Southwest Native American/White Interaction: History as told by Archaeologists, National Park Service, and Native Americans

Nicole DeWitt
Advisor: Dr. Julie G Markin
Washington College

Abstract

Native American history and culture has been, and continues to be, misrepresented in federal agencies/cultural institutions whose main objective is to display information about other cultures to the public. Tourists receive incomplete information which inhibits their cultural understandings, contributing to current racism and oppressive policies. Looking to archaeologists and the Park Service, their narratives are also not necessarily complete or inclusive of the indigenous groups they wish to represent, leading to inaccurate representation in scholarly records/reports. By gathering data from tourists through surveys aimed at their visitor experience and conducting a detailed analysis of the archaeologist, National Park Service, and Native American narratives concerning Navajo and Hopi cultural and historical representation in Southwest museums, I found that a majority of tourists are unaware of the politics at play inside and outside of the educational and exhibitional material presented through museums and that the lack of knowledge surrounding Native history and culture ultimately perpetuates the ideas of colonialism. Race plays a significant role in how people recognize the past, and historical interactions of Native Americans and White Americans inadvertently affect the lives of Native Americans today. Native Americans are the only ones who can provide a complete narrative of their history and culture and, while they have not been in control of the information produced through museums, they have more recently been involved in a more collaborative approach towards research and being consulted in educational and exhibit materials. Hopefully this type of inclusivity expands the understanding of Native American culture and history as well as produces a more accurate account of the information already represented.

Keywords: identity, history, Southwest, tourism, museums, Native Americans, archaeology, National Park Service

Chapter 1: Introduction

History of Museum Development

The emergence of cultural identity in subordinate North American Indian groups through colonialism has been continuously perpetuated by transcendence of unethical treatment into modern day. It is no question that the recent surge of acceptance of cultural differences and ethnicity has helped Native Americans integrate into society, but it cannot be overstated that past tensions have left long-lasting norms in place that often go unacknowledged by the dominant group. Scholars, such as archaeologists and the National Park Service, have attempted to disband misconceptions of Native and White history by providing an accurate account of the relationships that have transpired through time. Museums and public archaeological sites serve as the main point where this information is preserved and presented as knowledge to the public. The conception of the modern museum has its roots in Europe, where wealthy, white Europeans fueled their fascination of the "Other" by collecting "curiosities" created and used by non-white groups. These groups that were categorized as the "Other" were seen as barbarous, savage, and undeserving of the social, economic, and political rewards received by those within the dominant culture. The tradition of keeping non-white minority groups on the margin of society while placing their cultures on display to be consumed and exploited by white Europeans has been perpetuated by museums when looked at from a historical perspective. Early scientific inquiries pointed their fingers at groups of people who did not fit the idea of a "civilized" people; several scholars used their work to argue that colonialism was morally justified, and that specific scientific conclusions, when applied to marginalized groups, could help them out of their barbarous lifestyle and into a more civilized one (Roy 2018). Additionally, the method of using

science to justify inhumane treatment of subordinate peoples made its way into museum rhetoric, where displays often captured the "Otherness" that was frowned upon and considered deviant to promote certain "correct" behaviors. These displays were also used as a tactic to showcase the excellent progress humans have made thus far and to further encourage this progression onto groups of people who were living in different ways. Rudyard Kipling (quoted in Roy) described it as the "white man's burden" to introduce modernity and civilized governance in the colonies (2018). Cultural displays in museums became a way for dominant society to perpetuate the meaning behind White Man's Burden - that non-white communities needed to be saved - that the aesthetic of Europeanness was the quintessential way of life, and it became a way for White Europeans to justify the horrific treatment they unleashed on non-white groups and simultaneously erase their cultures through misrepresentation.

"Since its birth around the same time as Europeans began conquering other parts of the world, modern Western science was inextricably entangled with colonialism, especially British imperialism" (Roy 2018). It comes as no surprise then that America, colonies branching off from British rule, followed much of the same frameworks for their museum environment. Former head of the American Association of Museums (now called the American Alliance of Museums), Ford Bell has stated that, "In the U.S., we had a new continent we were exploring and opening up and discovering. And that brought this realization of all the tremendously diverse life forms that were out there, and also the interest in the history and being able to document that and preserve it" (NPR 2008). Charles Peale was the first in the New World to seriously capitalize on the interests of the public, opening his own museum in Philadelphia in the early 19th century. He was not the first to establish a so-called cabinet of curiosity, but he *was* the first to establish such a thing in

America. Cabinets of curiosities, so they were termed, were the earliest creations of museums in which notable objects belonging to religious, natural history, geology, ethnology, archaeology, historical relics, art pieces, and antiquities fields were displayed for the public's enjoyment (Franco 2017). A majority - if not all - of these collections were gathered illegally, either by theft, illegal trade, or bought off the black market. None of the collections were displayed with the culture they were representing in mind; only the patrons who would consume these lovely and quite interesting pieces were taken into consideration. Similar to European tactics, Anglo Americans followed the same model of culture erasure in which non-white groups were constantly put in the spotlight to feed the fascination of white communities; the model for scientific racism was followed as well. Different regions in America were exhibiting the cultures around them in a plethora of ways; several museums began to sprout out of the land as public interest in the people and history around them grew. Specifically in the American Southwest, people from in- and outside the region were mesmerized by the vast landscape and those who inhabited it; the Hispanic, Native American, and Anglo American created a triculture that seeped into the seams of the Southwest, drawing visitors and residents alike in.

Museum Development in the American Southwest

Interest in the Southwest began in the early 19th century, just as museums in general were starting to become a popular pastime within American communities. Charles Lummis was a journalist who advocated for the rights of Native Americans and the preservation of their cultures/history. He traveled throughout the Southwest and much of his work jump-started the adventurous spirit of the American traveler. Although his writings on the Native groups of the

Southwest were greatly beneficial to their preservation during this time, Lummis sustained many of the beliefs about assimilation and acculturation that were held. As Martin Padget puts it, “He celebrated the beliefs and practices of both Native American and Hispanic cultures but assumed the superiority of a modern, technology-based society over that of ‘primitive’ Native cultures” (2004:420). In addition, early colonialist writings of the Southwest correlated with the popular obsession of the Other; the savage, yet noble, Indian man. It glorified man’s natural instinct of adventure and exploitation. It fetishized the people of the land. Lummis was no exception in expanding the American understanding of the Native men before them. Museum rhetoric relied on public curiosity at the time, and thus mirrored these themes in their representations and displays because these ideas were being reinforced by those in powerful positions. Southwest museums were also under the influence of archaeologists and the information disseminated by them. There was a move from displaying other cultures as witness to Anglo progression and superiority to displaying other cultures as a means to understand them (Padget 2004). However, many individuals within dominant society had internalized beliefs of superiority and continued to hold their fascination with the “Other” (Orser 2012). This shift in dialogue within museums can be seen through a contemporary lens as the shift into the second wave of museum rhetoric, one that focuses less on portraying the deviance of specific groups - in this case, Native Americans of the Southwest - and more on cultural understanding from a different perspective. Southwest museums uniquely stand out in a discussion about representation and museum displays because there is a much-blurred line present between the relationship of Southwest people and Southwest museums: which one came first? According to Michael Riley, “...the Southwest is built upon both the "backward" as well as the "mainstream urban society" part of its makeup, and an ironic

link exists between the ongoing presence of agrarian ethnic villages as foci and the development of a large-scale tourist economy based on the allure of ethnic admixture and the desirability of the Other" (1994:228). Again, with support from John Frow, who is quoted in Riley, "...the Southwest was constructed as just that, a tourist destination. Without this past, it would be just another spot on the map, not the map's object, and it stands not just as a space of desire, but also as one of possessiveness. As a partially shared zone of inter-reference, the different configurations of the Southwest are alike in that they make habitual recourse to ethnicity, mythos, and image in order to construct and empower a sense of place" (Riley 1994:228). Adventure, mysticism, and curiosity in the hearts of American travelers are what really constituted the Southwest; because of this, it became a flourishing tourist destination.

Introduction of the National Park Service

It wasn't until 1916, however, that historic preservation of these flourishing tourist sites really came onto the scene. Early plans of preservation and conservation had been floating around the Southwest through small institutions and non-profit organizations (Little 2014, Kuhn 2002). Museums especially aided in preservation techniques; even if they received their collections through illegal or improper avenues, the rehousing of these collections into well-kept, clean, and climate controlled buildings slowed down the process of decomposition. In addition to artifact conservation, researchers such as archaeologists, historians, and environmental scientists started to publish work that also encouraged the preservation of historic land. Already in place was the United States Forest Service, which had been founded in 1905. Its mission is to "sustain the health, diversity, and productivity of the Nation's forests and grasslands to meet the needs of

present and future generations" (U.S. Forest Service 2019); its main activity is fighting forest fires. It was the work of archaeologists, historians, and environmental scientists who concerned themselves with the preservation of historic land that convinced several politicians of the Southwest that there needed to be another agency that geared its primary focus on the conservation of historic landscapes; specifically, the landscapes that were drawing in several hundred tourists and generating a large source of revenue for the region. There had been national park conferences held in 1911, 1912, and 1915 where these matters were discussed, but nothing concrete was ever created. Thus, after multiple disputes between the U.S Forest Service and the proponents of a separate federal agency that specified in historic preservation, the National Park Service was enacted in 1916 as an entity that finally gave the important landscapes of the Southwest, and all of America, "the attention that they deserved" (from an assessment made by Interior Secretary Walter L. Fisher in 1911, quoted in Schneider-Hector 2014:644). On one hand, this was a large step in the direction towards land preservation, which not only offered further protection of the environment, but conserved the land and its provided resources used by indigenous groups of the area. On the other hand, the oppression of these same indigenous groups were furthered by the mission of the National Park Service. The 1916 Superintendent of NPS was quoted as saying, "The national parks . . . have in the past been greatly neglected. Our scenic domain can and will be made as readily accessible to all of our citizens . .. and much has recently been done to effect this" (Schneider-Hector 2014:643). It was this focus on things such as scenery and tourist attraction that perpetuated the mis- or underrepresentation of Native Americans in Southwest museums. The incentives of a federal agency like National Park Service were also adopted by local museums (Little 2014); thus, the early missions served to "stimulate

patriotism, encourage education and health, and promote travel" (Mark Daniels, General Superintendent of NPS ca. 1915, quoted in Schneider-Hector 2014:643). Additionally, those in positions of power "... viewed the national parks as adjuncts in the ethnic assimilation process by mainstreaming European immigrants into American society" (Schneider-Hector 2014:671); Native Americans were also included in the diffusion of American mainstream cultural values. There became a differentiation in NPS between national monuments and national parks; "...promoters had boosted the national monument category to target and preserve the remains of the "cliff dwellers" and the "cave dwellers" within the smallest areas possible in the Southwest" (Schneider-Hector 2014:672). Moreover, the archaeological community was promised unlimited access to ruins, sites, and other objects of antiquity. Ultimately, the goals of the NPS were to "...conserve the scenery and the natural and historic objects and the wild life therein and to provide for the enjoyment of the same in such manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations" (Schneider-Hector 2014:677), as well as supporting scientific research and examination.

