

(RE)CONSTRUCTING AND (RE)PRESENTING HERITAGE:
EDUCATION AND REPRESENTATION IN AN AMERICAN INDIAN HOMELAND
PRESERVATION PROJECT

by

LESLEY MARIE GRAYBEAL

(Under the Direction of Diane Brook Napier)

ABSTRACT

Experiences of the Occaneechi Band of the Saponi Nation (Occaneechi) in constructing a heritage revitalization initiative known as the Homeland Preservation Project and organizing related educational programming were analyzed through an ethnographic case study. The purpose of the study was to understand the importance of the heritage museum as a site for organizing educational initiatives. Scholarship in museum studies treats heritage museums as sites for the construction of identity through the portrayal of culture and history, but focuses largely on display rhetoric and visitor interpretations. I used ethnographic methods to develop a case as an example of a local tribal museum and its significance, as explained by those involved in organizing and executing related educational initiatives. Having achieved state recognition only in the past decade, the Occaneechi are in the midst of a concerted effort to educate tribal members and descendents, other area tribes, and non-Indigenous community members about their distinct heritage and present-day existence. The Homeland Preservation Project plays a significant role for tribal members in addressing issues of identity, creating a dynamic understanding of culture in transition, recovering Indigenous Knowledge, confronting

stereotypes about American Indian people, organizing new types of participation in multiple levels of community, and navigating various stakeholder interests through dissemination of multiple types of knowledge and power.

INDEX WORDS: Museum Education, Grassroots Education, Community Education,
Indigenous Knowledge, Native American, Occaneechi, Heritage, Identity

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DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this dissertation to the many Occaneechi people who give of themselves so openly and tirelessly to educate their own and other people's children; and to my parents, who have always been so generous in their support of all things educational.

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CHAPTER 1

THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

While museums have come to include diverse forms and uses in recent decades, most scholarship devoted to museums as cultural and educational spaces has focused on rhetorical analysis of display texts and visitor experiences, leaving the significance of self-representation for the diverse museum makers themselves largely unexplored. Museums are a type of institution familiar to many members of the public. When considering museums, many people envision formal gallery spaces with plants, animals, and skeletons of early humans placed in display cases. Visitors look at display cases and read explanatory text, often without wondering who has decided what information to convey and how to present it. Since the 1960s, however, museums have come to constitute an educational space that contains possibilities for alternative constructions of knowledge that have not historically been accommodated by traditional museums or formal classroom learning. American Indian groups have taken advantage of these developments by creating forms of tribal museums, each guided by its own history, population, culture, and set of circumstances, but that may also be influenced by allegiances to a broader Pan-American Indian identity as well as by the expectations of visitors from the mainstream American culture. The many contributing influences to tribal museums and education projects—that may come from dominant or Indigenous perspectives and the global, national, or local levels—combine to form an institution that may be complex and contradictory in its goals and functions. Furthermore, although American Indian people reside in every American state, very little research has been conducted on the Indigenous people living in the Southeast, a region that

has historically been home to particularly complex and contradictory experiences for American Indian people.

Scholarly literature in museum studies (e.g., Bennett, 1995; Cameron, 2004; Davis, 1999; Fuller, 1992; Heumann Gurian, 2004; Kirschenblatt-Gimblett, 1998; Luke 2002; Weil, 2004) suggests an expanded role for contemporary museums and heritage sites beyond the traditional conception of the museum as a storehouse of objective knowledge, and furthermore emphasizes a multiplicity of visitor experiences within the same site. Few studies, however, have directed attention toward the sources that produce these visitor experiences; by studying the Indigenous perspective within a tribal museum project, I hoped to reveal a complex portrait of the experience of planning and goal-setting individual tribal members have had within this institutional form. The problem with current theoretical knowledge of alternative museum representations is that attention has not been directed toward the planning and goal-setting experience, and instead researchers have overwhelmingly focused on the structure of displays and the visitor experience. I examined the experience of Occaneechi tribal members holistically planning and executing alternative heritage and museum education projects. I analyzed how tribal members understand heritage and education initiatives within the context of the individual and tribal group importance attached to revitalization of past knowledge and construction of present tribal identity, and how these goals and motivations impact the planning and enacting of heritage and education projects for insiders and outsiders.

I sought to understand and analyze the Occaneechi Homeland Preservation Project in North Carolina as an educational institution, comprising related elements of heritage revitalization, cultural identity construction, and community education and awareness, using naturalistic qualitative inquiry in a study of how the goals and mission of educational initiatives

have been envisioned and enacted by tribal members. I gathered data through interviews conducted through purposeful sampling, observations of meetings and scheduled group visits to the site, and analysis of relevant documents and photographs detailing project planning and implementation. The study revealed evidence of program planning that aimed to decolonize the knowledge presented about American Indian culture and history, utilizing and responding to the local nature of the cultural and historical significance of the resource, and accommodating the diversity of individual experiences that visitors bring to and take away from the site. Furthermore, tribal members targeted and balanced multiple stakeholder interests and depths or levels of interaction by visitors in educational initiatives of the project.

Statement of Purpose

The purpose of my ethnographic case study was to understand the experiences of Occaneechi tribal members in planning and enacting the Homeland Preservation Project as a tribal museum in a rural setting in North Carolina, navigating the needs and interests of internal and external stakeholders, educating community members about topics of local cultural heritage and history, and constructing and representing their own individual and group identities. I broadly defined the tribal museum as all initiatives conducted under the auspices of the tribal organization that tribal members considered educational programs or events or part of the Homeland Preservation Project.

Setting

I conducted the study in a rural county in North Carolina in the Southeastern United States that is home to the 25-acre tract of historic homeland purchased by the Occaneechi tribal organization. The county is located roughly 45 miles northwest of the state's capital city of Raleigh. The overall population of the county is just over 150,000 people, and 0.5% identified as

Native American according to the 2009 census estimate (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). The Homeland Preservation Project is a tract of historic tribal land in this county with a heritage and education initiative composed of several specific sites, some already put in place and others in progress—a visitor center and exhibit area, educational nature trails, and historic reconstructions of buildings and crop parcels. Because new museum forms emphasize the inclusion of the surrounding human and natural environment in addition to the space housed within the museum walls, I included in the research site all designated educational spaces and the site grounds, as well as the surrounding area historically settled by people of American Indian descent known as the “Little Texas” community.

I selected the site of my proposed research as a critical case for a number of specific reasons. American Indians in the Southeast occupy a significant position in regard to historical treatment, legal recognition, and ethnic identity that is not typically reflected in research on major tribes in the United States today. North Carolina is home to the largest number of American Indians east of the Mississippi River, with major groups being the Southeastern Band of the Cherokee Nation and the Lumbee Indians of Robeson County. As such, North Carolina engages in significant efforts to recognize contemporary American Indian populations, with mechanisms in place to recognize new tribes on an ongoing basis. I selected the setting of my proposed research specifically because it is home to a tribal group that received state recognition only in February 2002. The Occaneechi Band of the Saponi Nation’s Homeland Preservation Project was initiated in 2004, and its planning has been closely linked to emerging identity and representation issues for the recently recognized group. While many case studies of museums examine the rhetoric used within exhibits to represent Indigenous peoples to outside visitors, this setting provided a rare opportunity for me to examine ways in which educational and cultural

heritage representations are planned and performed by an Indigenous group to inform stakeholders both within the tribe and in the broader community.

Rationale

My interest in museums and heritage projects grew out of many childhood experiences visiting my mother at work at the Greater Augusta Arts Council in Augusta, Georgia, whose office was housed in the Sacred Heart Cultural Center, a historic Catholic church restored for special events use and business space. During my mother's time at the Arts Council, I became very familiar with Augusta's art museums and cultural festivals, and I developed an abiding interest in the many ways I encountered art, whether in the form of clay ocarinas being sold in a booth along the river or American Impressionist oil paintings of magnolias on formal display complete with curtains. Over time, this interest in the art objects themselves was transformed into an interest in whom and what they represented as I went on to visit museums throughout the country and abroad and found myself examining the ways that the objects were displayed, the rhetoric in the text surrounding them, the goals and purposes of the museums, and the imagined worlds that they created. As an undergraduate English major, in a course in the Comparative Literature department that focused on museums and museum rhetoric, I was first exposed to Foucault's discourse on power and knowledge, adding a new dimension to my interest in museums as both creators and storehouses of representation and identity.

My background and coursework in English also influenced my topic selection. In my English graduate study, I completed a master's thesis addressing construction of identity and the hybrid nature of authenticity of representation in a colonial American slave narrative, and I maintained these interests in representation- and identity-related topics in my doctoral study. Throughout my doctoral coursework in Social Foundations of Education, I chose to research new

museological forms such as ethnic museums, immigration museums, and ecomuseums as nonformal educational sites. Since learning about these diverse types of museums, I became interested in researching cases in the United States where groups have employed such models using their own criteria for preservation and education to navigate issues of representation where disparate interests of internal and external stakeholders exist. I learned about the Homeland Preservation Project for the first time when I visited the Occaneechi tribal organization website in 2007 while searching for American Indian preservation initiatives in United States. As I became convinced of the significance of the site in terms of the structure of the project and the phase of its development, I also became eager to learn about both past and ongoing goal-setting and educational activities among the Occaneechi.

I approached the planning of my study with a great deal of respect for the autonomy and rights of the tribal organization and with an assumption about the inherent value of an initiative that seeks to promote Indigenous perspectives of subjugated knowledges. With the understanding that the participants in my study might convey a wide range of possibly controversial positions and motives, I planned to respect these points of view and to be an open-minded listener and learner. Neutrality is also a key component in respecting the experiences and perspectives of participants, and I strived to maintain a neutral view of all the data I collected and analyzed, and to not predispose my findings with initial personal opinions or ideologies.

New museums may embrace a variety of stakeholder interests and serve as a platform for voices that have previously not been portrayed within museums; thus, these museum models offer potential for new forms of cultural representation and preservation of living cultures for American Indian groups. While much theoretical work has been done on new museology and postmodern approaches (e.g., Ames, 2004; Bennett, 2006; Davis, 1999; Dubin, 1999; Greenblatt,

1991; Janes, 2004; Kirschenblatt-Gimblett, 2006a; Luke, 2002) and many case studies conducted on the restructuring of existing museum exhibits about Indigenous peoples (e.g., Bodinger de Uriarte, 2007; Camarena & Morales, 2006; Clifford, 1991; Fienup-Riordan, 1999; Hoxie & Nelson; Peltomaki, 1999), there is still a need to examine the importance of representation planning to the people whose culture is being preserved or displayed. I hope to contribute to the scholarly literature addressing the experiences of American Indian groups as complex and various, and particularly to contribute to the scholarly debate about tribal museums by adding representations of the planning process to the already rich study of museum rhetoric and visitor experiences. I hope to contribute to an understanding of the value of studying the planning side of tribal museums and the personal experiences of Indigenous people by contributing my case, a complex portrayal of tribal museums and their relation to a host of issues, including the educational needs and interests of visitors, acceptance and recognition in local communities, the identity constructions of tribal members, and participation in a broader movement of Indigenous peoples.

Background of the Research Problem

While all major federally-recognized American Indian groups relocated to reservations in Western U.S. territories in the 19th century, many of those without treaty relationships with the federal government found opportunities to avoid relocation. Thus, Indigenous peoples remaining in the Southeastern United States historically and today occupy a legal, political, social, and economic position that has been defined and redefined over time to reflect the local character of communities rather than federal Indian policy. These groups and individuals worked to preserve heritage and to reinforce a culturally distinct identity in a biracial society, often without the legal rights and financial assistance, or even symbolic legitimation, supplied by federal recognition.

Because of the specific stipulations required for federal recognition, many small tribes that still exist in the Southeast will likely never be granted federal status, but a number of tribes have sought and been granted state recognition in recent years, among them the Occaneechi.

Since the 1960s, two key movements combined to draw increased attention to these small and often overlooked populations of Indigenous people in the South. The growth of national Pan-American Indian organizations and American Indian involvement in social and political activism since the 1950s and 1960s inspired more American Indian people to engage in cultural revitalization initiatives. Also since the 1960s, new museology offered the opportunity for various types of museums and community institutions to refocus representations of American Indians and to become more responsive to Indigenous needs and interests. Contemporary museums transform the museum institution into a place of learning that is meant to be accessible to communities and more responsive to public service—a place for constructing history from below (Davis, 1999; Hodges, 1978), specifically by representing the experiences and heritages of minority groups. Contemporary museums are accountable to a diverse audience, and “such institutions now self-consciously try to consult with and include people as subjects, not treat them as mere objects” (Dubin, 1999, p. 6). Contemporary museums also emphasize the ongoing lives of the people represented in them, enabling communities to develop a sense of cultural identity as a “springboard for the future” (Leask & Fyall, 2006, p. 39). Such museum representations are desirable to Indigenous peoples, who are often depicted in traditional natural history museums as only existing in the past rather than also in the present.

