion collaborative exhibition and programming development and implementation with local Indigenous descendant communities and quadrupled PAM's collection of contemporary Native American Art. With strong ties to the descendant communities, Dartt worked to transform PAM's relationships with Indigenous descendant communities through multipronged, innovative curatorial approaches involving exhibitions, programs, community outreach, and educational opportunities for all of the Museum's communities.

Dartt used decolonizing practices such as co-curation/co-creating exhibits and programs, privileging Native voice, and presenting topics of a controversial nature regarding Indigenous Peoples post-colonization history in the United States. The use of PAM's existing Native American Art collection in juxtaposition and conversation with contemporary Native American art and live artist presentations to explore the effects of colonization on the lives of Indigenous Peoples decolonizes the original act of collecting by Euro-Americans.

Behind the scenes, Dartt promoted access to collections by Indigenous descendant community members and instituted a no-gloves policy with safety precautions and protective measures in place for handling collection objects that may have been contaminated by pesticides or other toxins in the past. PAM also instituted a loan policy for loan of objects and ceremonial robes to associated Indigenous descendant communities to use in traditional ceremonies, celebrations, and other events both on-site at the museum and off-site at Tribal sites.

Through IMLS funding, Dartt's team worked to digitize the Native American Art collection and partnered with the Reciprocal Research Network (RRN), an online platform for receiving and sharing information between Indigenous descendant community members about the Native American art in PAM's collection. This is important because it provides an access point for Indigenous descendant community members to identify, discuss, interpret, narrate, and perhaps file NAGPRA claims. Additionally, it is reciprocal to partner museums because they gain Indigenous curation knowledge to update catalog records. Many pieces have been reconnected with artists' names and misidentifications have been corrected as a result.

IMLS grants also funded the creation of the Center for Contemporary Native Art (CCNA) a new gallery space curated by Indigenous descendant community artists at PAM as well as hiring of professional evaluators from the Native Nations Institute (NNI) at the University of Arizona to develop a formal evaluation protocol for the Museum's work with Indigenous descendant communities. The grant also funded formation of a Native Art Advisory Board (NAAB) with stipulation in the grant for the NAAB to become institutionalized into the administration and governance of the Museum. During Dartt's four-year tenure at PAM, intensive decolonizing practices were put in place. As of this writing, no new Curator of Native American Art is listed on PAM's website. However, the CCNA lists a current exhibit organized by Tlingit artist and weaver, Lily Hope, *Interwoven Radiance*.

The San Diego Museum of Man

The San Diego Museum of Man (SDMoM) was directly created and established as the result of the Panama-California Exposition of 1915. As an anthropology museum, collecting and research in the colonial traditions of Western academia have been the main focus of its mission until the early 21st century when a change of leadership occurred. Since, 2010, SDMoM has been strategically reinventing itself and transforming the museum into a purposeful vehicle for exploring, innovating, and actively implementing decolonizing practices inside and outside of its walls. Beginning with improving the financials of the Museum, leadership then turned to developing a *Master Plan Narrative* to guide the institution through its transformation of decolonizing the institution and developing the Museum as a socio-cultural, healing space between, 2015 and 2023 (SDMoM 2015b).

A significant element of this approach involves outreach and advocacy to both the immediate communities of the Museum and the museum professionals' community. SDMoM leadership and key staff members have been collaboratively engaging with other museum professionals to overturn the colonial legacies of museums through participating in professional conference sessions and panel discussions for the last few years (WMA 2016; AMA / WMA 2017). Real collaborative partnerships with Indigenous

descendant communities began to develop shortly after 2010, when the Museum Board recruited its first Native American (Kumeyaay) member.

In 2014, the Museum formally accepted the Kumeyaay lines of ancestral evidence and began working with the Kumeyaay Peoples to repatriate ancestors, sacred objects, and objects of cultural patrimony in full NAGPRA compliance (Garcia 2016). Successful consultations during this process led to collaborative exhibition and programming development for the Centennial of the Panama-California Exposition in Balbo Park between SDMoM and Kumeyaay bands through the intertribal advisory group, *Mataam naka Shin* (Garcia 2016; SDMoM 2018e). Work with the Curatorial and Cultural Resources department during both of these partnerships strengthened relationships between Kumeyaay bands and SDMoM. This has led to key staff being able to proactively reach out and work collaboratively with Indigenous descendant community members on a number of projects.

The underlying focus of SDMoM's master transformation plan revolves around the concept of "love for all humanity at its core" with the result that SDMoM has been working with holistic intentionality to bring into the light and renegotiate its histories that are out of line with this philosophy (SDMoM 2015a, 2015b; Garcia 2016). In addition to its early forays into aggressively working to decolonize and transform an institution once deeply entrenched in the legacies of colonialism, SDMoM's strategic plan includes IMLS funding and calls for systematically institutionalizing policies and protocol for sustainable, inclusive, reciprocal, transparent, accountable, and innovative partnerships with Indigenous descendant communities in the areas of collections management, exhibit and educational programming development and implementation, and visitor research and evaluation (NATHPO 2005; IMLS 2017; IARC 2018b). The decolonizing Collections Management Policy (CMP) was completed and approved by the Board of Trustees in early 2017 (SDMoM 2017d).