Other Forms of Conservation (Oppression?) in the American Southwest

Aside from the National Park Service exploiting landscapes and monuments for the industry of tourism, local museums were focused on their surrounding communities and constructing identities for both Anglo Americans and Ethnic Americans. The Southwest, in particular, became devoted to the 'western idea,' a term coined by Charles Lummis (1910) during his expeditions and wildly adopted by archaeological societies. This so-called 'western idea' found its place in museums where they expanded on archaeological research based in and

for the primary benefit of local communities (Lummis 1910, Snead 2002). Thus, archaeologists and museums alike began to create a sense of cultural nationalism that bore the triculturation (White, Native, Hispanic) heritage we see today. Native American relics of the past were used to construct an Anglo identity, while furthering ideas of colonialism through display: representing a timeline of human achievement; symbolizing that humans have grown in intellectual capacity; presentation of corporeal substances that can be compared to modern/similar advancements (Snead 2002). Early missions of Southwest museums were to fill display cases and shelves with as many Southwest antiquities as possible, rather than improving the field of archaeological science with solid information, or accurately providing information regarding the people and culture they aimed to represent. By conferring extreme antiquity to Southwest 'ruins,' museums casted doubt on any direct relationship between contemporary Native Americans and the 'ruins' themselves, and thus classified those remains and their makers in terms of Anglo American identity, ultimately paving the way for manipulation, exploitation, and enforced racism through archaeological practices, academia, and scientific research. More recently, criticism of museum display and their principles of representation have become prevalent throughout the community, from both Native Americans and White Americans alike. A major criticism has been made toward the role of Europe and European archaeologists: "some research has been pejoratively labeled Eurocentrism" (Orser 2012:737). One of the main concerns, as presented by Charles E. Orser, Jr. (2012), is the trivializing oppressed experiences by offering deceptively rosy images of past experiences under colonization. With a European power structure consistently being fed to the public, to which they eagerly consume as most tourists are socially conditioned to believe that museums are a source of reliable and factual knowledge, " ...they effectively separate public

problems and daily life, a program that ultimately 'leads to an acceptance of the status quo, of injustice and inequality'" (Rosenau 1992, quoted in Orser 2012:741). To critique this Eurocentrism, then, is to acknowledge the systematized erasure of Native American culture and their history. One might consider another critique of museum display as the disregard for Native philosophy when constructing exhibition materials and presenting collections. Native Americans "...connect their tangible remains to parts of their world and way of life; they are extant in contemporary rituals rather than a window to the past; they collect the meaning exuded from the object" (Snead 2002:18). Instead, museums tend to ignore this vital part of Native culture and place meaning on the object to fit the dominant narrative. Similarly, archaeologists rarely study the persistence through change that Native Americans endured. It is rarely acknowledged in the archaeological record how their identities were constantly changing and evolving even as outsiders were in the midst of perpetuating a Pan-Indian identity. "...[O]ne of the most useful findings of earlier acculturation research may be that significant variation existed within native societies in regards to the negotiation of colonialism. Members of a particular group were often seen as constituting 'conservative' factions that maintained stronger ties to precontact ways of life or 'progressive' groups that more eagerly adopted aspects of Euro- terested in persistence, a focus on practice pro American culture" (Linton 1940, quoted in Panich 2013:108). Too many times, archaeologists focus on the shared experiences, traditions, and culture of Native American groups. On one hand, this is relevant to the archaeological record in the sense that it aids scholarship in studying prehistoric groups and practices. On the other hand, it disregards the different kinship, membership, and other social norms that varied between groups during prehistoric and post-contact periods.

Modern Attitudes

Indigenous extinction through colonialism is still prevalent in scholarly and academic literature. It is no question that Native American groups today, both federally recognized and not, endure the effects of colonialism such as depopulation, poverty, alcoholism, crime, etc. Moreover, anthropologists and archaeologists are conducting research that introduces Native American culture as primitive and vanished. This, in turn, reinforces the social and political injustices that Native Americans face as they are pushed even farther to the margins of society as researchers and institutions ignore these injustices. Furthermore, museum officials, researchers, and archaeologists must realize the politics that are inherently involved in contemporary representation of Native American culture/history. Williams and Johnson (2008) cite three primary goals of the contemporary museum as being to identity and collect original artifacts, preserve historical information in addition to physical artifacts, and research and interpret their collection of artifacts and present that information and analysis to their patrons and the public at large. Behind the scenes, however, these general missions come to hold deeper implications as museums and archaeologists internalize the wall built between Native and Anglo Americans that has transcended through the colonial age into present day. "Since any form of representation is bound to omit and distort to some degree, museums find it easier to defend individual exhibitions, even when they are grossly misconceived, than the principle of representation itself. The pertinent questions are therefore, first, how far a particular selection or representation is adequate to the purpose it is meant to serve; and second, how far that purpose is itself justified" (Durrans 1992:11). The inherent political nature of museums stems from the function of

museums that has grown from the general missions cited by Williams and Johnson (2008) to a complex institutional space that is responsible for things such as advising, publizing, fund-raising, collaborating, etc. “Their objectives and methods are shaped by the varied, sometimes contradictory yet mutually-adjusting interests of funding bodies, trustees, directorates and other staff, and by the lobbyists, critics, specialists, visitors, non-visitors, producers and consumers who comprise their heterogeneous public” (Durrans 1992:14). “Meeting the complex requirements of curation, deliberate collections growth, management, and conservation, as well as the need to respond to continuing challenges to the museum's right and tide to hold various forms of cultural property, archaeological museums play an active role in both preserving and shaping the public's view of the past and reflect the prospects and perils of being at once a temple to the muses and a forum for sometimes contentious public discourse” (Barker 2010:293). Furthermore, the construction of a Native American identity by non-indigenous narratives have controlled, and continue to control, the dissemination of information by museums.

This form of identity construction through a non-native lens has inadvertently affected the indigenous community, especially those located relatively close to museums geographically. Essentially, the reinforcement of the specific narrative of dominant society has encouraged the idea that Native Americans remain ‘savage,’ ‘primitive,’ and are still in the process of full integration to society. When Native American identities are forced upon them, it perpetuates the superior/inferior relationship between Native and White Americans that began through colonialism. It becomes overwhelming and often detrimental to attempt to conform to these pre-made identities, and adults are concerned that their children will struggle to identify themselves as the dichotomy between this Western notion of ‘Indianness’ and what children are

taught by their kin becomes a burden (Ardren 2002). "The stress of intergenerational trauma contributes to the erosion of family structure, tribal structure and spiritual ties. It can affect one's identity, relationship skills, personal behavior, transmission of mores and values, and attitudes and beliefs about the future. The stress of these traumas combined with the complex and ongoing mistreatment of Native American citizens contributes to the rates of mental illness in Native American communities and can manifest in substance abuse disorder, anxiety and depression" (Willis 2015). However, due to a surge in pride of Native American identity following the Civil Rights Movement (ca. 1960s), the reclamation of indigenous identity has made its way into the conversations of museum rhetoric. As the late twentieth and well into the twenty-first century has introduced collaborative-based approaches to archaeology and museum research, Native Americans have secured a way to reclaim their identity and possibly create new ones. This newfound cultural sensitivity from White Americans has allowed previous tense and distrusting relationships be repaired through conversation, collaboration, and the empowering shift of conferring the production of information of Native American culture/history to Native Americans themselves through indigenous archaeology, archaeology of persistence, and recognizing that a Native lens is the best and most accurate way of presenting information to tourists (Panich 2013). Although there have been more recent interdisciplinary incentives such as these to mend Native and White relationships, there are still many dynamics to unpack and criticisms to address in museum displays and representation. There continues to be an ongoing battle between federal agencies/institutions and Native Americans as the dismantling of the colonialist model is in progress; some scholars (Ames 1995, Watkins 2003, Williams and Johnson 2008) credit the dispute to the unwillingness of archaeologists and museum personnel to

relinquish control over the past and/or adopt a way of thinking that follows Native American values about preserving the past. However, "Both anthropologists and Indians extol the moral and museological virtues of repatriation of museum collections and of staged authenticity in displays and programs. It would seem for some people, at least, the line between museum anthropologist and Indian has blurred; each is acculturating to the standard of the other" (Ames 1995:69). Activism for feminist movements, social inequalities, and addressing racist tendencies throughout the 1970s-90s within local and academic communities pushed museums to acknowledge their colonialist frameworks and address the critiques that I have previously mentioned after a long period of throwing them under the carpet.

Modern Attitudes in the American Southwest

Archaeologists and National Park Service continue to control much of the Native American story in the Southwest. The NPS website and several literary sources regarding Southwest travels (Riley 1994, Padget 2004, Lightfoot 2017) play the largest role in disseminating information on Native American culture/history to the public. In contrast to the earlier missions of the National Park Service, in which the main focus was on scenery, adventure, and outdoor activities, the current missions in place revolve around a values-based preservation method. "The National Park Service's 1994 Thematic Framework is a departure from earlier frameworks (1936, 1970, 1987) in that it seeks to encourage the description and analysis of multiple layers of history and to identify interconnected themes pertaining to any individual place" (Little 2014:26). The goals of the contemporary National Park Service are to foster an environment that promotes scientific research, historic preservation of Native lands and

monuments, and the aesthetic value that is critical to successful tourism and happy stakeholders. They are engaging in collaboration and consultation to create accurate docent material and published information, believing they are acting to the best of their ability in the interests of everyone. Of course, this is a perfect example of the politics at hand in museum and archaeological field work. From a Native lens, the balance that National Park Service/archaeologists think they are maintaining is slim; if there at all (McMaster 1992). The consumer body has also changed as social interests have shifted. Tourism to places in the Southwest used to be fueled by mysticism and fascination with the "Other"; now, "Museum patrons and visitors have become more sophisticated. They demand interactive activities, docent-guided tours, storytellers, and other innovative forms of educational programming" (Williams and Johnson 2008:238). There is still a large public interest in Native American culture/history and the landscape continues to pull people from all around the country in; however, the public seem to be more interested in broadening their cultural understanding rather than viewing Native American exhibits to see progression in human achievement. The intended audience is, of course, marketed as anyone who wishes to visit the parks and monuments, but it should be noted that, as a result of social limitations, accessibility is often left to those in the middle to upper class citizens who can afford travel, residence, and food accommodations. It is not a secret that the holders of such social rewards are White Americans; they visit these places of education and are confident about the interpretations offered (Durrans 1992). When those who have been unaffected by the legacies of colonialism interact with spaces that promote ideas of colonialism, the consequences often go unnoticed. Moreover, the narratives of Southwest museums - National Park Service, specifically - reiterate these ideas to their general public.