Ethnic community museums, formed by people to collect, exhibit, and interpret the heritage and living culture of their communities, encompass 26% of the new museums that opened in the United States between 1998 and 2000 (Loukaitou-Sideris & Grodach, 2004),

showing that Indigenous and ethnic museums, while locally cultivated and focused, are an expanding national phenomenon responding to trends in self-representation. The Occaneechi Homeland Preservation Project is a significant case in which Indigenous people acquired legal ownership of historic tribal homelands and earned state recognition, but also have a diverse heritage and vested interest in self-representation as Indigenous people with American Indian identities and cultures historically and currently. In the present situation of tribal museums and other contemporary museum forms, museums are no longer sites of leisure, but instead they are increasingly sites of struggle over representation and the revision of the past (Dubin, 1999). In seeking recognition and establishing the Homeland Preservation Project, the Occaneechi provide evidence of new developments in Indigenous community museums as a result of the intersection between Pan-American Indian activism and new museology, and this offers fertile ground for research in nonformal education. Examining Indigenous and ethnic museums in the United States as sites of active production, performance, and navigation of culture and identity is key in understanding a transformative cultural process taking place in communities around the world.

Goals and Objectives

The goal of my research was to conduct a qualitative case study using ethnographic methods. A case study typically constitutes detailed, holistic research into a single distinct social unit or bounded, integrated system (Glesne, 2006; Payne & Payne, 2004; Yin, 2009). My case was of the Homeland Preservation Project, a program of the Occaneechi Band of the Saponi Nation, and the people involved in planning and executing related programs. I conducted ethnographic fieldwork, in which I attempted to immerse myself in the culture of the subject of study through in-depth interviews, non-obtrusive observations, participant-observations, and analysis of documents, texts, and images, as the means to achieve depth of understanding in a

case study (Glesne; Patton, 2002; Payne & Payne; Vogt, 2002). As recommended by Creswell (2003), Glesne, and Patton, I employed qualitative inquiry to explore issues holistically and in depth, to engage in inductive and naturalistic inquiry, to view phenomena as socially constructed, and to analyze and convey a particular experience of the world. My overall goal for the selected case was to understand and analyze a community-based museum employed by an Indigenous group as a grassroots initiative to convey the recovered heritage and present-day American Indian identities of a local population.

My specific objectives corresponded to my research questions, and were the following:

1. To understand and describe the Occaneechi experience of planning educational initiatives.
2. To learn the goals and purposes of heritage and education projects from the perspectives of Occaneechi participants.
3. To explore the meanings contained within the heritage and education initiatives of the Occaneechi people.
4. To understand the work participants did to construct an emerging cultural institution in their community.
5. To explore complex uses for museums as educational institutions that serve multiple groups of stakeholders.
6. To understand the importance of heritage and education projects to Occaneechi tribal members' conceptions of identity and constructions of knowledge.

Because I focused primarily on the planning side of the Homeland site in this case study, throughout the dissertation I use *emic* terminology. For example, Occaneechi participants referred to themselves using various terms, following some general connotative trends: (a)

participants tended to use the term “Indian” when discussing their own ethnicity and the ethnicity of their ancestors, as distinct from White and Black racial categories; (b) participants used the term “Occaneechi” when specifically discussing either the historic Occaneechi or the present-day tribal organization; and finally, (c) some participants also used the term “Indigenous,” usually to place the tribal members within a broader international category of people or to emphasize prior claims to a specific geographical place. Although I acknowledge that the literature contains many different conventions for naming Indigenous peoples and some usages may differ from mine, I elected to use the terms used by my participants to connote similar Occaneechi identity categories. I use the term “Occaneechi” to mean the specific, local culture of the historic and present-day Occaneechi, the term “American Indian” to connote the larger category of all peoples native to North America, and the term “Indigenous” to connote all people who assert prior claims to geographic place on an international scale. Except when directly quoting participants, I have chosen to use the term “American Indian” instead of the term “Indian” because of the stereotypes associated with the latter term, as “Indian” was historically used by White mainstream culture as an incorrect label for the Indigenous peoples of the Americas. I also chose to capitalize Indigenous and Indigenous Knowledge following Villegas, Neugebauer, and Venegas (2008), who introduced Indigenous Knowledge as “living, dynamic, active, and fundamentally about our connections to each other and our world” (p. 2), and Battiste (2008), who used the term “Indigenous Knowledge” to represent knowledge that is “systemic, covering both what can be observed and what can be thought” (p. 90). According to Battiste, Indigenous Knowledge (IK), as opposed to the Western scientific tradition that she refers to as Eurocentric knowledge (EK), “is a distinct knowledge system in its own right with its own internal consistency, diversities, and ways of knowing” (p. 88). In keeping with this body of scholarship,

I have chosen to capitalize not only Indigenous Knowledge, but also all uses of the term Indigenous, to indicate a system of knowledges and identities rather than just a prior claim to geographic place.

Research Questions

Because of its structure, the Homeland Preservation Project offered me an opportunity to examine the significance of place and consideration of multiple stakeholders within new museum types, and the current phase of construction and ongoing planning allowed me to examine the features and significance of the preservation planning experience for the many tribal members currently involved in the project. All research questions, as well as specific techniques for data collection and analysis used to answer each, appear in my research matrix (see Figure 1).

1. What are the general features of Occaneechi education and preservation initiatives and the Homeland Preservation Project, including physical boundaries and temporal boundaries?
2. How are educational outreach and heritage preservation initiatives combined to encourage visitors to develop new understandings about this community?
3. What meanings do the Homeland Preservation Project and related educational programs have for tribal members, particularly relating to their personal and group identity and the representation of that identity to others?
4. How have the grassroots approach and site-based model of the Homeland Preservation Project influenced the structure, representation, and execution of the project's educational components?
5. How do tribal members balance the interests and needs of tribal members and visitors in the representation of cultural heritage and identity in this project?

6. What types of knowledge and power are constructed, exercised, and transferred in the Homeland Preservation Project and how do they differ for tribal members and visitors?

Research question	Rationale	Data sources	Analysis methods
What are the general features of Occaneechi education and preservation initiatives and the Homeland Preservation Project, including physical and temporal boundaries?	Providing a basis for understanding organizational structure as a nonformal educational institution	Background interviews Project website Promotion documents Photographs	Transcription and thematic coding of data sources
How are Educational outreach and heritage preservation initiatives combined to encourage visitors to develop new understandings about this community?	Providing a basis for understanding organizational function as a nonformal educational institution	In-depth interviews Project website Promotion documents Educational materials Photographs	Transcription and thematic coding of data sources
What meanings do the Homeland Preservation Project and related educational programs have for tribal members, particularly relating to their personal and group identity and the representation of that identity to others?	Eliciting an <i>emic</i> perspective to substantiate understanding and provide representation of planning experience	In-depth interviews Project website Promotion documents Planning observation	Transcription and thematic coding of data sources
How have the grassroots approach and site-based model of the Homeland Preservation Project influenced the structure, representation, and execution of the project's educational components?	Relevance of the planning and organizational structure of the preservation and educational initiatives and their implementation and transferability	In-depth interviews Project website Photographs Site observation Off-site observation	Transcription and thematic coding of data sources
How do tribal members balance the interests and needs of tribal members and visitors in the representation of cultural heritage and identity in this project?	Importance of responding to various needs and interests of multiple stakeholders and achieving certain goals	In-depth interviews Project website Promotion documents Planning observation Site observation	Transcription and thematic coding of data sources
What types of knowledge and power are constructed, exercised, and transferred in the Homeland Preservation Project and how do they differ for tribal members and visitors?	Understanding and representing different types of experiences and actions among planners and visitors; multiple expressions of knowledge and power	In-depth interview Project website Site observation	Transcription and thematic coding of data sources

Figure 1. Research matrix.

Importance of Study

In museum studies, while significant attention has been paid to the interactions between visitors and museum displays with an Indigenous subject (e.g., Bodinger de Uriarte, 2007; Fienup-Riordan, 1999; Hoxie & Nelson, 2007; Kaeppler, 1992; Peltomaki, 1999), less work has been done that examined and conveyed Indigenous people's experiences creating representations through planning and instituting preservation projects. My research investigated a set of issues in education and preservation regarding distinct social and cultural contexts of a small Indigenous group in the United States. The literature addressing new museum forms and Indigenous uses of preservation initiatives is a growing field of study composed of a plethora of individual local contexts, to which my research contributes. Although case study findings are not generalizable, my study contributes insights about local Indigenous preservation and education initiatives that may also be applicable to other groups, particularly in the Southeast where other small populations of Indigenous people exist.

As cultural tourism steadily rises in popularity, as education is increasingly examined in informal settings, and as economic factors encourage more Americans to focus on leisure activities within their surrounding communities rather than destinations, cases such as the Homeland Preservation Project will likely become more common attractions for visitors. With the growth of new museum forms and their increased use by local Indigenous communities, I hoped to contribute scholarly inquiry that explores the significance and vitality of these sites and that increases the understanding of how different types of people come to possess, understand, and share knowledges. While my study contributes to a mosaic of scholarly understanding about the roles of museum institutions, it was also informed by the broad range of scholarship in

museum studies and Indigenous Knowledge, reviewed in Chapter 2, including many case studies of similar types of museums.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

In this chapter, I review scholarly work in the range of fields influencing my theoretical understanding of the topic, discuss the historical context of the topic for my study, and examine related work by scholars in the field of museum studies. I have focused my review of the theoretical literature primarily on the critical approaches in the disciplines of museum studies and Indigenous Knowledge. This literature focuses on examining museums and other heritage preservation institutions and projects as complex cultural phenomena, providing the theoretical groundwork for my examination of a heritage preservation and education initiative as a tool for people to explore and enact their cultural knowledges and identities. I also drew on literature in the field of Indigenous Knowledge because of the centrality of the Indigenous subjects' experience in the purpose of my study, and this literature provided the basis for research that focuses on Indigenous experiences historically and today, and also created the ethical guidelines for research by non-Indigenous and Indigenous people on Indigenous subjects.

Museum Studies

The field of museum studies draws from a range of theoretical perspectives, addressing critical theory, post-colonial theory, power/knowledge, and performativity. These areas of museum scholarship informed my understanding of museums as cultural and educational institutions, and I drew from several of these perspectives to design my study and analyze the data.

Critical Approaches in Museum Studies

Throughout the twentieth century, museum scholars examined the transformative potential of museums and the critical dimensions of their field, and noted the need for change in display philosophies and methods in instances where segregated histories have been propagated by segregated societies (Davis Ruffins, 2006) like the historic American South. In recent years, scholars in the field of museum studies paid a great deal of attention to the manner in which museum environments and the social and symbolic exchanges that they enable contain a wealth of symbolic capital and therefore the potential to be refashioned into institutions promoting cross-cultural understandings of differences that were historically racialized (Bennett, 1995; Bennett, 2006; Buntix & Karp, 2006). Scholars drew attention to museums with democratizing goals, such as the Louvre and many others (Duncan, 1991; Leask & Fyall, 2006), exhibits like the one composed by Patrick Nagatani to portray multiple perspectives of nuclear weapons technology, set at the New Mexico test site that provides insight into the impact nuclear testing has had on Indigenous peoples in the area (Masco, 2006), and to museums as sites for creating public knowledge of negative histories, such as the Holocaust Museum created in 1993 in Washington, DC (Davis Ruffins). Other scholars, such as Ybarra-Frausto (1991) in her work on Chicano Art, expanded the field of museum studies to include alternative display structures like posters and barrio murals. Ybarra-Frausto examined such new forms as sites of struggle and critical engagement with culture and its representation. Because the Occaneechi Homeland Preservation Project is an alternative display structure that reflects realities of a segregated South and depicts what Davis Ruffins called “negative histories” in the form of widespread racial misidentification and cultural loss among Occaneechi people, these museum studies scholars provided me with theoretical tools for understanding these vital functions of the Homeland

project as a cultural institution. I also share with critical museum scholars the goal of increasing the visibility of the experiences of Indigenous peoples in planning and executing heritage preservation and education initiatives in their communities.