Outside of collaborative partnerships with Indigenous descendant communities, SDMoM has committed to—and has already begun—developing and implementing exhibits and programming that facilitate thoughtful engagement and learning experiences around compelling and challenging topics such as race and racism. By incorporating opportunities for healing physical and mental spaces and community outreach and participation using its colonial collections as catalysts for sparking human connections through narratives exploring shared human experiences, SDMoM is transforming itself into an institution that matters for all visitors (Duran 2006; Silverman 2010; Lonetree 2012; Duarte and Belarde-Lewis 2015). SDMoM fits the five key concepts of the museum as social institution and place of negotiation and exchange. The San Diego Museum of Man is manifesting the power to transform and help heal the world through a multitude of large and small social justice work and conscious 'practitioner activist' decolonizing actions (Waziyatawin and Yellow Bird 2005; Silverman 2010).

In sum, the case study museums have made significant efforts to transform and decolonize through collaborative projects with Indigenous descendant communities that also involve a clear recognition that the historical context of museum-Indigenous interactions is important; that Western and Indigenous approaches to interactions over research interactions, especially in the context of collections and their use, must be considered; and that narratives and use of language are crucial in efforts to decolonize. This is especially important in certain areas of practice, such as in collections management or exhibitions.

Conclusions and Recommendations

Decolonizing museums is about more than collaborative exhibit development and implementation. Museums are places that have the spaces, authority, and the political, social, and community connections, to present exhibitions with historical narratives that are specific in naming our shared colonial histories—the ugly, the bad, and the good—as 'sites of conscience' and sites of healing and social transformation (Foucault 1999; Silverman 2010; Lonetree 2012; Rose 2016).

Below, five major conclusions concerning decolonizing museums are presented: collaborations matter; curator competencies must expand to include collaborative cataloging; colonization history must be understood by all involved; 'practitioner activism' is key in moving forward; and administrative and governance systems must integrate decolonization. These conclusions are followed by outlining a model for decolonizing the museum, called "The Wheel of Practice and Concepts," which integrates six key-concepts and six practices that can be employed by those working to decolonize the museum both from within and without from descendant communities. The chapter closes with some final thoughts for healing the future.

Collaborations Matter

As reviewed in the literature (chapter 3), creating exhibitions that explore subjugated histories requires collaborations beyond the curator/museum staff and Indigenous descendant community representative(s). A team of interdisciplinary professionals and subject matter experts should be assembled to advise on methods for incorporating scaffolding into the visitor's experience based on social work and healing spaces, whether physical or mental retreats, into the exhibition.

Curator Core Competencies Must Expand to Include Collaborative Cataloging

The curator's core competency sub-area of object research needs to be expanded to include guidelines for collaborative cataloging with Indigenous descendant communities. As noted by Dr. Bunn-Marcuse of the Burke Museum and Bill Holm Center, collaborative cataloging may not simply extend to working in partnership with Indigenous descendant communities within the curator's museum. Because

different parts of related Indigenous descendant community collections and resources are often spread across several institutions, it may also require collaboration between Indigenous descendant communities and several museums or other institutions (Burke Museum 2015p).

Duarte and Belarde-Lewis made clear that collaborative cataloging projects will need to explore new design systems for recording data that incorporate the hundreds of different Native knowledge systems within their respective cultural contexts. Additionally, for this type of collaborative cataloging to be successful, truly collaborative and decolonizing, the project process needs to be transparent, accountable, inclusive, and reciprocal from the moment of concept through completion (2015).

Colonization History Must be Understood by All Involved

Before curators at mainstream museums begin decolonizing processes, they need to understand how colonization works. Curators and museum staff working with Indigenous descendant communities also need to understand the colonization history of the Indigenous descendant community associated with the museum from the Indigenous perspective. Learning by listening to Native voices and receiving appropriate training can help mainstream museum staff practice cultural responsiveness while working collaboratively with Indigenous descendant community members to identify the correct means to decolonize the cataloging process relative to the Native knowledge system of the Indigenous descendant community (Duarte and Belarde-Lewis 2015).

'Practitioner Activism' is Key in Moving Forward

When collections stewarded by a museum are associated with Indigenous descendant communities, curators and museums have moral and social justice obligations, as well as a professional duty to share authority and guardianship with Indigenous descendant communities, becoming 'practitioner activists,' taking responsibility for the colonial legacies of the museum institution and advocating for decolonizing museum practices through daily institutionally sanctioned actions and practices (Waziyatawin and Yellow Bird 2005; Lonetree 2012; Smith 2012). Sharing authority and guardianship means incorporating inclusivity, reciprocity, transparency, and accountability at all levels of curatorial and other departmental museum work (Lonetree 2012). This requires thinking beyond established museum rules and finding innovative solutions that can be incorporated into the institutional fabric of the museum.