"Available data suggest that people interpret the past in light of their own experiences and cultural constructs; we see the past not as it was but as we are. This mindset is more than a naive extension of one's own views, but an active strategy pursued even when presented with seemingly authoritative information that contradicts these constructs" (Wineburg 2001, quoted in Barker 2010:296). The takeaway, then, for tourists is not challenging their beliefs; rather, it is reinforcing what they presume to know.

Moving Forward

Recently, National Park Service, museums, and archaeologists alike are moving into a time of redirection and rethinking how their message is presented and who exactly is listening. Even still, however, colonialist ideas that are embedded in the origins of museums and federal institutions themselves prove to be harder to dismantle than previously thought. Because of this unique position of active self-reflection coupled with internalized biases, I focused my research through the lenses of National Park Service, Navajo and Hopi tribal members, and archaeologists to investigate the relationship between tourist attractions in the Southwest and their accurate representation of Navajo and Hopi history in America, and to understand how each narrative portrays Native-White interactions historically and contemporarily. In addition, I explored the takeaway tourists received from their experiences, and if their prior ideas of White American and Native American interactions changed or remained the same after experiencing the stories represented by tourist sites. The purpose of this research was to compare the narratives constructed by National Park Service (NPS), archaeologists, and Native Americans at three sites in the Southwest. Overall, I wanted to see if the narrative constructed by federal agencies such as

NPS and archaeological research is inclusive to all peoples who lived and currently live in this region, given this new age of critical self-reflection.

Chapter 2: Methods

The goals of my research were to examine what people learned about indigenous populations and how this information had been filtered through a colonial lens. More specifically, how this information impacts the way non-indigenous people view Native American culture/history and also how indigenous people themselves understand their identity vis-a-vis a colonial narrative that situates them as justifiably subordinate. I also looked at what people learn from museums, or what their takeaways are, and how that is influenced by who is involved in defining the mission, determining what is to be displayed, and developing the associated narrative texts. My research questions were: (1) who is in control of the messages presented to the public through museum content, (2) do museums in the Southwest accurately portray Navajo and Hopi history, and (3) what are tourists' experiences in conjunction with the objective of the museum setting. Since it is no surprise that U.S museums were constructed out of colonial ideas of social organization and hierarchy, my research goals were to reach beyond these themes and explore the deeper connotations of racial, social, and political control inherently embedded in federal agencies and museums that result in mis- and inaccurate representation of Native Americans. I focused my studies on three sites in the Southwest that represented Navajo and Hopi ancestry: Mesa Verde, Chaco Canyon, and a few archaeological sites accessible to the public along the San Juan River.

Mary Cokenour, *The Southwest through Wide Brown Eyes*. 2013.

Background

From 600 to 1300 CE, the Ancestral Pueblo inhabited the region of Mesa Verde, building elaborate stone communities in the canyon walls (National Park Service 2018). In 1906, under Theodore Roosevelt's rule, Mesa Verde National Park was established to preserve the "works of men" (National Park Service 2018). Chaco Canyon is another Ancestral Puebloan site, occupied for a little over 300 years beginning in 800 CE. Chaco Canyon National Monument was established in 1907, but it did not become a national historical park until 1980. The park remains

a mystery to interpreters and archaeologists alike; one park interpreter says, “Everybody who comes here feels that sense of attention that was lavished on this place. And that pulls you in. You want to know, 'Why were they here? What was this all about?' The questions just keep coming” (G. B. Cornucopia, quoted in Exploratorium 2019). The San Juan River runs through the Four Corners region and contains petroglyphs, material remains, and stone houses situated within the cliffs. The river intersects the Navajo reservation, providing a resource for farming, cooking, hygiene, etc. The petroglyphs and stone houses were carved by Ancestral Pueblo, but the river is also critical to the lives of the Navajo, both modern and ancestral inhabitants. Instead of being under the environmental and historical protection of National Park Service, the land surrounding the San Juan is owned by the Bureau of Land Management. Additionally, a chapter of the Colorado Archaeological Society called the San Juan Basin Archaeological Society strive to preserve the history of the Four Corners region. The objectives on their website are listed as: “...to learn more about archaeology in general; to raise public awareness of our region's significant archaeological and historical resources; and to draw attention to the hazards of vandalism to these unique cultural sites” (San Juan Basin Archaeological Society 2019). Mesa Verde is an important archaeological site visited by 600,000 people per year; accessible to tour buses and companies, on a major highway. Chaco Canyon is an important archaeological site visited by 55,000 people per year; the park is fairly inaccessible, as one must drive 27 miles (about one hour) over a dirt road, thus very few, if any, tour companies offer bus service to Chaco Canyon. Finally, archaeological sites along the San Juan River in Utah are located on the border between the Navajo Reservation on the south and Bureau of Land Management lands on the north. Navajo guides take tourists to remote cliff dwellings/Ancestral Puebloan sites. One

must have river permits, so access is somewhat limited. Tour companies run trips, but generally without native guides. As you can see, these areas vary in terms of accessibility yet still aim to educate the public about the history of the Native Americans inhabited here. Accessibility, marketing, and cultural information produced and exhibited by these parks are critical in shaping the visitor's experience and thus what they take away, what they "learn." I chose these sites to work with specifically because of their accessibility to me, others, and the opportunity to speak to Native American guides that not only have tribal ties to the land but experience with interacting with the political structures of Mesa Verde, Chaco Canyon, and the archaeological sites along the San Juan.

I sought to examine, through literature, handing out surveys, and discussing my questions with Native American guides, what motivates people to visit Southwest museums and/or archaeological parks; what prior knowledge do visitors have; what knowledge do visitors leave with; and, what was the overall experience of the visitor. I engaged with Hopi and Navajo members about their perspective on the inclusiveness of NPS and other federal agencies, how they work to change misconceptions in this other narrative and interact with tourists who may hold misconceptions, and their take on collaborative approaches between tribal and non-tribal researchers and agencies, such as museums. Moreover, I critically analyzed any and all texts and online material about the Southwest to become familiar with the information presented at Mesa Verde, Chaco Canyon, and the San Juan River sites; determined common themes between these sites in terms of information presented; and, performed critical discourse analysis to assess the ways in which wording and/or phrase selection influence a visitor's interpretation of indigenous

groups and their history. What I found was that tourist motivation is largely due to being drawn in by antiquated wonders; wilderness activities such as hiking, rafting, and camping; to form a sense of spiritual identity; to seek a universal "truth" of the world; or a mixture of all of these things. The overall experience of the visitor seemed to be positive, as the survey results reported. Each visitor surveyed had learned something new, mostly about the environment or certain indigenous subsistence practices. One person had specifically noted structures used for ceremonial practices, and another had said "how awesome this place is." I also looked at how Native American guides perceived the motivations of visitors and how they perceived the knowledge base of visitors. According to the guides I spoke to with these questions in mind, tourist motivation remains superficial in nature and disregards the historical and cultural ties that tribal groups have with the land. Their previous knowledge comes from textbooks, travel books, or museum material, which are largely constructed based on colonial ideas. Thus, as federal agencies such as National Park Service and additional museums continue to internalize colonialist ideas, the perceived knowledge that visitors hold is being reinforced by their experience at these places. Even as museums and archaeological parks move into a more inclusive and culturally sensitive phase as they create their materials and collections, tourists may still be misguided by their own biases and reasons for visiting. There is a noticeable difference between the way Native Americans view interactions between themselves and non-indigenous institutions and how these institutions view these same interactions; ultimately, agencies like the National Park Service and surrounding museums see their efforts at redefining their message as maximum potential - they are doing the best that they can to satisfy all parties involved. Conversely, indigenous groups see these efforts as barely reaching the brim of

potential. Native guides are striving for more than just collaboration/consultation on projects; they advocate for more leadership positions, control over displays and collections, and the opportunity to share their culture/history to tourists fully from their perspective. The role of visitors in museums is relatively new as museums used to solely exist for the preservation of collections instead of as a business in the tourist industry (Barker 2010). The educational role of museums and their mission to inform its audience is a recent concept. "Available data suggest that people interpret the past in light of their own experiences and cultural constructs; we see the past not as it was but as we are" (Barker 2010:296). Moreover, even when the information being presented is challenging preconceived notions, this extension of cultural understanding prevents one from being fully convinced. Visitors *want* to become an active role in museum interpretations, but their unwillingness to consider things outside of their understanding stunts this attempt. Coupled with motivations of self-truth, actualization, and discovery, the 'learned' experience that takes place isn't so much constructing a meaningful narrative of the past as it is constructing a seemingly meaningful affirmation of one's own identity. "One sobering statistic emerged from surveys of public attitudes toward archaeology; although 88% of respondents said they had visited a museum exhibiting archaeological materials, only 9% reported learning anything about archaeology from museums (Ramos & Duganne 2000, quoted in Barker 2010:295).

By exploring how the historical narratives presented in federal museums versus private tour companies shapes cultural understandings, patterns of these narratives contributing to current racism and oppressive policies begin to emerge. People rely on cultural institutions to form interpretations surrounding the cultures they meet in their daily lives. Therefore, it is the

responsibility of the institution to produce information that is inoffensive, accurate, and comprehensible from all perspectives. My research closely examines the approaches of such expectations and yields unique information that will contribute to future exploration as the museum setting begins to redefine itself through self-contemplation and reflection. In the chapters that follow, I will engage in a critical analysis of Mesa Verde, Chaco Canyon, and the San Juan River archaeological sites and the relationship between these historical sites with archaeologists, National Park Service, and Native Americans.