In recent literature, scholars commonly acknowledge that every museum exhibition, regardless of its overt subject and goals, inevitably draws on the ideologies, cultural assumptions, and extant resources of the group or individual who runs it (Lavine & Karp, 1991). Many of the early proponents of a critical stance toward museum theory arose in the 1970s, such as Wittlin (1970/2004) and Cameron (1971/2004), and addressed the need for museum renewal and a shift from the museum serving as a temple of knowledge to a forum for critical engagement with social issues (Dana, 2004). This thread was taken up by deconstructionists (e.g. Ames, 2004) and other proponents of a new paradigm for museums that included an agenda for communicating with and about marginalized sectors of society and capitalizing on new, participatory educational models in use by children's museums and science and technology centers (Skramstad, 2004; Weil, 1990/2004). Kotler and Kotler (2004) questioned the ability of museums to serve a wide range of communities simultaneously, but reaffirmed the critical direction many museums and museum theorists have taken by asserting that targeting institutional and community change is an integral part of the strategic framework of many museums today. Because my study focused on the planning experience within a tribal museum institutional structure, these scholars informed by understanding of the various and often critical perspectives that Occaneechi participants held with regard to the purpose of their heritage preservation and educational initiatives and their goals pertaining to community change.

Critical theorists in the field of museum studies draw from theorists that include Bourdieu, with Bennet (2006) citing the need to move beyond consciousness-raising to a

counter-training of society, and Gramsci, with Buntix and Karp (2006) considering the frictions between new museums and more traditional museums and institutions to be a “war of position” (p. 207) and Loukaitou-Sideris and Grodach (2004) calling these tensions a culture war. A number of scholars also take Marxist approaches to the field by viewing museums and cultural festivals as commodities in which the display of culture is linked to capitalist notions of the merit of expanded access to goods through free trade, as exemplified by the Chicago World’s Columbian Exhibition of 1893 (Bauman & Sawin, 1991; Hinsley, 1991). A onetime member of the Frankfurt School of Critical Theory who made a growing impact on museum studies was Walter Benjamin, a cultural critic who saw the revolutionary and democratizing potential of museums as storehouses of mass culture, and who focused on the significance of individuals’ perceptions of society as guided by cultural institutions (Cohen, 2004; Ferris, 2004; Greenberg, 2007; Mieskowski, 2004; Nägele, 2004; Schwartz, 2001). Benjamin’s Marxist influence encouraged his studies of commodity fetishism as encompassing social experience, as well as his eagerness to disrupt traditional notions of coherent historic progress and to “rub history against the grain” (Caygill, 2004, p. 73; Cohen; Pensky, 2004; Schwartz). Critical perspectives have had a strong influence on discussions of the roles museums play in society, and critical theory facilitates discussion of alternative museums in particular, like the Homeland Preservation Project, with the assumption that all museums are cultural institutions constructed by groups within society with specific motives for representing people and cultures in a certain way. The linkages between museum studies and critical theory suggest that studying museums as social and cultural institutions can offer broader revelations about how social organization and cultural knowledge are constructed.

Post-Colonial Theory

Many other museum scholars, however, shifted the discourse of museum studies from a critical approach, espousing institutional transformation and attention to historical inequities in the structures of museum work, to a post-colonial approach that grapples with multiple, simultaneous, and overlapping histories and cultural identities. Greenblatt (1991) discussed two principles of display culture that illustrate this shift and speak to the contradictory and complex goals of museum display in a post-colonial context—“resonance,” or the power of the displayed object to evoke the complex, dynamic cultural forces from which it has emerged, and “wonder,” the power of the displayed object to convey an arresting sense of cultural uniqueness (p. 42). Post-colonial critiques of museums focused on how natural history museums in the United States historically regarded American Indians as relics of history and promulgated the myth that Indigenous peoples were members of a dying race (Hirschfelder & Kreipe de Montaña, 1993; Monroe & Echo-Hawk, 2004). Museum scholars like French (1994) and Monroe and Echo-Hawk observed the ways in which this popular conception resulted in controversial museum practices such as grave looting for human remains and the use of phrenology—the measurement of the cranium—to make claims about the inferiority of Indigenous peoples and attempt to justify population decline. These scholars furthermore documented the rise of American Indian people to prominence in the curating of exhibits and treatment of artifacts. Monroe and Echo-Hawk noted that American Indians began a unified push for repatriation of human remains in the 1960s and 1970s alongside other activist movements, and argued that the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1990 fundamentally changed the American dialogue about material culture and rights to display. Hoxie and Nelson (2007) analyzed a recent Lewis and Clark exhibition in which American Indian people were consulted in planning, asserting that the

exhibit displayed the expedition as part of an ongoing historical process “whose effects could be witnessed in home communities today” (p. 11). Hoxie and Nelson directed further attention to tribal museums as post-colonial institutions that face distinct challenges and that share distinct opportunities that traditional mainstream museums do not, and as spaces in which colonized groups contest the legitimacy of the displays in dominant institutions. The contributions of these scholars influenced my study with respect to the post-colonial situation of any Indigenous group in the United States or other nations that were once settler colonies. Because the histories of all Indigenous groups in the United States were impacted by colonization of the Americas, post-colonial theorizing from both Indigenous and non-Indigenous museum scholars provides particular insights into tribal museums and the contemporary existence of the people who envision them.

As in other applications of post-colonial theory, museum scholars emphasized how dominant cultural identity is formulated through the positioning of the dominant group in relation to the colonized “other.” American museums, therefore, have often made use of the material culture of American Indians to portray the values and ideals of White culture, and presentations of American Indian identity have often spoken more authentically about non-Indian identity as museums work to spread the “dogma of a nation” (Cooper, 1997, p. 403; Hirschfelder & Kreipe de Montaña, 1993; Sanchez & Stuckey, 2000). Hoxie and Nelson (2007) offered the additional critique that American museums tend to focus on the isolated histories of famous individuals, in both colonizing and colonized groups, with the effect of shifting the historical focus away from issues inherent in the structure of colonialism in America. These applications of post-colonial theory that focus on identity politics informed my initial interest in asking questions about the individual and group identities of those who work on organizing and

executing educational programs through the Homeland Preservation Project. This scholarship also provides a theoretical context for my participants' comments on the importance of heritage preservation and education for formulating and strengthening Occaneechi identity.

Cooper (1997) noted the practice of American museums treating American Indian peoples as outsiders, despite their Indigenous status, and suggested that the resulting use of museums as tribal institutions by American Indian peoples has been rife with the complexities, overlappings, and contradictions of the post-colonial world—"it is not without ambivalence that tribal people have set up buildings to house collections, launch exhibits, and emulate the very institutions that have so boldly relegated American Indians to the status of flora and fauna of the 'New World'" (p. 403). Other scholars, such as Kratz and Rassool (2006), termed the adaptation of the museum to fit tribal needs as a remapping of the museum that includes "overlapping engagements, contradictory intentions, multiple mediations, and critical reformulations" (p. 347), and they studied post-colonial shifts in museum practice such as the reform of many South African museums from anthropological displays for Black South Africans to visualizations of a new, inclusive society (Witz, 2006). This literature that established a perspective on museum displays as contradictory and overlapping also informed my interest in the way the Occaneechi participants envisioned the goals and purpose of their heritage preservation and education initiatives, and what inclusive or contradictory perspectives and experiences the Homeland Preservation Project reflects. Cooper's comment, on the ambivalence many American Indian people feel toward creating their own museums when this type of institution often reminds Indigenous people of an exploitative past, provided me with the theoretical ideas to help me understand not only a variety of perspectives on museum-making from different participants, but also individuals' mixed and contradictory feelings about museums.

Perhaps the most salient contradiction that exists within museums today, and that is a major focus of post-colonial analyses of museum institutions, is the conflict between complex representations of marginalized identities and viability within the tourism industry, since tourism typically works within narrow boundaries for defining culture and creates clearly defined images of culture for consumption by visitors, sometimes reinforcing stereotypes in addition to opening up the opportunity for resources to become culturally and materially degraded (French, 1994; Hoxie & Nelson, 2007; Witz, 2006). Rectanus (2002) charged that, in navigating tourism ventures and taking advantage of corporate sponsorship, museums incorporate the functions of a variety of cultural institutions and compete with one another through thematic specialization, processes that indicate that cultural hybridization takes place within the post-colonial museum institution. Witz, however, argued that cultural tourism may, in fact, sustain the colonial enterprise through its tendency to present visitors with the opportunity to discover neatly packaged representations of cultural difference. Other scholars also questioned the use of the term “post-colonial” and the notion that colonialism has ended in countries like the United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand where Indigenous populations continue to inhabit a marginal legal and political space in relation to a dominant culture that was also once a colonial power, and in which dominant groups may continue to exercise control over the institutions used by Indigenous peoples (Cobb, 2008; Morphy, 2006). This sentiment is particularly strong among Indigenous scholars in a range of fields, and it will be addressed further in my review of writings on Indigenous methodologies. The post-colonial museum scholarship focused on tourism issues informed my study because the Occaneechi people make direct efforts to attract local and regional visitors to the Homeland Preservation Project and related initiatives as a form of tourism. Because the Homeland Preservation Project exists at least in part as a tourism venture,

post-colonial museum scholarship focused on the meaning and execution of tourism ventures by Indigenous groups is important to my understanding of the motives and goals specifically related to constructing the Homeland Preservation Project as a destination for visitors.

Power and Knowledge

In addition to broader trends of critical and post-colonial theories applied to the study of museums, Foucault's (1980) theory of power/knowledge provides a great deal of conceptual tools for discussing how museums act as gatekeepers of legitimate knowledge and exert power on and through the regulation of culture and (arti)facts. Foucault articulated power/knowledge as a single entity because "knowledge and power are integrated with one another...It is not possible for power to be exercised without knowledge, it is impossible for knowledge not to engender power" (p. 52). Numerous scholars (e.g. Heumann Gurian, 2004; Kirschenblatt-Gimblett, 1991; Luke, 2002; Weil, 2004) examined the relationship of power/knowledge to the nature of objects and collections of objects as symbols of both knowledge and power. Monroe and Echo-Hawk (2004) added repatriation legislation to this discussion. They suggested the need for legislation restricting the collecting impulse that pushed museums to continue to increase their collections through spurious dealings with international pothunters, long after the myth that American Indian peoples would soon become extinct and needed to be preserved through anthropological specimens fell out of fashion. Monroe and Echo-Hawk made the claim that the continuation of widespread collecting up until the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) reflects the pervasiveness of social myths about the present-day existence of American Indian people and the power of tangible objects in collections to legitimate further collecting as symbols of historical or anthropological truth. The power/knowledge that museums wield, using their cultural capital as high-status institutions to justify more collecting, is separate

from the scientific rationale for collecting, which was dispelled when American Indian communities survived colonization. Additional “persistent paradoxes” (Janes, 2004, p. 375) include the need for museums to balance customer interests with their own historical and social agendas, as well as the ubiquitous problems that museums face trying to sustain their operations without being dependent on major public or private funding sources. Janes added the compelling questions of whether too many small museums have served to spread power and privilege too thin in the redistribution of authoritative museum voices, and whether the tyranny of tradition is an inherent quality of the museum that places authority and authenticity at cross purposes with one another. The museum studies literature examining power/knowledge influenced my own interest in asking questions about the types of power associated with Occaneechi participants’ recovery of heritage and historical knowledge and their construction of identity.

Power/knowledge furthermore allowed me to examine many overlapping types of power in my analysis—including the power of the institution and its displays, the power of the visitor as customer or consumer, and the power of the planners and executors as arbiters of the knowledge presented.

Kirschenblatt-Gimblett (1991) and Crew and Sims (1991) approached the issue of museum power from another angle, one that does not assume that museums can effectively redistribute power, and that questions the notion of authenticity in museum displays. As Kirschenblatt-Gimblett asserted in her discussion of the “museum effect,” objects put on display in the museum shed their original meaning and take on a new, displayed meaning. In her view, cultural objects do not have a single authentic meaning, but instead take on various types of aesthetic meanings depending of the mode of display—objects used in cultural performances are valued as spectacle, while those interred in museums take on the quality of cultural essence.