Administrative and Governance Systems Must Integrate Decolonization

While collaborative exhibits and programming are important gateway elements to sustainable inclusivity and reciprocity between Indigenous descendant communities and mainstream museums, decolonizing museums extends beyond these externally visible aspects of the museum and moves into

building long-term, sustainable partnerships. This also requires administrative and governance buy-in through institutionalizing new policies, codes of ethics, standards, best practices, and staff and board training programs that include Indigenous knowledge and research paradigms.

Recruiting Indigenous descendant community members for museum staff in key leadership positions, as board members, and to create and manage Indigenous descendant community advisory boards or councils is an integral aspect of institutionalizing decolonizing practices in the museum. Management support for collaborative, decolonizing work also includes training all staff, volunteers, and board members in cultural responsiveness, instituting ethical codes and zero tolerance policies for racism and discrimination, and including these policies in board approved documents (Waziyatawin and Yellow Bird 2005; Kovach 2010; Fleming 2012; Lonetree 2012; Smith 2012; Bunn-Marcuse 2016; Dartt 2016; Garcia 2016, 2017).

A Model for Decolonizing the Museum: The Wheel of Practice and Concepts

Through the analysis of the literature reviewed and the successful approaches the three case study museums have used to promote decolonizing practices, six key-concepts and six associated practices have been identified. These six key-concepts and six key practices consistently presented themselves in the literature and case studies throughout this research, although sometimes under different terms. They function symbiotically, overlapping and interacting dynamically throughout successful, decolonizing collaborative partnerships between Indigenous descendant communities and museums, and are presented here as a new model for decolonizing the museum, called *The Wheel of Practice and Concepts* (Figure 9.1).

Central to the six key-concepts and six practices is decolonizing as the focal point of the underlying actions. The six key concepts:

- Sustainability
- Accountability
- Inclusivity
- Reciprocity
- Transparency
- Innovation

Sustainability is dependent upon the other five concepts. Inclusivity and reciprocity are supported by transparency, innovation, and accountability. The intertwined six best practices are:

- Practice empathy, honesty, and respect.
- Share authority and responsibility.
- Cultivate relationships of trust.
- Co-create culturally responsive policies and programs.

- Institutionalize decolonizing practices by securing administrative and governance support.
- Use research responsibly to evaluate, reflect, improve, and repeat.

Figure 9.1: *Decolonizing the Museum: The Wheel of Practice and Concepts* contains two sets of leaves spinning in different directions around the central force of decolonization. The large outer set moves clockwise and represents best practices when working to decolonize museums. The wheel progresses through practices that are iterative in nature. The small inner set moves counter-clockwise and represents six key-concepts to embrace when doing decolonization work.

The central disc in the *Wheel of Practice and Concepts* stresses that the product of decolonizing is the process itself, a thing that is always growing and creating the future. As the inner and outer circles spin

in opposite directions, they continually intersect and interact with one another, maintaining continuity of intent and practice.

The approaches presented on the Wheel of Practice and Concepts are transferable to working collaboratively both internally between museum departments and externally with any community or stakeholder of the museum.

Final Thoughts: Healing the Future

The underlying element connecting and informing both colonizing and decolonizing practices is research. Without research and continual evaluation of the institution of museum and its collections and connections with its communities, museums risk becoming dusty warehouses and monuments to colonialism.

For nearly three decades, museologists have been theorizing what needs to be done to disentangle from the legacies of colonialism. The museum field has been putting theory into practice learning how to decolonize—sometimes failing, sometimes succeeding—iteratively working on new theory and practice. Decolonizing the museum and working in partnership with Indigenous descendant communities was one of the main themes at AAM's 2017 Annual Meeting in St. Louis, MO (author's attendance at event). This is testimony that the museum field is not finished decolonizing the institution of museum.

Future challenges faced by the Indigenous and non-Indigenous human beings involved in the work of decolonizing museums remain and center around the foundational theme of research and equitable narrative presentation of historical events. As expressed previously in this research project, effective collaboration involves research and shared commitment on many levels (McKenna-Cress and Kamien 2013). Like Western research agendas claiming to benefit society, the Indigenous research agenda is meant to work for the greater good. Non-Indigenous curators and museum staff working with Indigenous descendant communities have an ethical imperative to understand and respect Indigenous approaches to research, recognizing that research involves establishing trust and requires participants to share knowledge or experiences (2012).

Museums professionals must keep three questions at the forefront of all research endeavors and community engagement with holistic intentionality.

Who is speaking?
Who is listening?
What are museum visitors learning?

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