Chapter 3: The Struggle and Persistence for Representation

Cultural museums in North America have constructed a space where the identities of indigenous peoples are presented through displayed objects left for interpretation by visitors. In this sense, cultural identity is put in the hands of the interaction between the immediate knowledge that an object presents by itself through the surface and the knowledge held by the individual engaging in sensory perception with the object. Although the objective of a cultural museum is to provide an inclusive, comprehensible, and unbiased narrative of the past and thus an honest image of the individuals of the cultures they attempt to portray, this objective is often thwarted by the excessive use of objects that are displayed in static, unchanging ways. This places the identity of an extant population as unchanging and incapable of moving forward from the image of their traditional ancestors. Cultural museums that are acting around important archaeological sites, such as Mesa Verde, Chaco Canyon, and the San Juan River, are in a unique position because their objects on display and the space they engage in are areas of land once inhabited by Native American groups. Because the identities of these groups have so greatly resisted the direct effects of colonialism both historically and contemporarily, the narratives of their cultural sites that are currently being presented to the public as a commodity should be carefully constructed so as not to produce knowledge that perpetuates colonialist ideas and the image of the Native American "stuck" in the past. Among the many politics at play in the space of museums, one that stands out specifically in this research is the prioritization of visitor interest at the cost of indigenous groups being under- or misrepresented. Who "controls" or "owns" the land presented to the public is largely decided by National Park Service (NPS). Archaeologists employed by federal agencies such as NPS and other institutions work with other disciplines to

manage the content available for tourists and maintain an accurate representation of the Native American groups of the region. However, the strained relationship between federal institutions, archaeologists, and Native Americans has made it increasingly difficult to accurately portray Native American culture and history as museums move through a reflexive phase because those in "control" of the past are reluctant to give up or share their ownership of the information. In this chapter, I am going to discuss indigenous identities in conjunction with displayed objects in a museum setting; the impact of tourism on indigenous identity; indigenous tourism as a source of economic gain and cultural reclamation; and indigenous archaeology as a theory and practical application through consultation and collaboration, as well as engaging indigenous people in making decisions about the portrayal of their past and how to equally express the inequalities and oppression they face today. In addition, I will present the results of my own research conducted, the significance of these findings, and how they connect to other sources of scholarship. Lastly, I will discuss how Native Americans view their museum representations and the actions they are taking to dismantle their inaccurate portrayals in contemporary museum settings.

To begin this chapter, I believe it necessary to provide a bit of background on the issues that indigenous groups face as they interact with archaeologists and federal agencies such as the National Park Service. Indigenous identities have been fixed by curatorial authority instead of the individual, thus defining museum practices. These identities were decided as museums expanded to showcase the Other and the "oddities" that represented these cultures. Historical assumptions of indigenous identities have transpired through time, carrying into the contemporary narrative presented by cultural museums today. In this modern age, cultural

museums are rethinking their stories and beginning to adhere to the dynamic nature of identity. This reinterpretation is not only critical for the future of museums and archaeologists in terms of their relationship with Native American groups, but reconsideration of indigenous culture inside an educational framework will make knowledge production more accurate, challenging visitors to question and critique their preconceived notions of indigenous culture and the production of identity. Aside from this self-reflexive period that cultural museums are currently engaging in, Native Americans have become more interested in archaeology as a discipline in hopes of learning more about their history and their ancestors. Community-based archaeology and community-based tourism have become more popular in indigenous communities where cultural museums are located. It may seem straightforward, but these types of programs sometimes facilitate problems between indigenous groups and archaeologists as academia clashes with personal experience; however, benefits of these programs are valuable to indigenous communities as it brings in a steady income and an outlet for them to teach non-indigenous people their culture and history. As indigenous communities are shifting into this area of knowledge production, the politics of identity falls into their own hands. Conversely, from a standpoint of indigenous tourism, Native tour guides feel an overwhelming amount of pressure to conform to the Western narrative of their identity as an Other. The act of exploiting themselves often leads to an alienation between themselves as tour guides and their guests, as they struggle to decide which narrative to focus on: one constructed through personal experience or one constructed through academic scholarship. Some indigenous groups that regularly interact with archaeologists are working to shift their identity production from an authoritative perspective to a Native one. This type of collaborative process allows indigenous tour guides the position of

constructing their own narrative to engage tourists. In addition to indigenous tourism, the concept of indigenous archaeology has given Native communities a choice in how they are represented in the archaeological record and in cultural museums. The logistics of indigenous archaeology is widely contested between Native groups because it involves addressing who has "ownership" of the past and who is in "control" of the information produced. On the other hand, though, the practice of indigenous archaeology has given Native communities the opportunity to be involved in the politics of narrative construction and upholding the museum objective of providing inclusive, unbiased, and comprehensible information. In the following pages, I will discuss in greater detail the implications of collaboration, representation of Native Americans through an indigenous lens, and finally, the significance of visitor experience in the understanding of indigenous culture and history.

The Role of Museums in Native American History + Presentation of Results

Non-native individuals have largely understood Native culture and history through the lens of cultural museums. Through the use of physical objects, visitors make interpretations and use those interpretations to further expand their knowledge of cultures outside of their own. On one hand, physical objects are important when understanding the past because they provide a tangible experience with and deeper connection to the past. On the other hand, cultural museums fail to take the visitor into the intangible realm where the past can be experienced from different outlets, such as oral history, storytelling, and forms of art that engage the senses in ways other than touch. Moreover, the exclusion of the metaphysical standpoint of history leaves out much of the beliefs, values, and traditions that Native Americans practice. The use of objects as the sole

connection to the past limits how one thinks about the production of identity and caters to the past as a commodity to be consumed by visitors who come bearing preconceived notions of indigenous people (Trofanenko 2006). Instead of marketing culture as a commodity, cultural museums should rethink how their objects are displayed, negotiated, and questioned. Brenda Trofanenko suggests that "[r]ather than the mere display of indigenous objects and curatorial labels, what is at stake in ethnology museums is making more evident the production of indigenous identity as culture within the competing expectations and orientations of those individuals who attend" (2006:323). In other words, objects on display should be interpreted deeper than their origin or intent; the use of objects as the main focus of museums renders cultural, religious, political, social, and economic ties separate from the culture it is aimed to represent. Material remains on display "objectify" culture and create an objective form of it, void of the relationships, connections, and values the people of the object have placed upon it. Identity can't be gleaned from an object. The objects define the identity of indigenous peoples through exhibition, rather than the indigenous people defining their identity themselves and expressing it through the object (Trofanenko 2006). Additionally, the objectification of indigenous culture leads to an essentialized image of the Native American, living in a "timeless" past, thus letting the visitor consume a colonial narrative that ignores the social, economic, and political challenges Native Americans face and how these issues prevent them from being a thriving culture.

Even as cultural museums enter a period of contemplation, the image of the essentialized Native American identity remains as the primary representation in institutions where visitors come to understand culture. As a place of authority, museum visitors take in the information

presented to them as certain and/or correct, reinforcing their preconceived notions of Native Americans that may be misleading. At places like Mesa Verde, Chaco Canyon, and the San Juan River archaeological sites, their objects on display are unique in the sense that they are the natural earth around us. Their messages, however, follow the same colonial guidelines as they were constructed in the same framework as cultural museums. Although their mission is to preserve the sacred Native American land along with the history and culture of the groups that identify with these lands, places like Mesa Verde, Chaco Canyon, and the San Juan River abide by colonial narratives that portray the Native American as a landmark of the past. As the construction of indigenous identity has mainly been left to the institutional authority of NPS, Native American groups have not had many opportunities to aid in the exhibit materials or the message consumed by tourists. Just as indoor cultural museums must rethink the way their objects are displayed and interpreted by visitors who deem this information as correct and/or certain, outdoor cultural museums must also engage in a critical, self-reflective thinking to determine how their exhibits provide an understanding, awareness, and consciousness (Trofanenko 2006) of the cultures they attempt to represent. In turn, they should also be thinking about strategies to engage visitors in challenging and questioning their own beliefs, looking past colonial narratives and forming interpretations based on accurate information. In my preliminary research, I found that the marketing strategies of Mesa Verde, Chaco Canyon, and the San Juan River archaeological sites are catered to tourist interests.

NPS discourse greatly affects how visitor interpretations are formed; by studying this discourse provided by the NPS websites for Mesa Verde and Chaco Canyon, and the tourist information website for the San Juan River archaeological sites, I found salient themes that

persuade visitors of the area to tour these sites. Themes that stood out were the emphasis on things like "adventure," "outdoor activities," and the focus on tourism through these outlets (National Park Service 2018). Background information on the culture and history of the Native Americans who lived and are still living in these areas today are not as easily accessible as the information on hiking, rafting, and nature/landscape tours are. Through these select wording and phrases, National Park Service and other federal institutions are guiding their visitors to these sites through a framework that emphasizes acts of entertainment and recreation rather than the culture/history of the Native Americans who lived on these lands and now reside in reservations surrounding it. The knowledge that *is* being communicated seems to be oriented more towards the people of the past and their ways of sustenance rather than using the past as a foundation that leads into the communities who continue to incorporate traditional living into modern society. Although studying the past and its people is critical to our interpretations, divorcing a living people from their ancestors perpetuates contemporary exclusion from society and continued marginalization. Even with visitor centers, exhibits, and displayed artifacts on site there is a lack of an emic, or insider, perspective when it comes to the distribution of information. Thus, NPS falls into the problematic notion of constructing their message based on the expectations of those touring the area instead of, "as a public institution of education, placing the 'political nature of knowledge' at the forefront of its mission and adhering to this discourse" (Trofanenko 2006:323). During my two weeks in the field, I gathered data from tourists and Native Americans through surveys and interviews following the objectives of my research, which were to critically examine how the narratives used by archaeologists and National Park Service are influenced by colonialism, how past/present interactions between indigenous and non-indigenous

peoples result in the inaccurate representation of indigenous cultures in a museum setting, and how tourism affects the message that is presented. My research questions were: who is in control of the messages presented to the public through museum content, do museums in the Southwest accurately portray Navajo and Hopi history, and what are tourists' experiences in conjunction with the objective of the museum setting. My initial plan was to hand out ten surveys to tourists to determine their learned experiences. One of the risks of this research is the varying level of comfortability in random participants and, unfortunately, several people I had asked to survey did not seem interested in me or my research. As a result, I collected only five surveys total.