Crew and Sims offered a related position that material objects on display in museums do not have inherent authority as artifacts, but instead they stand as symbols of ownership, commodity, and social meaning created through resurrection of a particular past. As Crew and Sims suggested, museum displays “re-present the past” by making present that which is in the past (p. 174). Rather than seeing this as a threat to authority, however, Crew and Sims noted that social priorities change over time, necessitating shifts in the stories that are told and the meanings made of them by society. These meanings with which society imbues objects, rather than the objects themselves, establish the claims of authenticity:

Authenticity is not about factuality or reality. It is about authority. Objects have no authority; people do. It is people on the exhibition team who must make a judgment about how to tell about the past. Authenticity—authority—enforces the social contract between the audience and the museum, a socially agreed-upon reality that exists only as long as the confidence in the voice of the museum holds. (p. 163)

Furthermore, Dubin (1999) recognized the dialogue between the display and the viewer as a power relationship, calling visitor responses “displays of power” that may be alternately defensive or offensive (p. 4). In making claims for what they would prefer to see in the museum, these visitor responses constitute an authority that is both active and reactive. These perspectives on power in the museum display not only fed my interest in investigating the planning elements of the Homeland Preservation Project, but they also encouraged me to use power/knowledge as a tool for understanding how my participants view their relationships to visitors, and how they understand and enact authenticity and authority in heritage preservation and education program planning. Because the Occaneechi continue to be involved in the heritage recovery process, tribal members have used various types of knowledge to construct authority, making theorizing about

power/knowledge and its relation to authority particularly relevant to the Homeland Preservation Project case. These theoretical ideas about power/knowledge also allowed me to use a flexible definition for authenticity, a term that Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin (1995) called an “ontological contradiction” and a “political trap” (p. 163). The concept of authenticity was indeed politicized in the way that it complicated the recognition process for the Occaneechi, and the idea of authenticity continues to play a role in how the Occaneechi construct representations at the Homeland Preservation Project.

Other scholars extended Foucauldian principles into the discussion of the museum as a place of scrutiny or panoptic mode, meaning that visitors have the opportunity to direct their gaze toward displays and to see without being seen (Alpers, 1991; Kirschenblatt-Gimblett, 1991). In these analyses, museums serve as a panopticon for objects and, by virtue of representation, other peoples from whose material cultures they are lifted. Museums, thus, become a structure through which visitors may exercise the power to see without being seen and thus to violate intimacy (Kirschenblatt-Gimblett), while museum curators are simultaneously able to govern what is seen and shape displays to communicate a particular message or construct a certain discourse of historic and social truth (Alpers). As Luke (2002) argued, the use of Foucault in analyzing museum rhetoric and display practices is not to reduce human thought or history to mere relativistic plays of language, but instead to “discover how the world has been given a legible face, why our knowledge of it comes from certain accomplished practices, where its favors are disposed discursively to us, and then recognize how much of this process happens at museums” (pp. 102-103). The many scholarly uses of Foucault and power/knowledge within museum studies, then, informed my analysis of the ways tribal members actively shape the representations of the Occaneechi people that are put on display in heritage preservation and

education initiatives, and the factors that contribute to the tribe's decisions regarding what image of the Occaneechi is available for visitors to see.

Performativity

Finally, the literature addressing the performative elements of the museum display and heritage movement also warrants my review because of the performed nature of museum representations that are put on display for others. Because my study focused on the planning side of the Homeland Preservation Project, performativity literature helped me to understand and analyze tribal members' processes of putting identity and culture on display for visitors. While performance studies originated in the mid-twentieth century with Goffman's (1956) claim that life is dramatically enacted by individuals in society and Austin's (1962) examination of the performativity of language, more recent scholars found performativity to be fertile ground for examining culture and identity within debates on authority and authenticity, in the museum and elsewhere. Butler (1997) drew on Foucault in her argument that performativity has both lost its sovereignty while also serving as a brand of power and agency, and called performance the "*modus vivendi* of power" (p. 353). Cultural performance was also linked to post-colonial notions of hybridity in which the collision, influence, and interference across cultures creates a social reality that is constantly renegotiated and enacted (Stanton, 2007).

Furthermore, scholars have related performativity to the notion of reappropriation (Butler, 1997), a vehicle for marginalized groups to contend with hybrid identities and forms of expression resulting from colonized pasts. While cultural performances today remain controversial, the idea that they constitute a reappropriation of forms of cultural expression was supported by Phillips (2004), who noted the quite literally performative history of the colonized peoples whose dancers, musicians, and artisans were made to travel around the world enacting

cultural practices, but who also argued for the need for a performative context for understanding the meaning of many non-Western objects. The irony of museums as sites of cultural performance is that decisions regarding what and how to display constitute a politics of memory that in turn engenders new, complex relationships between people and exhibits (Hoskins, 2007). In studying the Occaneechi as a newly reorganized and recognized group and the Homeland Preservation Project as in part an attempt to raise awareness of the contemporary existence of Occaneechi people, studies of performativity helped me understand the construction of Occaneechi identity as a reappropriation of American Indian heritage and knowledges, as well as analyze Occaneechi reorganization and Homeland Preservation Project planning as the local expression of a broader growth in Pan-American Indian revitalization and reappropriation of performed images.

Kirschenblatt-Gimblett (1998) argued for the performative element of all museums, claiming that “exhibitions are fundamentally theatrical, for they are how museums perform the knowledge they create” (p. 3). Other scholars also noted the ways in which museums enact their constructed knowledge through a variety of forms, including the use of particular interpretations of events or artifacts, symposia by panels of experts and museum professionals, and educational programming (King, 1992; Myers, 2006; Puczko, 2006). Puczko, Peltomaki (1999), and others argued for the many different types of performance that the museum display undertakes in the transmission of certain knowledges, particularly the decisions about what to display and what to omit, as well as how the organization and orchestration of a display takes up a particular cultural position. Heumann Gurian (1991) argued that museums are performers for the public that keep their public image closely regulated, suggesting that exhibits are shaped not only by what the museum curators believe, but also by what they want their audiences to believe about them. The

increasing globalization of museums as knowledge producers has furthermore crystallized their role as performers under the international gaze (Myers, 2006). Some scholars, however, argued for museums themselves to turn a more critical eye toward their own performances; King (1992) suggested that museums should encourage visitors to ask questions about the nature of power in society, as well as how the contents of exhibits have changed over time to reflect the attitudes and values of society. Because my study focused on the planning perspective of the Homeland Preservation Project, my research design reflected the assumptions that museum representations contain knowledge that planners produce for visitors, tailored to convey a certain perception of the people and cultures represented. I asked questions about the process of shaping and enacting—in short, performing—specific representations of the Occaneechi through the Homeland Preservation Project, and analyzed expressions of cultural heritage and identity as performed for others.

Some scholars focused in particular on certain museums that perform an idealized version of culture or history. These institutions, which are just as often heritage parks as formal museums, serve as “repositories of sentiment” (Kirschenblatt-Gimblett, 1998, p. 9) that present an idyllic imaginary. The most prominent types of museums for this brand of performance study are themed experiences such as Disneyland, South Africa’s Lost City, and Kinopolis in Brussels that constitute “hyperreality” or simulation (Hall, 2006, p. 72), reconstructed villages such as Colonial Williamsburg or Plimoth Plantation (Kirschenblatt-Gimblett), and living museums or heritage parks on other topics, like the industrialization and labor museum seen in Lowell, Massachusetts (Stanton, 2007). Museum scholars noted how these types of performative reenactments or re-imaginings of history often place value on the spectacle of being transported to a different place or time and they create a “ritualized reconstruction between past

and present” (Kirschenblatt-Gimblett; Stanton). These types of performances may serve a variety of purposes. As Dubin (1999) noted, museums are venues for society to present itself publicly, in a regulated setting where “unflattering, embarrassing, or dissonant viewpoints” (p. 3) may be carefully pruned. Beier (1999) added that such imagined pasts also enable attention to be deflected away from less pleasant contemporary social issues and struggles. For instance, Cahan (2007) used the *Harlem On My Mind* exhibit of 1969 to illustrate how the White curators of the Metropolitan Museum of Art orchestrated a racial performance that was meant to portray the White mainstream in an idealized fashion as proponents of—rather than barriers to—African American success. Cahan also linked performativity to authenticity with the claim that museums employ authenticity as an implement for establishing authority, making the claim that despite the inevitability of performance in presenting information in the museum, if audiences believe a presentation is no more than a performance, such authenticity is lost. Performativity studies that focus on reconstructions of a particular past informed my analysis because the Homeland Preservation Project is itself a multi-faceted reconstruction, including both an Indigenous village and representations of the farm life of the more recent Occaneechi past. Because the Homeland Preservation Project uses a reconstruction model for presenting heritage and culture, my analysis of the performativity of heritage preservation and educational initiatives drew from the literature exploring the many uses of this model.

Because my study focused on how the Occaneechi tailor representations of their culture and identities for presentation within the Homeland Preservation Project, I was also interested in what Kirschenblatt-Gimblett (2006a) called the “exhibitionary complex,” or the preoccupation with exhibition as a practice in self-fashioning; Kirschenblatt-Gimblett and others asked questions about how museums self-fashion, including how exhibited identities work against

received images from the mainstream, and what is implied by the relationship between self-fashioning and market potential. Wallis (1994) referred to self-fashioning as “identity formation,” and added that the assumption that museums are constantly formulating identities for themselves and society is based on the premise that culture, even the material culture of artifacts, is a social construction rather than essential quality. Other scholars examined how natural history museums, immigration museums, and heritage parks have been used to fashion ideas of nationhood and inscribe them on the national imagination, with material culture acting as “cultural resources for the construction of collective identity” even where such a unified identity may not actually exist and where constructed histories may fall along a continuum of factual or mythologized past (Beier, 1999; Bodnar, 1986; Keogan, 2002, p. 225; Maddern, 2004). Wardekker and Miedema (1997) argued for the compelling importance that such exercises by museums and other cultural institutions have for individuals, claiming that personal development depends upon internalizing cultural values and meanings that become “formative elements of the person himself” (p. 51). This literature addressing identity formation encouraged me to ask questions about Occaneechi identity as understood by both insiders and outsiders, and informed my analysis of the role of performed representations in the Homeland Preservation Project and how Occaneechi people formulated their own identities in conjunction with preservation and educational initiatives.

Others, such as Loukaitou-Sideris and Grodach (2004), agreed with the essential role played by museums and heritage projects in formulating and interpreting identity and history, while at the same time arguing that traditional models for representation have not captured the complex needs of multiple publics. Numerous scholars took a similarly critical approach to the self-fashioning being done in museums that either marginalizes or overlooks certain groups or

exoticizes and objectifies them. Wallis (1994) directed attention to how advertising campaigns by a number of New York City museums fashioned the self through fashioning the other, and Beier (1999) agreed that Western, specifically American, formulations of self often rely on “a plethora of constructed images of Others, variously defined in racial, ethnic, political, socio-economic, and gender terms” (p. 36). In a study of the Heard Museum, Luke (2002) noted that American Indian history and culture is performed through commodity, and that many of the artifacts on display can be found in replica in the museum shop; Wallis referred to this phenomenon as “the culture industry” (p. 265). The Occaneechi also seek to participate in an industry that objectifies certain aspects of cultural knowledge through marketing and selling heritage-related products. While self-representation by Indigenous and other historically marginalized groups who were often depicted in exhibits presents one possibility for creating museums that promote authentically fashioned cultural identities (Clavir, 1996), other scholars maintained that the issue of authenticity may be irreconcilable with the performative functions of the museum. Instead, Wallis argued that Indigenous self-representations may also be reduced to a “benign, if exotic, fairy tale” (p. 279) in the interest of profitability, and Hendry (2005) added that a significant portion of mainstream tourists are apt to dispute self-representations that they suspect are performed rather than authentic, undermining the cultural integrity of the present-day self-fashioned identities of Indigenous cultures through the preference for their own more narrow imaginings of those groups. The attention these scholars directed toward critique of museum institutions and performed representations of culture and identity impacted my data analysis as I sought to understand the utility and meaning of the Homeland Preservation Project to Occaneechi tribal members. They tempered my understanding of the performance of culture within museums and heritage institutions. Knowledge of this literature enabled me to analyze my

data bearing in mind the possibility of cultural representations being perceived as inauthentic or as reinforcing stereotypes.

A final area of performance studies in museums is the examination of museum performances as a medium for preserving *intangible* heritage and portraying culture as *dynamic*. Clavir (1996) and Dubin (1999) argued that the types of culture conveyed through new museum forms tend to embrace the idea that “culture is dynamic, always in transformation” (Dubin, p. 11) and to in turn value less tangible aspects of an object as well as shifting contexts for its cultural meaning. Hodges (1978) also argued for the dynamic potential of new museology, asserting that “the new museum is a concept, not a place” (p. 150). While Bernstein (1992) focused on how the same representation of an artifact may evoke different reactions from various individuals and subgroups, Fienup-Riordan (1999) and Whiteley (2003) examined how modes of exhibition and performance may change or shift in meaning. Fienup-Riordan studied the flexible meanings of Yup’ik masks from Alaska when displayed in various contexts. Whiteley, on the other hand, focused on pre-existing cultural performances and how they have been adapted for general application to serve as essential or exemplary performances of Indigenous groups, examining how rituals that may have served agricultural or religious functions have shifted to become a performance of identity. Other scholars reinforced the notion that museums may be used to represent identities that shift and change over time, particularly within the “democratization of heritage” represented by many new museums and the diverse types of heritage within them (Leask & Fyall, 2006, p. 53; Newton, 1994). Because of the dynamic potential of the performed identities within museum exhibits, Dubin argued that exhibitions “no longer merely provide pleasant refuge from ordinary life, nor are they simply repositories of received wisdom. Museums have moved to the forefront in struggles over representation over the chronicling,

revising, and displaying of the past” (p. 5). The Occaneechi people, too, have attempted to both revitalize Indigenous heritage and construct identities as present-day American Indian people. The Homeland project presents a viewpoint of culture as dynamic and changing, making the literature addressing the dynamic potential of museum performances highly relevant to my analysis of the Homeland Preservation Project.

Indigenous Knowledge and Methodology

In addition to a broad base of contributions to the literature in the area of museum studies, several key scholars in the area of Indigenous Knowledge and Indigenous methodology influenced the design of this study. Their ideas supported my interest in exploring Indigenous viewpoints and experiences and provided an additional set of ethical guidelines for research with Indigenous subjects. Indigenous Knowledge as a field of study recognizes the scholarly relevance of the cumulative experiences, lifeways, and technologies of Indigenous peoples as a legitimate knowledge source, and recent work sought to uncover the contributions of local and Indigenous knowledges across the past half century (Battiste, 2008; Maclure, 2006; Villegas, Neugebauer, & Venegas, 2008). Some examples here include examinations of American Indian schooling and inroads to self-determination (Adams, 1988; Hudicourt-Barnes, 2003; Liberman, 1981; Ruiz, 1958), as well as issues in producing and publishing research on and by Indigenous peoples (Deloria, Jr., 2004; James, 2004; Lomowaima, 2000; Maclure). As cultural studies in the social sciences expanded, many scholars argued for culturally responsive theories (Erickson, 1987, Swidler and Ardit, 1994; Wilson, 2004), while others complicated the debates about cultural studies and Indigenous Knowledge with the assertion that these scholarly fields may continue to privilege particular voices and forms of knowledge, reinforce myths, and commodify the “other” (Deloria, Jr., 2004; Fernando, 2003; French, 1994; hooks, 1990; Marker, 1998;

Mihesuah, 2004; Pewewardy, 2004). Many proponents of Indigenous Knowledge in the academy supported the need for Indigenous scholars to challenge the dominant conventions of their disciplines and to leverage their positions of power to serve the interests of Indigenous causes (James; Mihesuah & Wilson, 2004). As Tuhiwai Smith (1999) assessed, “the rereading of imperial history by post-colonial and cultural studies scholars provides a different, much more critical approach to history than was previously acceptable”—an approach that challenges the unified narrative presented by traditional Eurocentric histories of pioneering explorers bringing civilization and progress to newly discovered lands. Indigenous Knowledge in education provides an opportunity to “make central issues of power, place, and relationships” (Villegas, Neugebauer, & Venegas, p. 1). This scholarly debate over Indigenous Knowledge not only influenced my interest in placing Indigenous experiences at the center of my own inquiry about museum representations and identity, but also provided a critical lens for viewing any American Indian representations as problematic and potentially damaging to Indigenous people, which also informed my examination of how participants used power and knowledge in heritage preservation and education initiatives.

Even as American Indian studies, other cultural studies, and Indigenous Knowledge expanded in the academy and gained mainstream acceptance, some scholars questioned the assumption that scholars from the dominant culture who wanted to be involved in cultural studies would be able to accurately depict Indigenous experiences. Furthermore, Beier (1999) questioned the Eurocentric notion that the Indigenous artifacts housed in museums are public domain available for anyone to study, rather than the property of their source cultures. In conjunction with such developments, other scholars argued for the need to overturn dominant research conventions in an effort to construct more meaningful historiographies and knowledge

about present-day Indigenous peoples (Alfred, 2004; Angl s Grande, 2000; Lomowaima, 2000; Tuhiwai Smith, 1999; Silva, 2004). Tuhiwai Smith constructed a detailed Indigenous methodology to serve as a culturally authentic model for research that, informed by the controversial history of research on Indigenous populations, is structured to serve rather than colonize Indigenous peoples and their knowledge. This Indigenous methodology informed the design of my study and provided ethical guidelines—beyond those already expected for social science research—for me, a non-Indigenous researcher attempting to understand and convey Indigenous experiences. Tuhiwai Smith asserted that the legacy of cultural imperialism practiced toward Indigenous peoples and their material culture is inseparable from the overwhelming bulk of dominant research traditions used today, and that many vulnerable populations continue to be exploited by Western researchers in both overt and subtle ways. Thus, Tuhiwai Smith’s model for Indigenous research begins with the expectation for researchers to critically analyze the historical and contemporary role of research in the Indigenous world. A second step is to view the values and practices of Indigenous communities as an integral part of how research is planned and conducted, rather than as a barrier to research (Tuhiwai Smith, p. 15). Furthermore, Tuhiwai Smith argued that the products of research should be understandable to the communities from which they are drawn, and to demystify and decolonize academic knowledge should be the responsibility of the researcher. Indigenous methodology as espoused by Tuhiwai Smith furthermore questions Western thought ranging from the Enlightenment to post-colonialism; Tuhiwai Smith referred to post-colonialism as a “convenient invention” of Western intellectuals that, rather than shifting the balance of power, simply reinscribes the power they already hold to define the world (p. 14). As a non-Indigenous researcher whose proposed study was informed by these Western traditions, it was important for me to be aware of prevailing criticisms by

Indigenous methodologists. Tuhiwai Smith added, however, that Western traditions cannot be wholly discarded, but instead they must be reinterpreted to counteract harmful histories:

Decolonization, however, does not mean and has not meant a total rejection of all theory or research or Western knowledge. Rather, it is about centering our concerns and world views and then coming to know and understand theory and research from our own perspectives and for our own purpose. (p. 39)

In summary, Indigenous methodology makes central “indigenous concerns, indigenous practices and indigenous participation as researchers and researched” (Tuhiwai Smith, p. 107). Furthermore, Angl s Grande (2000) added, if Indigenous researchers wish to understand contemporary issues for American Indians they must “seek understandings of identity that not only reflect the multiple and contradictory aspects of contemporary experience, but also maintain a sense of American Indians as historically placed, sovereign peoples” (p. 232). In my study, I attempted to follow the recommendations of Indigenous methodologists to examine Occaneechi identity constructions and heritage representations with both the historical context and the contemporary lives of Occaneechi people at the center of my inquiry, while also being mindful of the diversity of Indigenous perspectives and their potential, as with Western perspectives, to disagree with and problematize one another.

Context

Regarding the recommendation by Indigenous methodologists to use historical context to inform research about Indigenous peoples, another aspect of this literature review is an examination of the historical context of Indigenous peoples in the United States, the context of international movements to revitalize and recognize Indigenous heritage and culture in recent years, and the context of the development of new museum forms as vehicles for cultural

representation. While I focus on the local history of the Occaneechi people in Chapter 4 as part of my case, here I review the broader contexts that the Homeland project shares with other tribal museums and American Indian heritage revitalization projects.

Indigenous Peoples in the United States

In the following section, I review pertinent literature and aspects of the historical context of the lives of Indigenous peoples in the United States, recognizing the impact American Indian peoples have had on the broader social and historical climate of present-day local efforts like the Homeland project. Lomowaima & McCarty (2006) argued for the responsibility of academics who study American Indian issues to seek out the “footprints of Native presence and understand them—not as singular exceptions but as moments in the historical narrative that help us link past to present” (p. 14). In providing the historical context of Indigenous peoples living in the United States, I am mindful of their suggestion to consider the agency that American Indian peoples have exercised even during the imposition of federal policy or the failure of the federal government to uphold terms of treaty agreements. Lomowaima & McCarty drew the idea of the footprint from a Hopi concept regarding footprints as symbolic not only of physical presence, but also an “enduring emotional, moral, and spiritual commitment to a way of life” (p. 13). As such, the footprints of American Indian presence throughout American history chronicle not just prior claims to physical homelands, but also cultural persistence and survival into contemporary times.

Land use and availability was the overwhelmingly dominant motivator for shifts in U.S. Indian policy across several different approaches. In over 230 treaties drafted between 1600 and 1868, over two-thirds of the total number of treaties ever negotiated between American Indian tribes and the federal government, American Indian lands were ceded in whole or in part (Hirschfelder & Kreipe de Montaña, 1993). The Indian War period is perhaps the most well

known era of Indian policy—Indian affairs were handled under the Department of War until 1854, and the Indian War period persisted from the time of first contact with Europeans until its official end with Grant’s peace policy of 1870, although several armed engagements also took place after 1870 (French, 1994; Haake, 2007; Hirschfelder & Kreipe de Montañño). Indian wars were predicated on the Discovery Doctrine, or the notion that European settlers had an inherent right to spread religion and civilization in lands they found to be lacking European institutions, which was made official by the 1823 Supreme Court decision *Johnson v. M’Intosh*. Grant’s peace policy marked a shift from accomplishing these goals through military engagement with American Indians to federal policies and programs that regulated land use and ownership and promoted assimilation (French).

Removal policy, the idea of relocating American Indians from lands desirable for colonial acquisition, developed concurrently with military engagement with American Indians. It was a popular sentiment of the early American colonists, with the first reservation established as early as 1638 for the Quinnipiac Indians in Connecticut (Hirschfelder & Kreipe de Montañño, 1993). Thomas Jefferson espoused removal as a solution to the threats colonial encroachment posed for American Indian survival, suggesting that Indians who did not want to voluntarily participate in civilization programs should be relocated West (Bragaw, 2006; Haake, 2007). In 1887, however, the federal government adopted a new policy with the Dawes Act, which allowed for allotment of Indian lands (French, 1994; Haake). The act divided communally held American Indian lands into privately owned parcels, and awarded surplus lands to the government for sale to non-Indian buyers (Szasz, 1999). The next shift occurred in the early 20th century as American Indians were granted citizenship in 1924 and a series of reforms known as the Indian New Deal took hold (French; Lomowaima & McCarty, 2006). The new policy was

known as reorganization, and established the reservation system in use today, while simultaneously reducing American Indian lands once more in the process (French). In the aftermath of WWII, a short-lived termination policy was introduced, proposing to dissolve all formal treaty relationships between the federal government and Native American tribes, to officially end the sovereign status of Native American tribal governments in the United States, and to redefine them as nothing more than local entities (Cobb, 2008; French; Lomowaima & McCarty). During the 1940s and 1950s, social services for American Indians were eliminated, and relocation programs provided incentives for reservation Indians to move to urban areas (Hirschfelder & Kreipe de Montaña). Widespread protests resulted in the federal government renouncing termination policy in 1958, although the policy did not officially end until 1970. The reinstatement of some terminated tribes and not others resulted in a complicated situation with which many tribes continue to contend (Haake). While some scholars argued that American Indians were involved in various forms of political activism since the first contact with European colonists, American Indian activism as a unified movement grew out of the struggle against termination policy after WWII in the 1950s (Cobb).

American Indian education has been characterized by what Lomowaima & McCarty (2006) referred to as a safety zone of cultural difference, repeatedly redefined by the dominant culture to allow and restrict varying types of cultural expression and to domesticate American Indian cultures to be compatible with White mainstream culture. As Lomowaima & McCarty made clear, the paradigm for American schooling generally targeted cultural difference of ethnic minorities as uncivilized or disadvantaged. This was true from the earliest efforts of missionaries to educate American Indians, as well as the 1819 Civilization Fund Act that situated missionary education within federal policy until federal governance replaced control by religious institutions

(Hirschfelder & de Monaño, 1993, p. 14; Szasz, 1999). In the late 1800s, the dominant model for federal control became the government-run off-reservation boarding school, a military-style institution in which American Indian children were removed from their families with the object of being acculturated to mainstream American values and norms (Lomowaima & McCarty). Scholars documented the labor-intensive nature of the schools' curriculum, which was criticized then and now for training American Indian children for low-wage employment, and for the poor conditions in these schools that resulted in overcrowding, malnutrition, disease, and suicide (Hoxie & Nelson, 2007; Lomowaima & McCarty; Szasz). Additional types of schooling used for and by American Indians include on-reservation public schools, and public schools serving off-reservation districts populated heavily or exclusively by American Indians. Self-determination in education has been and remains a major thrust of American Indian educational initiatives. With significant contributions by American Indian educators and administrators, large numbers of American Indian people enrolled in higher education since the 1950s and 1960s, with the majority of degrees awarded in education (Lomowaima & McCarty). Local control of schooling was seen as a major area for American Indian cultural revitalization, with tribally controlled schools providing economic growth and improved achievement, while even the much-maligned No Child Left Behind Act has given American Indian groups the impetus to develop their own culturally-based standards for schools (Lomowaima & McCarty; Szasz).