All five participants were White Americans. My youngest participant was 25 to 34 years old while my oldest participant was 55 or over. I surveyed two females and three males. A majority of participants had decided to travel to this region from recommendations by friends, family, or coworkers (shown in Figure 1). Four came for recreational reasons, while one came for recreational, spiritual, and educational reasons (shown in Figure 2). Three considered either Mesa Verde or Chaco Canyon a museum while two did not consider these places as museums (shown in Figure 3). Four had said they had little to no knowledge of this region whereas one said they had "a lot" (Personal communication 2018). All of them said they had learned something new, interesting, or challenging in their experience; common answers followed the lines of Southwestern climate/environment in terms of how indigenous groups survived on its scarce resources, or aspects of Ancestral Puebloan culture, such as the architecture of a ceremonial kiva and the intricate cliff dwellings/pit houses. There was no mention of the Hopi or Navajo and their connection to these lands contemporarily as descendents of the Ancestral Pueblo or migration to the area, nor was there any mention of the social issues that indigenous

groups face as they attempt to navigate the implications of exploiting their identity for tourist consumption. When asked about race and ethnicity in conjunction with the thought process of knowledge production, two people said they believed race and ethnicity influences the narrative presented at cultural sites and museums, two people said they did not believe this, and one person said they did not know if this was an influence. Two people said they thought race and ethnicity influences how a visitor consumes or interprets the narrative presented, two people said they did not think this, and one person did not specify their answer, instead they stated that they "only saw white people" (Personal communication, 2018). Indigenous communities are worried that the information being produced by cultural centers are so convoluted by Westernization and the effects of colonization, that there is a creation of a "Western Indian", one that is separate and different from an indigenous identity (Ardren 2002:378-79). In this image of a Western Indian, the Navajo and Hopi of the Southwest are placed inside of a framework of a timeless past, one in which there is no capacity for social, political, or economic growth. I encountered a father and son briefly at one of the archaeological sites along the San Juan river over the course of two days; I did not get a chance to speak with them, making my survey results from tourists present at Mesa Verde and Chaco Canyon only. This is important to consider when thinking about how accessibility and marketing affect the cultural information presented. Places like Mesa Verde and Chaco Canyon - relatively accessible and fairly marketed to the public - think about visitor experience in a different way compared to the archaeological sites along the San Juan River.

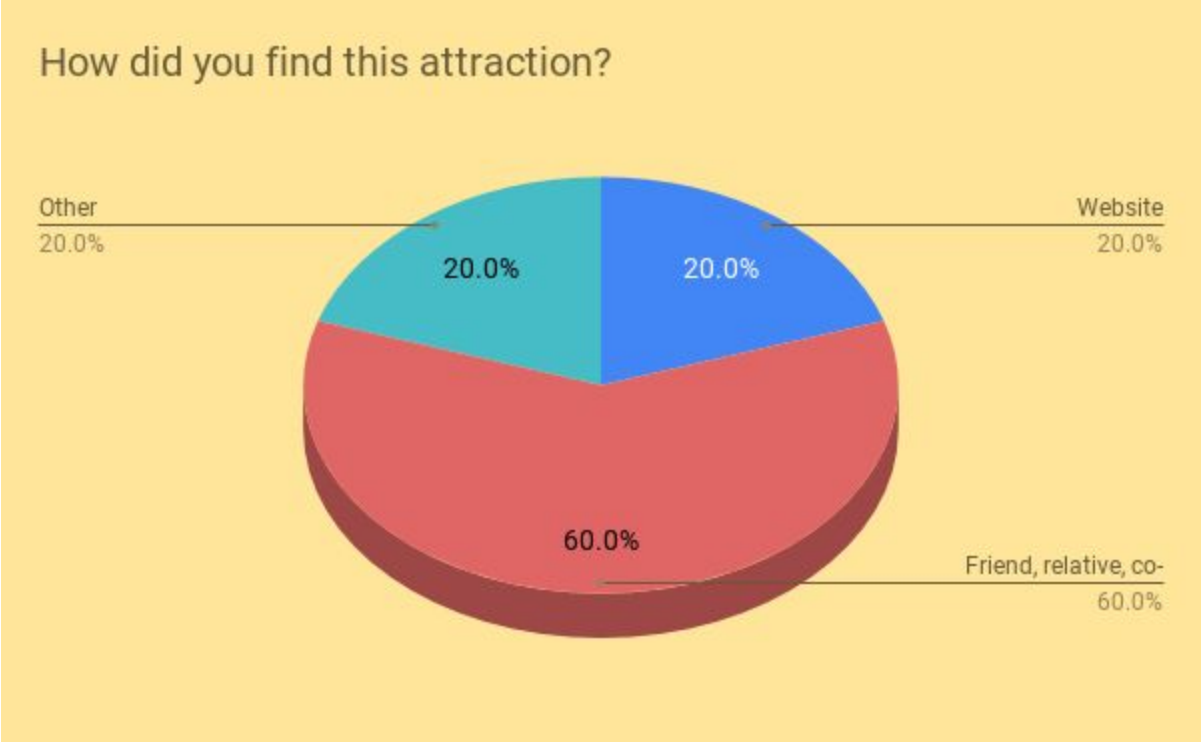

Figure 1 Data from collected field survey.

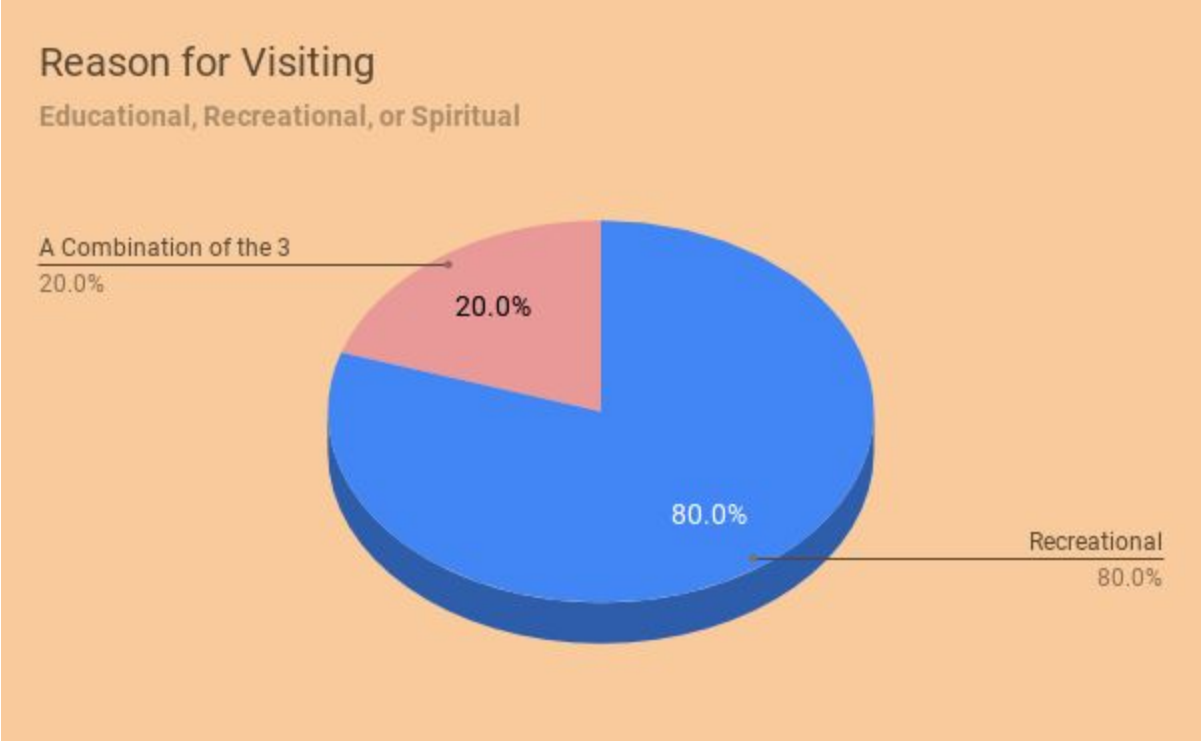

Figure 2 Data from collected field survey.

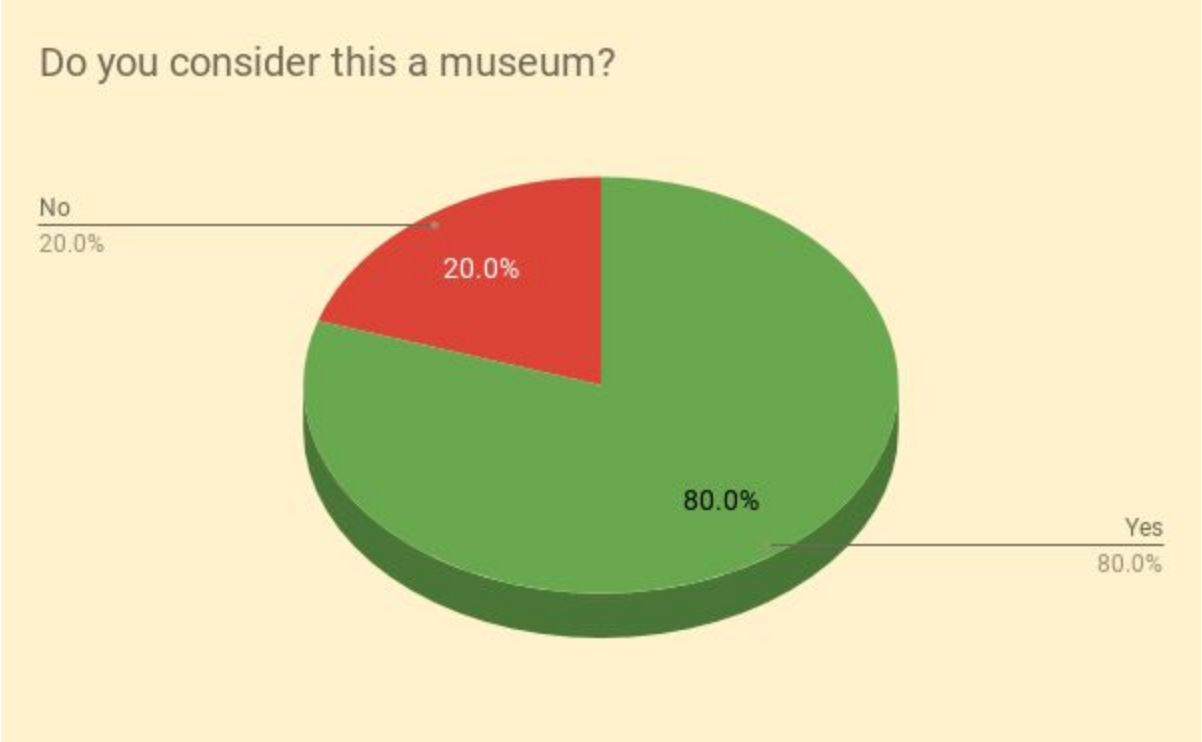

Figure 3 Data from collected field survey.