Language issues in particular were at the center of efforts both to assimilate American Indians and to revitalize American Indian cultures, as language loss is implicated in issues of identity and cultural survival (Lomowaima & McCarty, 2006); as the Native Hawaiian Education Act (1988) noted, "I ka 'ōlelo no ke ola, i ka 'ōlelo no ka make [In the language rests life; In the language rests death]". After the boarding school reforms of the 1930s, bilingual options for

American Indian education became a subject for consideration, and in the 1940s government-run schools began adopting bilingual pamphlets known as the Indian Life Series. While the series was harshly criticized, it also represented one of the first mainstream efforts to reinstitute American Indian languages in public schools (Szasz, 1999). A host of successful programs today serve as models for other local initiatives—the Navajo Window Rock Immersion program, Rough Rock bilingual program, Peach Springs Hualapai language program, and early childhood Hawaiian language nests are only a few (Benham & Heck, 1998; Lomowaima & McCarty; Warner, 1999). The issue of language learning for speakers of non-standard dialects of English influenced by an Indigenous language, however, remains problematic (August, Goldenberg, & Rueda, 2006; Benham & Heck; Ogata, Sheehey, & Noonan, 2006; Warner, 1999).

Often, mainstream Americans struggle to recognize the issues faced by American Indian peoples or their efforts to address them because American Indian nations occupy unique legal, political, and cultural spaces in the United States that tend to be poorly understood by non-Indigenous citizens (Sanchez & Stuckey, 2000). Furthermore, within the context of the lives of Indigenous peoples in the United States, many Americans might be surprised to learn that the fifth-ranking state in Native American population is North Carolina, and that every state in the Southern United States has some contemporary American Indian presence (Williams, 1979). Even after the removal of vast portions of the American Indian population to Western territories, significant numbers of American Indian people descended from the Algonkian, Muskogean, Iroquoian, and Siouan cultures maintained their historical presence in the Southeast (Williams). In addition to the widely known Eastern Band of the Cherokee Nation, other major landholding groups in North Carolina include the Coharie, Waccamaw, and Lumbee Indians (Szasz, 1999). The position of American Indian peoples in the Southern United States and the state of North

Carolina specifically constitutes a distinct type of experience within the context of national policy-making and societal stratification. Williams described the legal situation:

Only gradually in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries did the federal government begin to recognize the southeastern Cherokees, Choctaws, and Seminoles. Most other groups felt little effect from heavy-handed allotment and forced acculturation policies...Moreover, the small size and isolated conditions of most southern Indian groups meant that their history was determined much more by local situations than by federal Indian policy. (p. 23)

Survival of the Indigenous populations of the South was threatened by the sale of American Indians and multiracial individuals into slavery and the export of many slaves to the West Indies, while racialized social structures often encouraged American Indian peoples to adopt elements of White culture, particularly Christian religion, or to form separate communities that were racially diverse (Williams).

In the 1830s, North Carolina and many other Southern states banned education for all people of color, which included both American Indians and people of multiracial descent, along with a number of other rights including land ownership, voting, serving on a jury, and bearing arms (McKee Evans, 1979; Nealy, 2008; Neely, 1979). A similar regulation in Virginia in 1857 stipulated that non-White individuals could not own firearms, which limited the cultural practices of Indigenous hunting societies (Rountree, 1979). Like African Americans, many American Indian groups and individuals were the victims of hate crimes and harassment by White supremacist groups (McKee Evans). Trends in policy governing American Indian lands were typically predicated on the desirability of the land to Whites (Neely; Williams, 1979). The introduction of cotton and plantation culture around 1800 threatened vast portions of American

Indian lands, even reserved lands, such that by 1826 almost all Indian lands had been leased to Whites, and many of the American Indian landowners leasing these lands lacked the paperwork necessary to prove their ownership (Hudson, 1979). Whites obtained other lands regardless of their value out of fear of American Indians disrupting the social order. Seminole lands in Florida, for instance, were pursued for purchase because of the fear that Seminoles would harbor escaped slaves and host slave uprisings (Kersey Jr., 1979).

The first publicly funded school for American Indians in North Carolina was the Croatan Normal School for American Indians, founded in 1887, which later transitioned to post-secondary education and in 1971 became Pembroke University (McKee Evans, 1979; Neely, 2008). At the same time, many Southeastern tribes historically developed their own highly successful education systems within segregated schooling (Szasz, 1999). The lack of federal recognition of many tribes in the Southeast limited the resources available for schools and other institutions, particularly under segregation but also in rural areas today (Stanton, 1979). While American Indians in the South were historically subjected to rigorous blood quotas and complicated formulas for determining racial identity categories, particularly for excluding American Indians from classification as White (Rountree, 1979), recent decades saw more individuals self-identifying as American Indian since the Pan-American Indian movements of the 1960s and 1970s brought more positive attention to American Indian heritage. Pan-American Indian powwows and multi-tribe groups were thus a common form of ethnic association in the South since their origins in the early 20th century and particularly in the past 20 years (Hudson, 1979; Rountree; Williams, 1979). As Rountree noted, however, “A certain amount of ‘word struggling’ is still being waged...as Indian people live with a public that cannot believe they are Indians unless they dress in buckskin and feathers” (p. 45); Neely (1979) added that the effort to

maintain a simultaneous identity as “real Americans” and “real Indians” (p. 170) is a notable challenge for many tribes in the South, as for Indigenous peoples throughout the United States. As many American Indian groups have realized, mainstream American imaginings of Indian culture inhabit a narrow framework resistant to change (Williams); the relative invisibility of American Indian populations, histories, and contemporary issues in the South speaks to this phenomenon, with the addition of the unique legacy of slavery, segregation, and lack of recognition of the Indigenous peoples of the American Southeast. This complex historical context both shaped the present-day lives and experiences of the Occaneechi participants in my study and contributed to my analytical understanding of the meaning of heritage preservation and education initiatives within the Homeland Preservation Project to the reorganized Occaneechi participants.

International Movements for Indigenous Peoples

The reorganization of the Occaneechi tribe and formation of the Homeland Preservation Project can also be situated within a still broader context, the context of international movements relating to Indigenous rights and issues, and this global context provides another perspective for my analysis of Occaneechi identity as related to preservation and educational initiatives. The global legal and political frameworks that allowed the colonization of Indigenous peoples since the 16th century have been subjected to increasing scrutiny by Indigenous people in the international arena since the 1960s and 1970s (Lawlor, 2006). Many parallels can be drawn across nations, particularly in the areas of local control and language revitalization (Keegan, 2007). Indigenous populations faced similar land claims, citizenship, and culture and language loss issues in Australia, Canada, New Zealand, South Africa, Kenya, and the United States, while Indigenous groups in many more countries throughout the world also found common ground and

solidarity in making their concerns known in the global sphere (Bishop & Glynn, 2003; Doerr, 2004; Harrison & Papa, 2005; Lane, 2003). Indigenous people around the world have called for self-determination through local governance, practice of religion, and education and other institutions, with a comprehensive list of claims in the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues and the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2007).

American Indians were often viewed or treated as foreign populations within the United States, sparking comparisons with immigrant groups—American Indians were not granted citizenship until 1924, and the reservation system shares features of its organization and execution with the Japanese confinement camps established in the United States during WWII (French, 1994). The treatment of high profile American Indian individuals has also been elevated to international proportions, as in the case of Leonard Peltier, imprisoned with two life sentences in 1975 in the aftermath of the Wounded Knee occupation. Peltier, whose conviction was later found to be based on false testimonies and questionable court procedures, became an international figure on whose behalf groups and individuals around the world have petitioned for release on an ongoing basis (French).

The Cold War between the U.S. and the Soviet Union, the decolonization and anti-colonial movements in Africa, Asia, and the Middle East, and the Civil Rights Movement, all of which occurred during the decades of the 1940s to the 1970s, played a significant part in shaping an international stage for Indigenous rights movements (Cobb, 2008). American Indian activists in the 20th century chose a distinctly international context for their own debates and movements, with D'Arcy McNickle using America's Point Four Program for international development as a model for redressing American Indian poverty (Cobb) and with activists criticizing U.S. efforts to assist populations abroad while simultaneously failing to meet the needs of domestic

minorities. American Indian activists also participated in organizing pan-American efforts such as the Inter-American Indian Institute in 1940 (Cobb; Langston, 2003). The inter-tribal powwows that gained popularity during the same period were part of a broader trend of Indigenous groups presenting a unified front for claiming Indigenous identity and promoting relevant social causes while adapting to forces of globalization (Hirschfelder & Kreipe de Montaña, 1993; Kratz & Karp, 2006).

Globalization became a key issue in heritage preservation for Indigenous peoples worldwide as the world heritage movement took hold and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) became involved in establishing international initiatives on behalf of Indigenous cultures (Kirschenblatt-Gimblett, 2006b). UNESCO's designation of certain locations as World Heritage sites, based on nominations from member governments, has distinct implications for Indigenous peoples. The list even includes some historical roads and trade routes, which may span nations and even continents, with preservation efforts involving the intangible cultures of a range of Indigenous and migratory groups (Kirschenblatt-Gimblett). According to UNESCO, locations designated as World Heritage sites "belong to all the peoples of the world, irrespective of the territory on which they are located" (UNESCO, 2010). The World Heritage listing process, while designating resources and drawing tourism to the locations listed, is also "highly politicized" (Leask, 2006, p. 14). Kirschenblatt-Gimblett argued that such initiatives, which take a relativist standpoint on cultural diversity and sovereignty, may be at odds with other international efforts toward outcomes such as universal human rights (p. 185). Other efforts to universalize local and Indigenous heritage for the purpose of preservation, as in the Declaration on the Importance and Value of Universal Museums (2002)

drafted by eighteen museum directors to assert that museums serve people of all nations, have faced similar criticism (Kratz & Karp, 2006).

The international heritage industry thus provided a broad context for the crystallization of issues relating to Indigenous peoples all over the world. Many types of new museums grew out of these international heritage movements and pan-continental organizations of Indigenous peoples and minorities. Museum scholars have also argued that the colonial history against which many new museums aligned themselves in opposition imposed artificial national borders, and that international movements more accurately addressed Indigenous concerns (Morris, 1994; Pierce Erikson, Ward, & Wachendorf, 2002). As a result, museums often reach across borders to locate heritage and establish group identity. Ethnic groups have used museums as a tool for fostering international connections with institutions with similar objectives—for example, the Union of Community Museums of Oaxaca, Mexico provides a space for village heritage projects to establish pan-American networks (Camarena & Morales, 2006), and as I discuss in my findings, Occaneechi people have also fostered collaborative relationships and see themselves as connected with other Indigenous groups at the social, state, national, and international levels.

The international context of American Indian movements is significant to my study because it illustrates that political borders often do not reflect the limits of Indigenous peoples' concerns and involvement, and that many present-day Indigenous people identify with an international community as well as a local tribe. Furthermore, the prevailing Pan-American Indian movements, which influenced many of the contemporary North American tribes, were also fundamentally international in scope. The planning and impetus behind Indigenous museums are often related to the broader context of Indigenous activism and heritage movements both nationally and internationally, prompting museum organizers to evoke comparisons

between their tribes and others when setting goals and coordinating exhibit displays and educational events. Understanding these international contexts provided me with the necessary historical knowledge to conceptualize many possible influences for Occaneechi reorganization and Homeland Preservation Project planning.

Exploring New Forms of Museum

My case study is also situated within the context of scholarly literature highlighting the features of the new museums that have arisen since the 1960s, establishing several distinct types of new museum, and examining specific cases of each type. New museology is an expanding field of both practice and academic research, the development of which provided opportunities for Indigenous and other groups to establish new forms of the museum as models for representing cultural heritage and contemporary identities. As audiences and uses of museums and other collecting institutions grew and multiplied, so did the demands placed on them by society and the academy, culminating in the development of several new types of museums in the latter part of the 20th century (Kratz & Karp, 2006). These new institutions served various roles according to scholars of new museology, including:

Temples of civilization, sites for the creation of citizens, forums for debate, settings for cultural interchange and negotiation of values, engines of economic renewal and revenue generation, imposed colonialist enterprises, havens of elitist distinction and discrimination, and places of empowerment and recognition. (Kratz & Karp, p. 1)

Frictions between diverse and divergent types of museums under the umbrella of new museology reinforced the idea that the museum comprises a “varied and often changing set of practices, processes, and interactions” as a social technology (p. 2). Further contradictions arose between preservation and profit, as well as education and entertainment, with new museology “the

convergence of museums, the heritage industry, tourism, profit-making and pleasure-giving” (McLaughlin as cited by Kratz & Karp, p. 14).