Even though these lands are owned by the federal government, the message being constructed is competing against visitor interest. If tourism is low, there is less effort in how information is presented. This is evident in the archaeological sites along the San Juan River; there are no labels, descriptions, or meaning given, leaving visitors to form their own interpretations without guidance from an educational exhibit. "If objects are displayed according to a criterion of aesthetic value, then considering the objects from that perspective forecloses the possibility of understanding and advancing a complex political engagement with questions about the object itself" (Trofanenko 2006:321). In this sense, the object is the land itself and the structures and markings left by the indigenous inhabitants are a part of the presentation of indigenous identity. What federal agencies, such as NPS, and other institutions fail to do is place the production of identity before the interests of tourists; ultimately leaving the presentation of

critical information between the federal government and tourists themselves. Moreover, the coupling of a colonial narrative with tourist misconceptions about Native culture leaves indigenous identity largely excluded from the visitor experience.

From a Native Lens

Unfortunately, the Hopi anthropologist I had contacted with questions regarding collaborative research, tourism, and working with federal institutions in the past has not responded, meaning my data concerning my objectives through a Native lens is from a Navajo archaeologist; instead of Navajo and Hopi as originally intended. To fill this gap, I will be using literature concerning Hopi identity and their presentation in museum settings. From a Native perspective, NPS and other federal institutions do not present a complete representation of Native groups in the region; instead, the stories being created and exhibited are a one-sided version and therefore inaccurate. A majority of tourists are not knowledgeable about the history of the region and come seeking a connection, or the "truth" about the world around them or themselves (William Tsosie, personal communication 2018). According to Navajo archaeologist William Tsosie (2018), "NPS does not give a good prospective [sic] from all native groups and favors one group over another group of native groups. NPS promotes their own version of what happened ... The interpretation is not complete and slanted to favor one group ...." This slanted narrative perpetuates the idea of the Western Indian and weakens the politics of identity as Native adults and children struggle to connect with this vision (Ardren 2002:379). Moreover, NPS inadequately provides accessible information about Native People and their history for visitors to access. Working as a Navajo archaeologist, William explains that he strives to

expound his history/culture in a careful or understanding way to visitors who are not knowledgeable about the region. Because of the lack of information provided by NPS or archaeologists at cultural museums/sites, he feels that it is his responsibility to administer information about himself that clarifies what federal agencies and archaeologists fail to portray to the public.

According to Don James, a Hopi-Tewa from Polacca, "the primary attributes that identify [my] people as a distinct ethnic group are coded in the language, religious ceremonies, and associated ritual paraphernalia, none of which is well represented in the archaeological record or easily studied" (quoted in Dongoske et al. 1997:604). Historically, these attributes have been largely ignored by archaeologists. Early archaeologists in the Southwest used ethnographic methods to interpret the archaeological record. As time went on, it was realized that sharper techniques and more precise methods specifically related to archaeology could increase the amount of cultural interpretation from an object. Oral histories from tribes just wasn't enough. Archaeologists began to apply the cultural historical approach, in which temporal and spatial analysis morphed together to create a more structured archaeological record for prehistoric peoples. However, tribal oral histories were only applied and accounted for when they fit into the existing archaeological record; anything that diverged from this framework was ignored. Then, during the 1960s, archaeology ignored any tribal oral history completely; they were reduced to "scientific irrelevancy." (Dongoske et al. 1997:603). Thus, the archaeological record (controlled by white men) and the compiled ethnographic data (also controlled by white men) constructed the narrative/identity of the Native American in the scientific and civilian world. "If archaeologists cannot differentiate between ethnic groups using standard analytical classes

within a contemporary setting where we know ethnic differentiation exists, we are not sanguine about the meaningful identification of ethnicity in the archaeological record, especially if that ethnicity is defined in terms of archaeological cultures" (Don James, personal communication, Dongoske et al. 1997:604). Hopi identity is primarily formed by their clan histories, yet this vital connection to culture is not portrayed in the NPS narrative. Archaeologists and NPS define the past in a way that is contested by Native American groups. "Many archaeologists fail to consider how recent these land claims areas are within the American Southwest. Using land use areas in A.D. 1848 as a way to determine the extent of cultural affiliation has no relevance to the use of land by migrating Zuni and Hopi ancestors in the ancient past when, at various times, these migrating groups traversed, lived in, and buried their dead throughout almost all of present-day New Mexico, Arizona, and portions of Colorado, Utah, and Nevada" (Dongoske et al. 1997:605-606). Moreover, archaeologists rarely consider these oral traditions and histories as visions of the past or as valid productions of knowledge. Instead, archaeologists use linear materials such as architecture and pottery to define culture. Our definition of cultures, specifically in the Southwest, is severely one-sided and "the anthropological theory necessary to make such links is weak within archaeology" (Dongoske et al. 1997:606). Thus, the meanings of identity and knowledge surrounding Navajo and Hopi cultures as they are presented in the Southwest follow a framework that excludes what Navajo and Hopi consider to be the most critical to their representation: the metaphysical realities of their culture. Tourists, then, are not experiencing an accurate presentation through only the physical objects on display.

In fact, visitor experience is mostly comprised of the consumption of indigenous identity as a commodity. Ultimately, indigenous people are not only commoditizing their culture, history,

values, and traditions, they are selling themselves as part of the visitor experience as well. When outsiders come to visit places such as Mesa Verde or Chaco Canyon, their experience is being managed by an institution that follows the premises of Western culture - meaning their decision-making processes operate inside a framework that caters to the Western perception of representation. More recently, NPS has been diligent of consulting and collaborating with Native groups on projects, exhibits, and other educational materials that will be disseminated to the public. My Native American informants, although not employed by NPS, work as indigenous tour guides and have often been asked to collaborate on material and interact with non-native people (including tourists) daily. Their rightful contributions and inclusion within the tour guide community places them in a paradox, where they "feel enormous pressure to deliver a competitive product that appeals to perceived consumer desires, while confronting stereotypes that persist in popular culture" (Bunten 2010:52). Although non-indigenous visitors may see an opportunity to listen to the "correct" version of history through a native tour guide, the guide themselves know that a true conversation of their values and interaction with non-native groups deviates from the accepted "universal" idea of the Native American. Straying from this image increases the possibility of losing income, or possibly losing the opportunity to discuss their culture/history with non-native guests. As the tourist industry makes up a large source of income for indigenous groups, maintaining a narrative that conforms to colonialist ideas is often the lesser of two evils; the first being putting oneself at risk for speaking against or challenging what a tourist or visitor may have been taught to believe as correct. In addition, Native tourists often hold back in their conversations because those who choose to speak up are chastised and contested by non-Native individuals for the strong accusatory nature, gruesome

detail of the past that may inflict despair or guilt, and the looming undertones of "this is the truth and you know it" (McMaster 1992:66). When asked how these misconceptions and tense interactions can be handled, William Tsosie suggests that talking regularly and respectfully is a good place to start (personal communication, 2018). Additionally, a Hopi anthropologist that I spoke to noted that this paradox will only begin to unravel when indigenous and non-indigenous individuals are able to sit down and speak to each other in a respectful and civil matter (personal communication, 2018). In other words, he is suggesting that historically (and arguably contemporarily) communication between indigenous and non-indigenous peoples have been foolish and childlike, rendering collaborative and indigenous-led projects less meaningful as Native groups continue to be ignored in their communicative efforts; it is not until we can sit down as adults that these problems will get solved. This paradox, then, is upheld by agencies such as NPS as they continue to have control over research designs and questions, the interpretation of the information about past cultures, and the ways past cultures are presented in the present (Watkins 2003). Gerald McMaster, a facilitator for the INDIGENA Art Project - a travelling exhibit that portrayed the art of contemporary Native artists during the 1990s - points out that the "Native" perspective that is so sought out has yet to be defined; it is often this vague, open-ended term that non-indigenous people in power use to present either inaccurate representation or misrepresentation completely (1992). Only when this term is correctly defined is when Native groups can have their hand at self-representation. Of course, it is up to the power holders when the term is correctly defined. More recently, the stifling of the indigenous voice has been raised and institutions such as NPS and archaeologists are actively seeking to define this perspective with the help of indigenous individuals through collaboration and consultation.

Other techniques have been the application of indigenous archaeology, which I will discuss in the next section.