A core area of new museology that continued to expand across a multitude of local contexts is the principle of illuminating and uncovering marginalized histories while promoting the voices and interests of underrepresented populations. One museum type, the *ecomuseum*, was known for placing the needs of a community at the center of the museum’s mission; coined in 1971 by George Henrie Rivière and Hugues de Varine as the movement began, “ecomuseum” is a translation of the French term “ecomusée,” and is meant to indicate the primacy of the human and natural environment of a community rather than the objects stored in a collection (Davis, 1999). René Rivard’s conceptual models for comparing the traditional museum and the ecomuseum convey this refocusing from elevated object to local community—the traditional museum consists of “building + collections + experts + public,” while the ecomuseum is “territory + heritage + memory + population” (Davis, p. 69). Furthermore, ecomuseums as preservation institutions were present- and future-oriented, attempting to bridge the stories and issues of the past, present, and future (Stokrocki, 1996). One example of the ecomuseum model in the United States is the Ak-Chin Indian Reservation in Arizona, which uses the Him-Dak, or museum building, as a space for displaying artifacts and holding community forums to discuss current issues and concerns (Hendry, 2005; Stockrocki).

Ecomuseums, however, represent just one of the approaches to collection and display within new museology, all of which were designed to approach preservation within a framework targeting community interest, development, and education. Another museum type that developed within new museology was the *ethnic museum*—“institutions formed by members of ethnic groups to collect, exhibit, and interpret the history, art, and culture of their communities”

(Loukaitou-Sideris & Grodach, 2004, p. 53). Ethnic museums typically focus on a single ethnic group and maintain goals of raising awareness and informing an outsider public about local area ethnic heritage and “hidden histories,” as well as contributions by a specific ethnic group to national historical narratives (Loukaitou-Sideris & Grodach, p. 67). Ethnic museums drew a number of critiques, including concerns that the institutions assume too authoritative a position regarding cultural authenticity and allow little room for diversity of experiences within an ethnic group or contemporary changes and adaptations (Loukaitou-Sideris & Grodach). Some scholars also argued that ethnic museums may contribute to cultural balkanization and fragmentation across ethnic lines—at the same time, however, advocates noted the value and utility of ethnic museums as cultural mediators and educators within a diverse society (Loukaitou-Sideris & Grodach).

A third museum type within new museology is the *immigration museum*—while national museums traditionally built cohesive national identities out of diverse publics, immigration museums in the United States told the specific story of nation-building through transnational migration. Ellis Island in New York and Angel Island in San Francisco are the two main examples of this type in the United States, and both convey highly controversial histories (Hoskins, 2007). In attempting to tell the complicated stories of those who passed through Ellis Island and its competing narratives as an American icon, the Ellis Island immigration museum in New York faced challenges and tensions in constructing the meaning of the site. An integral part of the current Ellis Island museum was the use of oral histories and quotations on display that utilize multiple perspectives—part of a larger trend adopted by the National Parks Service and other institutions (McDonnell, 2003; Smith, 1992). As with ethnic museums, immigration museums are not without their critics, some of whom suggested that the display of multiple

perspectives creates a false sense of completeness of experience and renders invisible the negative experiences of those who were denied entry as a result of the inspection system (Smith).

In addition to creating new types of museums, new museology furthermore influenced the exhibits of traditional or mainstream institutions and their administration. While museums were historically the property of a single patron or collector and the interpretation of objects subject to the collector's individual taste and experience (Dubin, 1999), contemporary museums realize accountability to diverse audiences and often attempt to consult with the people they are meant to represent. The Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1990 opened a collaborative dialogue between mainstream museums and American Indian groups that makes an effort to share authority and ownership of heritage that was previously restricted to one-sided interpretation (Bernstein, 1992; Peltomaki, 1999). In many cases, traditional museums consult local Indigenous people not only about the meaning and context for artifacts, but also so that museums may portray the contemporary existence of Indigenous people within the community (Hendry, 2005). Such representations of contemporary lives may include art, music, film, recorded interviews, and even community members on site talking to visitors or handling objects (Hendry). Several mainstream museums in particular have made significant changes to the way exhibits are planned and curated, including the Plains Indians Museum in the Buffalo Bill Historical Center of Cody, Wyoming, and an exhibit on the Seneca Indians in the New York State Museum that focuses on both Indigenous and colonizing peoples historically and today (Hendry; Peltomaki). In collecting and analyzing my data, it was relevant for me to understand the context for the many new museum types and changes in mainstream museum representations that resulted from new museology in order to recognize the features the Occaneechi Homeland Preservation Project shares with many of these museum types, and the relationship of the

Homeland Preservation Project and related initiatives to a broader shift in the way museums represent cultures and identities.

Finally, changes in the culture industry also accompanied new museology, as tourists are increasingly attuned to issues of authenticity in cultural representations (Leary & Sholes, 2000; McKercher & du Cros, 2002). Despite their own position as consumers, many tourists are sharply critical of representations that seem packaged for tourist consumptions and desire cultural experiences that they perceive as authentic. While these predilections offer an advantage to new museum forms with their focus on alternative histories and community interest, they can also provide challenges for institutions struggling with limited capital for innovative exhibits (Leary & Sholes). While new museology upheld a goal of telling “history from below” through unconventional sources of knowledge and material culture, “committed to re-creating the overlooked lives of the common person” (Dubin, 1999, p. 9), it also created room for a host of controversies and debates about whose story is told, where ideological and financial support is drawn, how authenticity and meaning are constructed, and when preservation of a culture becomes “museumification” (Stein, 1998). The growing field of new museology thus provides me with another relevant context for my study. Overlapping historical contexts highlight some of the ambiguity and tensions underlying the Homeland Preservation Project. Knowledge of these contexts assisted me in analyzing my data for the complexity and diversity of meanings that emerge out of ambiguous definitions for new museums like the Homeland Preservation Project and the tensions between the many interests served by these new institutions.

Museum Case Studies

For comparative insight relative to my case and findings, in the following section I turn to pertinent case study research on museums by scholars who also examined individual museum

institutions as their units of analysis. These case studies are divided into those that also focus on tribal museums by American Indian groups and those that examine local museums other than tribal museums, particularly ethnic museums by groups other than American Indians, but which take a similar approach to examining group identity and representation.

Case Studies on American Indian Museums

In recent years, a number of scholars turned their attention toward the diverse ways that exhibits and institutions are interpreted and used by public audiences, as well as the dynamic that exists between museums, communities, and visitors (Kratz & Karp, 2006). Some in-depth case studies provide a close analysis of the museum display, planning and curating, and visitor experiences (Kratz & Karp). A number of these case studies focused on museums that are owned and operated by American Indian tribal groups, while others examined portrayals of American Indians in the exhibit space or compared tribal museums with representations of American Indians in mainstream museums.

Clifford (1991) presented a multiple case study of museum representations of Northwest Coast Indians, examining the University of British Columbia Museum of Anthropology and the Victoria Museum as mainstream museums and the U'mista Cultural Centre and the Kwagiulth Museum as local institutions. In his study, Clifford conducted a number of cross-case comparisons, concluding that the local meanings enmeshed in the tribal museums' displays reflected a shift from artifact to memorabilia—the tribal museums conveyed a sense of individuals' remembered past, as opposed to archaeological or anthropological evidence. The author also noted the ways in which tribal or local museums, while firmly rooted in the context of a community, also “aspire to wider recognition, to a certain national or global participation” (Clifford, p. 225). Morris (1994) also focused on Northwest Coast cultures, critiquing the

tendency of mainstream representations to focus on a disappearance narrative that inhibits American Indian people finding evidence of their lives and histories in museums. Morris also noted the implications of Native-controlled representations for identity and memory, relating recollection of objects to recollection of histories (Morris). These two studies, with their focus on identity as it relates to heritage preservation and display, took an approach similar to that which I used in constructing the Occaneechi case.

Lawlor (2006) conducted a multiple case study of public self-representations by American Indians, including the Mashantucket Pequot Reservation; the Navajo Museum, Library, and Visitors' Center; the Wind River Reservation Museum; and the powwow of the Shoshone and Arapaho in Wyoming as heritage performance. Lawlor noted the postmodern approach of spectacle, essence, and multiple images of American Indian identity presented by the Mashantucket Pequot Reservation, and compared this approach to the Wind River Reservation powwow, which disrupts the dominant narrative of cooperation and friendliness to mainstream culture by enacting cultural distinctiveness. According to Lawlor, both the Wind River Reservation and the Navajo examples use melancholy as a coping mechanism for colonized peoples to deal with cultural and political losses while maintaining memory of heritage and culturally distinct ways of being. Lawlor's case study provided a model for studying multiple sites of preservation and education within a single museum case. Furthermore, Lawlor's findings reminded me to keep analysis open to findings that convey multiple, contradictory, and ambiguous experiences of Occaneechi tribal members within the Homeland Preservation Project.

Kaeppeler's (1992) multiple case study examined the representation of Native Hawaiians in Native-controlled and mainstream museums. Kaeppeler noted the significance of museum institutions as storehouses for sacred objects and the importance of culturally appropriate

treatment of material culture: “Museums at home, as historical treasure houses, can assist in the forging of cultural, ethnic, or national identity, and can serve as a link to a future that recognizes its roots in the past” (Kaepler, p. 473). Hendry’s (2005) multiple case study also addressed several Native-controlled institutions “concerned with recording and displaying their cultural difference, not as a salvage exercise, but as a blueprint for the future of their descendents” (p. 4). Hendry examined Native-controlled representations as dismantling culturally imperialist portrayals of American Indians as extinct peoples of the past, and notes the changing face of many mainstream museums that depict Indigenous peoples as they have increasingly employed Indigenous advisory boards or curators. Through the examples of the Woodland Cultural Centre, community museums and *casas de la cultura* in Mexico, the Seneca National Museum, the Red Lake Nation tribal information center, and the First Nations Confederacy of Cultural Education Centers, Hendry illustrated the ways in which Indigenous museums present highly varied ideas about preservation and conservation of material culture. Across cases, Hendry noted that Indigenous institutions were used primarily to conserve heritage for the sake of future generations of Indigenous-descended people, and were used only secondarily for sharing contributions to history with members of the broader public—“they emphasize first the need to understand themselves, to value and retain their own rich sources of identity...[and] are often willing to share their cultural treasure with outsiders as well” (Hendry, p. 103). These case studies provided me with an indication of the variety of American Indian ideas about heritage preservation, as well as findings that resembled Occaneechi interest in heritage preservation for the sake of future generations in addition to community education.

A number of single case studies also present detailed portraits of tribally controlled museums and enterprises useful for me to consider relative to my study and case. A case study

on the Makah Cultural and Research Center (Pierce Erikson, Ward, & Wachendorf, 2002) examined how exhibit representations of Indigenous buildings were also used by living communities, and noted the ways in which tribal museums have grown out of resistance and accommodation to the colonial era. As the authors asserted, “In reaction to a long, colonial history of disrupting traditional knowledge systems, Native American communities are adopting and reforming the museum media to create cultural centers they hope will assist them in reaffirming and representing Makah identity” (p. 67). As such, Pierce Erikson, Ward, and Wachendorf asserted that tribal museums shift the power of representation and the discipline of museology as a whole through the choice of what to display, how to categorize and portray objects and their meanings, and legal structures for material and intellectual property rights. Furthermore, the authors made a dual claim for the value of reconstructed and rediscovered histories enabled by local cultural centers and the value of contributions of research conducted on living communities (Pierce Erikson, Ward, & Wachendorf). Fuller (1992) also conducted a single case study of a tribal institution, the Ak-Chin Indian Community Ecomuseum Project. Fuller described the initiative as a community-based education model that transformed the Ak-Chin community as a tool for economic and cultural growth and development. Fuller analyzed the Ak-Chin community’s use of the museum institution to foster community dialogue about farming technologies and agriculture management and to professionalize community members’ efforts through the seeking of advanced degrees, museum research, and internships (Fuller). In another example, a case study of Dickson Mounds Museum focused on the issue of repatriation and reform of a mainstream museum that was protested and transformed in the 1980s under American Indian involvement, and utilized comparative strategies to analyze the museum before and after being restructured (Langford, 2007). These case studies all addressed Indigenous

communities' efforts to change an existing structure or contemporary community, and suggested still more types of findings I could expect regarding the goals and purposes of the Homeland Preservation Project. The Ak-Chin case study provided a particularly good model for examining the Occaneechi case as the Occaneechi also have a long-term plan of placing a multipurpose office and museum building with meeting space and classrooms on the Homeland site.