The Role of Archaeology in Native American History

The practice of archaeology, through a Native lens, has significantly improved over time. However, due to the attempted extermination and erasure of a culture by early archaeologists, relationships between Native groups and archaeologists are rightfully tense and Native Americans tend to be wary and/or distrustful of their intentions. Archaeologists have been trying to reconnect with Native American groups and fix the strains that have been created between them. For instance, it is now a prerequisite to have Native Americans consulted before engaging in research, and several laws (Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1990 and National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 and amended in 1992 are major proponents) have been passed that make many actions archaeologists once did, illegal. Of course there are loopholes within federal agencies and institutions, but Native Americans have said the relationships between themselves and archaeologists have gotten better since researchers began to respect the culture they were studying. Many Native groups support science while simultaneously accredit phenomena to their religious beliefs, something they believe archaeologists should respect and be patient with when engaging with Native American human/material remains. Practices of indigenous archaeology and indigenous tourism have been offered in the field to eliminate the idea that Native Americans are a thing of the past and seen as tourist attractions and to incorporate their religious beliefs into the interpretations of the archaeological record. Aside from providing a network where Native Americans can learn, teach,

and reclaim their culture, engaging in indigenous archaeology and indigenous tourism also provide political, economic, and academic opportunities to participate in (Watkins 2005). In short, indigenous archaeology is a discipline in and of itself that is comprised of many different things. In its most general sense, it is the proactive participation or consultation of indigenous peoples in archaeology; but it is also a manifestation of indigenous epistemologies, a means of empowerment/cultural reclamation and political resistance, and a critique of current archaeological theory (Colwell-Chanthaphonh et al. 2010, Nicholas 2008). Community-based archaeological programs and community-based tourism have allowed archaeologists to strengthen their relationship with Native Americans by fostering an environment that promotes self-government, sovereignty, land rights, identity, and heritage. "Open dialogue with interested community members about the archaeological knowledge generated by academic research, as well as local priorities for development, has been the key component in the evolution of a community-based methodology" (Ardren 2002:380). This open dialogue and focus on the needs of indigenous communities has enabled empowering and resistant work, as mentioned by Colwell-Chanthaphonh, to enrich identity production and more accurately present this identity within cultural museums. Although community-based programs have seemed to have a positive reaction in indigenous communities, this paradigm of indigenous archaeology is not a static framework that only exists within indigenous communities or field sites. The different interests, voices, and perspectives of Native groups realizes that they are not a direct connection to the past that represent a correlation, but rather that there is a relationship to the past that Native groups hold that connect them to their ancestors (Colwell-Chanthaphonh et al. 2010). The prospect of indigenous archaeology works to move past a colonialist narrative and into one that shifts the

ownership of heritage to a more dynamic standpoint; eliminating the idea that heritage, culture, and history belongs to one group over another and instead implying that culture/history is complex and must be negotiated from a case-study basis. William Tsosie (2018) suggests that one Native group is often favored over another and separate cultures/histories are meshed together to create one "Indian Identity" that encapsulates them as an ageless Other instead of recognizing the unique identities that stem from different points of heritage. As NPS falls into the act of favoritism, they fail to realize that the rights of indigenous peoples are founded in the legacies of colonialism, present-day social injustices, and the inherent politics of scientific inquiry (Colwell-Chanthaphonh et al. 2010). Together, NPS and archaeologists are working to better the information presented within the archaeological record and cultural museums by engaging with indigenous groups and incorporating their belief systems into scientific inquiry. On one hand, NPS and archaeologists see their move towards consultation and collaboration as valuable for all parties involved; on the other hand, NPS and archaeologists are questioning whether it is appropriate for Native groups to have control over cultural affiliations that are a thousand plus years old (Watkins 2003) and this continues to silence the voices of Native Americans as they attempt to gain back what they believe is associated to their origins.

Joe Watkins (2003) suggests that perhaps the reluctance that archaeologists feel when engaging with the indigenous community stems from a fear of losing control over the past, the stories of the past, how those are presented, and the position of being the voice of the past. In places such as Mesa Verde, Chaco Canyon, and the San Juan River archaeological sites where Native Americans visualize their ancestors as spiritual inhabitants who continue to prosper in the ceremonies and traditions of the past, is where archaeologists and Native Americans may face

high levels of contestation as the boundary between the past and the present is blurred through one lens and defined by linear, inanimate objects through the other. As Roger Anyon has noted, "Indians wish to preserve archaeological sites ... because these sites are an integral and irreplaceable part of their cultural identity and their history as a people... to which they retain their links through legends and myths about the land and its people. Archaeologists and concerned non-Indians . . . wish to preserve and protect archeological sites primarily to protect a nonrenewable database that holds part of the record of human adaptive evolution" (Anyon 1991, quoted in Watkins 2003:280). In this sense, Native identity as presented in Mesa Verde, Chaco Canyon, and the San Juan River archaeological sites limit indigenous sovereignty and the rights to their own culture/history as archaeologists and NPS workers sustain a message that follows a strict, academic guideline that acknowledges scholarly ownership over the rich, emic version of history that is accessed through the acknowledgement of identity production entwined in religious/sacred beliefs found in oral traditions and histories. Thus, given the unequal distribution of power over the ownership and/or "control" of the past that is a result of the legacies of colonialism, Native Americans continue to rely on archaeologists and institutions such as NPS to protect their culture/history and keep the spirit of their ancestors alive by preserving the land they continue to prosper off of in the afterlife. In addition, "[t]hey must continue to justify their definitions of cultural resources within a framework foreign to them and must also struggle to protect certain areas from disturbance, while at the same time being unable to prevent the wholesale destruction of cultural and heritage sites on private (and sometimes federal) property" (Watkins 2003:281). As programs that foster collaboration and consultation with indigenous communities about the handling of their culture through material/human remains are on the rise

and cultural museums are entering a period of self-reflection concerning the message they are producing, archaeologists and federal agencies are envisioning a more inclusive future that begins to dismantle the effects of colonialism in representation and recognizes that indigenous identity is embedded in the social inequalities and economic injustices they face today. However, a more collaborative approach to archaeology has created another form of hierarchy between archaeologists and Native Americans as the politics of cultural resource management is highly contested between non-Native and Native peoples as the struggle of stewardship remains at the forefront of research and identity production. Furthermore, indigenous archaeology and indigenous tourism may cause tension between Native American groups themselves as the politics of representation are different between different tribes. Some tribes are more willing to publish esoteric knowledge, some are willing to publish general knowledge while keeping the more private knowledge available to only tribal members, and some are not willing to engage in dissemination at all (Ferguson 1996). This battle between deciding what is "general" knowledge and what is "private," for archaeologists, can lead to favoritism of one group that is willing to share all knowledge and aid in the production of overrepresentation of one or more groups over others and perpetuating the notion of "Pan-Indianness." Furthermore, the introduction of indigenous archaeology and indigenous tourism has greatly increased the amount of ongoing collaborative research that has resulted in a more complete story of history, but there are still underlying notes of suppression within these disciplines that keep Native Americans "in the loop," but far enough away so that they are not in complete control of their representations (Ferguson 1996, Watkins 2003, Colwell-Chanthaphonh et al. 2010). Overall, indigenous peoples will continue to feel as if they are second-class citizens and outsiders to their own heritage if

archaeologists continue to feel reluctant about collaborative research and leave out indigenous issues as part of that research.

Chapter 4: Conclusion

A majority of research that has been done regarding the culture and history of Native Americans by non-indigenous researchers has mainly centered around precolonial or early contact periods. Rarely does it focus on later periods in history that would acknowledge the social, political, and environmental struggle and oppression inflicted upon Native American groups by Europeans. Moreover, this extreme focus on precolonial and early contact periods situates indigenous groups in a specific moment of time, visualizing them as static and unchanging. The colonialist idea of indigenous groups as 'barbaric' or 'savage' has been created and perpetuated through the notion of the static 'Indian,' whose image has persisted inside museums for centuries. The role of the 'Indian' in museums plays a large part in romanticizing the past; in order to justify the inhumane treatment of Native Americans, Europeans categorized them into three groups: the noble Indian, the savage Indian, and the dead Indian (King 2012). The noble Indian had the most potential in the eyes of the colonists; they were hardworking, dedicated, and resourceful. They just needed to be introduced to Christianity to move away from their barbarous lifestyle and become accustomed to a civilized life where these same skills could be applied. The savage Indian, on the other hand, was a serious threat to colonization; they were ferocious beings who were going to destroy the land, therefore their extermination was warranted and deserved. The third group, the dead Indian, is a more modern image of Native Americans. This image is what non-indigenous people *think* indigenous people should be: living in teepees, wearing headdresses, and being one with nature. The term Dead Indian was coined by Thomas King, a Cherokee writer, and it is what non-indigenous researchers, tourists, and museum workers alike primarily focus on: a person of the past who does not exist in the present. Those

who construct the narrative of Native and White relations, those who design the exhibits and display material by deciding proper collections, and those who consume the message work together to maintain the roles of the noble, savage, and dead Indian of the past through historical presentations.

As I have found through my research, romanticization of the past and viewing Native American culture as 'barbarian' is prevalent in Southwest museums. Mesa Verde, Chaco Canyon, and the San Juan archaeological sites are compliant in upholding the representations of the noble, savage, and dead Indian. These places of historical and cultural preservation do a great job of preserving the traditional subsistence practices and social behaviors of ancestral indigenous inhabitants, but have historically lacked in presenting the subsistence practices or social behaviors of their extant descendant groups that still live in the area. Furthermore, visitors find their preconceived notions of Native Americans being reinforced by this narrative instead of being challenged. Thus, they take away the idea that Native Americans are a thing of the past and do not acknowledge that the legacies of colonialism continue to adversely affect groups in the Southwest and other regions of North America through poverty, marginalization, and disenfranchisement. Museums in the Southwest, as well as other areas of the country, have recognized their messages and collections are wildly outdated and do not meet contemporary guidelines of educational material. Moreover, federal agencies and museums have begun to implement a series of principles, such as collaboration and consultation with Native Americans, close involvement with indigenous communities, and the practice of indigenous archaeology, which places historical interpretations in the hands of Native Americans as they work with their

own material remains. Following these principles, representations in museums have been challenged and the narrative that has withstood through decades of time is beginning to change.

Conversely, these efforts have been met with much resistance as archaeologists, museum workers, and other research disciplines are reluctant to relinquish their control over the past. This has prevented a true incorporation of the Native perspective as well as total Native involvement in constructing narratives of the past. On one hand, collaboration and/or consultation has drastically changed the long held notion that Native Americans have a direct relationship with the past and are unchanging; instead, Native Americans have finally been given the chance to introduce their side of the story, which in turn has allowed them to dismantle the colonialist identity forced upon them and create a new identity through persistence and struggle. Moreover, it has allowed them to infiltrate the archaeological record and show non-indigenous people that they are not static, they are dynamic, they have not vanished, and they are still suffering from colonialism. In this sense, they have used collaboration/consultation as a means of activism and to also modify their museum representations. On the other hand, there is still a hierarchy present in collaboration, in which non-indigenous researchers remain at the top where control over decisions, interpretations, and collection design/preservation is ultimately determined. This in turn limits how much of the Native perspective is actually included in the final product. Nevertheless, archaeologists and museum workers have been diligently working alongside Native Americans in an attempt to incorporate their voices into the archaeological record. Perhaps such colonialist ideas have become so internalized that the reluctance of shifting control is a bit unintentional.

I explored the avenue of indigenous archaeology in my research. It seems to be favored over collaboration and consultation because it does shift control slightly, however, it also opens the door for political rift between Native American groups who are being selected for archaeological work over others. Apprehension regarding indigenous archaeology was mentioned in my interview with Navajo archaeologist, Will Tsosie. Although the introduction of indigenous archaeology would allow indigenous individuals to become familiar with anthropological theory and archaeological methods that could be applied to their own material culture, there would be much room for favoritism - and that con outweighs the pros. A different avenue that looks at incorporating the Native perspective, and one that I believe should be looked into more, are Native historical guides. A Native guide giving their experience, their perspective, their version of history, and discussing their own cultural practices would be extremely valuable in the learned experiences of tourists and also aid in presenting a more accurate representation of Native Americans. Native guides would also turn the focus from their perceived 'primitive' lifestyle and paint a current picture, one that expresses the modern Native American: who works to support a family, who takes vacations, who engages with modern technology, who lives in the twenty-first century just as we do. From my research, I noticed that having guided tours by Native Americans gave a more well-rounded story of history and culture, especially in terms of Native/White interactions. Thus, I believe it worthwhile to pursue Native American tour guides and examine how a shift in storytelling would affect visitor experience and retention; it would also be a move forward in changing the narrative that is expressed and taught by museums.

In the future, I would like to conduct more research on the impact of indigenous archaeology in terms of indigenous identity construction. Closely examining the identity of

Native Americans created by non-Native individuals and comparing these constructions to the more contemporary identities formed from this oppression would enhance the type of research I have already conducted. Understanding the levels of struggle and persistence that indigenous groups have endured through centuries is critical when taking an in-depth look at the Native/White relationship and how these ties affect the message that is produced and presented by federal agencies and institutions. However, my research, as well as potential future research concerning the same themes, have met limitations in the field. Seeing as some parts of my research are focusing on the Native perspective and their role in museums, relying on interviews with Native Americans became a large part of my research. Communication, especially between those of different backgrounds, can prove difficult. As I was limited on time, a lot of these conversations were split between personal confrontation and email, and I never received some email responses that would have strengthened my research. Additionally, I was crossing cultural barriers; some of the information that I sought was not given to me due to cultural and social barriers. In terms of tourists, it was difficult to hold the attention of a random passerby and in terms of accessibility, I was not expecting to see any tourists along the San Juan river, so when I did I was unprepared. In regards to future research, I may choose to narrow my questions to specifically look at indigenous archaeology and Native tourism as a way of activism for indigenous communities and reconciling the relationship between Native and European Americans.

The twenty-first century has become a time of museum reflection and self-contemplation. Museums now recognize that their platform has had a larger impact on cultural understanding than previously thought. Thus, they have recognized that their collections and messages are

under constant scrutiny from stakeholders, patrons, and researchers. The narratives that have been constructed out of colonialism are being redefined and reconstructed to produce a more accurate image of Native Americans to visitors. Previous notions of Native Americans that have been upheld by museums and federal agencies have long contributed to racial policies/relations and inequality in the United States. By addressing the root of misrepresentation, my research lends a hand to the larger discussion of colonialism and how it continues to affect indigenous groups in the twenty-first century. Additionally, it offers an in-depth look at how past interactions have transcended into modern museum representations and how these representations impact current policies. I have introduced solutions that are supported by other literature, such as collaboration/consultation, indigenous archaeology, community archaeology, and Native tourism, that could contribute to activist movements and resistance to contemporary colonialism. Lastly, I have provided a unique perspective from a Native lens that is not widely discussed in research; that is, a Native perspective on collaboration and/or indigenous archaeology. This could be another avenue of research that other interested anthropologists could focus on: how Native Americans view their role in archaeological practices that focus either on indigenous sites specifically or hiring indigenous anthropologists to strengthen their own set of archaeological skills.

Ultimately, museums, federal agencies, and archaeologists have dominated the interpretations of the past and have influenced the way people understand different cultures. Because of this, a colonialist narrative has persisted and contributed to current racist policies and oppressions. Museums are now undergoing a period of contemplation that has redirected their messages and missions presented through educational and exhibitional material. Displays are

becoming more inclusive with much of the interpretation on a description card instead of at the hands of the viewer who may hold untrue notions of the culture they are studying. This way, visitors are retaining more information and challenging their beliefs or what they think they know. Hopefully in the future, we will see more involvement from Native Americans and the addition of their side of the story within the archaeological record and museum collections as the shift of power over indigenous artifacts moves away from non-indigenous people.

References

Alexander, Edward P

2007 *Museums in Motion: An Introduction to the History and Functions of Museums.* 3rd ed. Rowman and Littlefield Publishers.

Ames, Michael M

1995 *Cannibal Tours and Glass Boxes: The Anthropology of Museums.* The University of British Columbia Press.

Ardren, Tracey

2002 Conversations about the Production of Archaeological Knowledge and Community Museums at Chunchucmil and Kochol, Yucatán, México. *World Archaeology* 34(2):379-400.

Barker, Alex W

2010 Exhibiting Archaeology: Archaeology and Museums. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 39:293-308.

Block, Melissa

2008 A History of Museums, "A Memory of Mankind." *NPR* (podcast), November 24, 2008. https://www.npr.org/templates/transcript/transcript.php?storyId=97377145, accessed February 5, 2019.

Bunten, Alexis Celeste

2010 Indigenous Tourism: The Paradox of Gaze and Resistance. *La Ricerca Folklorica* 61:51-59.

Colwell-Chanthaphonh, Chip

2010 Archaeology and the Problem of the Public. *American Anthropologist* 112(1):144-145.

Colwell-Chanthaphonh, Chip, T.J. Ferguson, Dorothy Lippert, Randall H. McGuire, George P. Nicholas, Joe E. Watkins, Larry J. Zimmerman

2010 The Premise and Promise of Indigenous Archaeology. *American Antiquity* 75(2):228-238.

Dongoske, Kurt E, Michael Yeatts, Roger Anyon, T.J. Ferguson

1997 Archaeological Cultures and Cultural Affiliation: Hopi and Zuni Perspectives in the American Southwest. *American Antiquity* 62(4):600-608.

Durrans, Brian
1992 Behind the Scenes: Museums and Selective Criticism. *Anthropology Today* 8(4):11-15.

Exploratorium
2018 About Chaco Canyon. Electronic document, https://exploratorium.edu/chaco/HTML/canyon.html, accessed February 10, 2019.

Ferguson, T.J
1996 Native Americans and the Practice of Archaeology. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 25:63-79.

Franco, Barbara
1994 The Communication Conundrum: What is the Message? Who is Listening? *The Journal of American History* 81(1):151-163.

Gordon, Connor
2015 Colonialism and the Western Museum. Electronic document,https://www.prindlepost.org/2015/06/4541/, accessed February 2, 2019.

Hopkins, Maren P., Stuart B. Koyiyumptewa, Saul L. Hedquist, T.J. Ferguson, Chip Colwell
2017 Hopisinmuy Wu'ya'mat Hisat Yang Tupqa'va Yeesiwngwu (Hopi Ancestors Lived in These Canyons). In *Legacies of Space and Intangible Heritage: Archaeology, Ethnohistory, and the Politics of Cultural Continuity in the Americas,* edited by Fernando Armstrong-Fumero and Julio Hoil Gutierrez, pp. 33-52. University Press of Colorado.

King, Thomas
2012 *The Inconvenient Indian: A Curious Account of Native People in North America.* Anchor Canada.

Kuhn, Robert D
2002 Archaeology Under a Microscope: CRM and the Press. *American Antiquity* 67(2):195-212.

Lightfoot, Kent G
2017 The Archaeology of Colonialism in the American Southwest and Alta California: Some Observations and Comments. In *New Mexico and the Pimería Alta: The Colonial Period*

in the American Southwest, edited by John G. Douglass and William M. Graves, pp. 355-378. University Press of Colorado.

Little, Barbara J
2014 Values-Based Preservation, Civic Engagement, and the U.S National Park Service. *APT Bulletin* 45(⅔):25-29.

Lyon, William H
1998 The Navajos in the American Historical Imagination, 1868-1900. *Ethnohistory* 45(2):237-275.

McMaster, Gerald R
1992 INDIGENA: A Native Curator's Perspective. *Art Journal* 51(3):66-73.

National Park Service
2018 Mesa Verde. Electronic document, https://www.nps.gov/meve/index.htm, accessed June 15, 2018.

National Park Service
2018 Chaco Culture. Electronic document, https://www.nps.gov/chcu/index.htm, accessed June 15, 2018.

Orser, Charles E Jr
2012 An Archaeology of Eurocentrism. *American Antiquity* 77(4):737-755.

Padget, Martin
2004 Travels in the American Southwest. *Journal of the Southwest* 46(2):413-440.

Panich, Lee M
2013 Archaeologies of Persistence: Reconsidering the Legacies of Colonialism in Native North America. *American Antiquity* 78(1):105-122.

Riley, Michael J
1994 Constituting the Southwest; Contesting the Southwest; Re-inventing the Southwest. *Journal of the Southwest* 36(3):221-241.

Roy, Rohan Deb
2018 Science Still Bears the Fingerprints of Colonialism. Electronic document, https://www.smithsonianmag.com/science-nature/science-bears-fingerprints-colonialism-180968709/, accessed January 23, 2019.

San Juan Basin Archaeology Society
2018 San Juan Archaeological Sites. Electronic document, http://www.sjbas.org/, accessed January 24, 2019.

Schneider-Hector, Dietmar
2014 Forging a National Park Service: "The Necessity for Cooperation." *Journal of the Southwest* 56(4):643-682.

Snead, James E
2002 Lessons of the Ages: Archaeology and the Construction of Cultural Identity in the American Southwest. *Journal of the Southwest* 44(1):17-34.

Trofanenko, Brenda
2006 Displayed Objects, Indigenous Identities, and Public Pedagogy. *Anthropology and Education Quarterly* 37(4):309-327.

U.S Forest Service
2019 USDA Mission. Electronic document, https://www.fs.fed.us/, accessed January 25, 2019.

Watkins, Joe E
2003 Beyond the Margin: American Indians, First Nations, and Archaeology in North America. *American Antiquity* 68(2):273-285.

Watkins, Joe
2005 Through Wary Eyes: Indigenous Perspectives on Archaeology. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 34:429-449.

Williams, Ed and Anna Johnson
2008 Walls and Fences: Perspectives from Universities and Museums. *Journal of the Southwest* 50(3):227-241.

Willis, Diane J, S. Haldane, P. H. Deleon, M. B. Heldring
2015 Ethnicity and Health in America Series: Stress in the Native American Community. *Professional Psychology Research and Practice* 45(2):143-151.