Finally, Bodinger de Uriarte's (2007) ethnography of the Foxwoods Resort casino and museum was particularly similar to my case study because it involved extended engagement with the Mashantucket Pequot Tribal Nation. In this work that examined the public performance of tribal identity as constructed in displays and historical narratives, and in choosing to study Native-controlled representations, Bodinger de Uriarte reminded the reader that "Native self-representation powerfully challenges the effects of centuries of images and understandings of Indianness forged in the U.S. public sphere" (p. 4). Like the Occaneechi, the Mashantucket Pequot tribe was a recently recognized and emerging entity at the time of study, and the author considered the tribe as an imagined nation, composed of "an in-filling of framework and designation with a performance of belonging" (p. 11). The particular descriptions of the tribe and issues they were faced with are quite similar to the Occaneechi in my study: the Mashantucket Pequot tribe has contended with challenges to their legitimacy from outside based on racial appearance, blood-quantum reckoning, and cultural practice. Bodinger de Uriarte also examined how, with a booming casino business, contradictions between successful business enterprise and public perception of authenticity emerged—as Bodinger de Uriarte suggested mainstream Americans perceive, "'real' Indians are poor" (p. 50). As the Mashantucket Pequot tribe assembled representations of their community for visitors to the casino, Bodinger de Uriarte examined the ways in which exhibit planners assembled overlapping narratives from multiple

conceptions of Indian identity to create a site where imagined pasts can be “read in relation to one another” (p. 90). As one of Bodinger de Uriarte’s informants noted, “The problem indicated by questions of who and how is an Indian is that the material conditions of being Indian have changed over time, while the images of Indianness have not” (as cited in Bodinger de Uriarte, p. 76). Bodinger de Uriarte compared this exhibition strategy with Benjamin’s concept of the present as the wreckage of the past, out of which narratives are constructed to serve a particular purpose in the present, in order to understand the Mashantucket Pequot identity representations as “antagonistic—but always related—processes of contestation between local definitions and discourses of self and the dominant narratives of racial essences and cultural stereotypes” (pp. 101-102). Bodinger de Uriarte furthermore used his case study to present an argument for the power of tribally-controlled museums as venues for enacting and performing self-representation and unsettling the dominant histories that exist in the public imagination, and suggested that American Indian museums that do so may also encourage the recognition of other marginalized histories and ways of understanding the past and the present. This case study provided the closest model for my research focus and design, with its emphasis on the issues of identity and representation for a newly recognized American Indian tribe and ethnographic data collection methods. This case also encouraged me to consider the possibility and importance of conveying multiple and overlapping representations of Indigenous identity and culture within projects like those of the Occaneechi, which reorganize the tribal entity, recover heritage, and reconstruct cultural knowledge from fragments of records, memory, and experience.

Case Studies on Other Local Museums

In addition to the case studies in the previous discussion that examined tribal museums and museum representations of American Indians specifically, a number of other case studies

focused on preservation and representation in local area museums more broadly, a category that includes ethnic museums and neighborhood museums in addition to the tribal museums already discussed. As Levin (2007) argued, “local museums *are* America” (p. 8), and while local museums may have limited spheres of influence, they are often highly significant to their communities and their citizens. Furthermore, Levin suggested that small museums have become particularly important in articulating cross-cultural tolerance and reflecting on difference since September 11, 2001, and Vallance (2007) also argued for the educative potential of museums in a multiple case study of contemporary American museums. Levin asserted that local museums, far from being inconsequential or lacking representative qualities of broader social phenomena, “are central to understanding the forces that create communities in the United States” (p. 25). He argues for their scholarly significance in the claim that

For us, local museums are museums of influence, deserving critical and public attention, because they may ultimately tell scholars more about contemporary life than all the prances of the Smithsonian together...Local museums offer us glimpses at the contradictions and dilemmas evident in any effort to present or represent culture. (Levin, p. 25)

Many community or ethnic museums in the United States and in other countries are local attempts to navigate and convey a painful historical past, and a number of case studies have examined such institutions, including the Angkor temples and the Tuol Sleng Prison Museum in Cambodia (Muan, 2006), the District Six Museum in South Africa (Rassool, 2006), Ghana’s Cape Coast Castle museum (Mullen Kreamer, 2006), and various local efforts toward African American historical preservation and representation (Davis Ruffins, 1992). Archibald (2004) and Kratz and Karp (2006) examined other communities engaged in local heritage projects,

reconstructions, and re-enactments in an effort to promote dialogue on locally relevant issues. These scholars observed local museums' efforts to define communities despite shifting boundaries based on ethnicity, class, and culture, and these studies also provided analytical insights into the role of the Homeland Preservation Project and related educational initiatives within the changing ethnic and cultural definition of the Occaneechi people historically and today. The Homeland project is also a locally situated reconstruction, highlighting the agricultural history of the local area and working in partnership with other local tourism ventures, historical societies, and school systems, so it was important for me to be able to understand the initiative as a local project in addition to a tribal museum.

Reconstructed villages in which local area historical moments are re-enacted provide another subject of study, including Snow's (1993) study of Plimoth Plantation and Handler and Gable's (1997) work on colonial Williamsburg. Snow examined performance or simulation ethnography as a form of education used to encourage consideration of the experiences of others. Snow considered Plimoth Plantation as part of the living history movement, a concept introduced in the late 1960s, and suggests that both the affectations of re-enactors and the sightseeing by visitors are performed rituals (Snow, p. 7). Snow used the case study as an opportunity to defend dramatization of collective myths as a cultural and social activity, while also recognizing the historical irony that the Pilgrims themselves hated the theater and often condemned it in their sermons. Handler and Gable also focused on the type of history re-enacted since the 1970s—a new social history that attempts to shift history from the domain of great men and elites and to acknowledge conflict, controversy, and common experiences. Like Snow, Handler and Gable noted the ways in which both the staff and the visitors portray set roles at the museum, and put forth a constructionist interpretation of how museums and heritage sites may alter their messages

to fit the needs of a particular social or political climate. Handler and Gable's study design was relevant to my own study because they also emphasized museum planning as the focus, rather than the messages produced by museum texts; the authors examined how museum messages may change over time and constitute a social process, and criticized the falsely neat division museum scholars often create between producers and consumers of messages (Handler & Gable). These findings informed my goal of learning about Occaneechi planning processes for the Homeland Preservation Project and related initiatives. Like both Snow's and Handler and Gable's studies, my study focused on a historic reconstruction that provides a site for Occaneechi people to engage in living history demonstrations as part of visitor education, so their findings on the performances of culture that take place at a reconstructed village informed my analysis of performed Occaneechi identity at the Homeland project.

Still other scholars constructed case studies of local community efforts to reconstruct an idealized past, as with the House of Seven Gables reconstruction in Salem, Massachusetts, which was seemingly based largely on visitor expectations and preconceived notions of history (Christopher, 2007), the Old Cowtown Museum in Wichita, Kansas that conveys a fictional rural heritage (Price, 2007), and the democratic utopia of the living museum at Arthurdale, West Virginia that depicts New Deal-era subsistence homesteading (Patterson, 2007). While these case studies explicitly addressed how museums actively construct imagined and idealized histories, Levin (2007) argued that all museums engage in performances of culture and theatricality of presentation to some degree, and that these functions often complicate the educational and preservation goals of the institution. Rather than lamenting the effect of enacted stories on historical accuracy, Levin instead asserted that local museums are highly useful for examining contemporary cultures and their interactions, claiming that "local museums allow us to work

through and imagine ways to represent the divergent voices and uncertainties of our own times” (p. 263). These scholars presented findings on idealized museum representations and their critiques of these representations encouraged me to also analyze Occaneechi representations of heritage and identity, like any museum representation, as idealized constructions in some respect. Overall, the case studies of these many types of local museums provided valuable insights into specific segments of American society and contribute to a growing mosaic of understanding about the diverse histories and contemporary lives they represent. Like each of these case studies, my study of the Homeland Preservation Project represents the local experiences of Occaneechi people, but also contributes to the scholarly understanding of tribal museums and other local heritage projects as a broader phenomenon.

Comparison with cases in the literature informed my case study design and my analysis of the emergent themes in the case of the Occaneechi Homeland Preservation Project. While my own case study design, outlined in Chapter 3, was a single case study, I also make comparisons in my findings between the Homeland project and other museum education initiatives in which Occaneechi people have been involved or with which Occaneechi people compare their own museum making. As Vogt (2002) argued, ethnographic research is replete with comparison regardless of whether or not it espouses a multiple-case design. Qualitative inquiry favors the collection and portrayal of multiple perspectives within a single study, and I used multiple perspectives from Occaneechi tribal members to add an additional comparative dimension by examining each perspective as a distinct aspect of the phenomenon in question. In Chapter 3, I discuss this comparative approach in more detail as I outline my case study design and the specific procedures that I used for collecting and analyzing my data.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

To answer the research questions developed based on my understanding of a range of cross-disciplinary theoretical traditions and scholarly work, I used qualitative methodology with ethnographic data collection methods and inductive analysis. In this chapter, I outline the procedures I followed in conducting a qualitative case study from design, to analysis, to findings. The matrix of research questions, data sources, and analysis methods appears in Chapter 1.

Research Design

To examine the Occaneechi Band of the Saponi Nation Homeland Preservation Project, I used a single case study design with emergent and flexible implementation. Case study is the method of choice for “exploring in depth a program, an event, an activity, a process, or one or more individuals” (Creswell, 2003, p. 15). Yin (2009) described several rationales for choosing a single case for study. The Occaneechi case is a revelatory case, one of the possible rationales suggested by Yin. The Homeland Preservation Project is a revelatory case as an initiative of a recently recognized Indigenous group in the Southeastern United States with distinctive cultural and historical contexts and related identity constructions. While other small tribal organizations in the region may share some similarities with the Occaneechi, the lack of federal recognition for most Southern tribes has resulted in strong local contextual influences, producing histories and contemporary outcomes distinct for each group. Thus, I chose the single case for my study as a distinctive example of the phenomenon of tribal heritage projects and museums (Payne & Payne, 2004). Additionally, in serving as a revelatory case, my case study of the Homeland Preservation Project provides access to a previously unexamined phenomenon that may generate new ideas

(Payne & Payne; Yin). Because the Homeland Preservation Project is an in-progress heritage project with plans for additional future development, the case offers insights into the particular identity and representation constructions that take place during the planning and execution process from the point of view of decision-makers and contributors to the project. Finally, I will also have the option to supplement this project to become a longitudinal case, in which I may examine the single case over a period of time that extends beyond completion of my dissertation (Yin).

While case studies may be either quantitative or qualitative (Payne & Payne, 2004; Yin, 2009), I chose qualitative methods and ethnographic data collection techniques, particularly in-depth interviewing, observation, and collection of documents. I was particularly influenced by Bodinger de Uriarte's (2007) ethnographic case study of the Seneca tribal museum in choosing ethnographic methods of data collection for my design because his study used such methods to generate complex and nuanced understandings of American Indian identity for a tribe that, like the Occaneechi, was recently recognized and used a museum institution to navigate issues of identity and visibility. The design of my study was also emergent and flexible. This design allowed me to adapt my study to pursue additional lines of inquiry as understanding deepened and to produce analytical understanding inductively from the site-specific data collected as advocated by Patton (2002) and Payne and Payne. Emergent features in my design allowed me to conduct observations of on-site and off-site activities as opportunities arose and to gather new documents that were created while I was in the field. I also used emergent codes and categories of analysis in order to benefit from the breadth of analytical possibilities in ethnographic data. While I did not change my initial research questions or the data types I used over the course of the study, the emergent design allowed me to use documents that I had not identified prior to

entering the field, such as the newsletters and educational materials that the Occaneechi tribal office created during my data collection period, and to conduct additional follow-up interviews.

Theoretical Perspectives

I employed a blended theoretical perspective, incorporating several perspectives into my study to help me build an understanding of the Homeland Preservation Project that was flexible and open with regard to *a priori* theoretical ideas and able to benefit from a range of perspectives on the phenomenon of study. Because I was working with an Indigenous community, it was important to me to have a flexible set of theoretical ideas that allowed me to be sensitive to the historical and social marginalization of Indigenous groups, as well as to the multiple forms of agency Indigenous communities have exercised through the use of social and cultural institutions like the museum. At the same time, ethnographic methods allowed me to acquire the descriptive data about my host community necessary for developing further analysis of the Homeland case. Finally, because my priority in research was to respectfully hear and understand the voices and perspectives of my participants and to incorporate emergent issues into my findings, I was informed by Indigenous Knowledge as a separate epistemology for understanding people's experiences learning and knowing.

Two of the most salient perspectives, both in international and comparative education and in museum studies, are critical theory and post-colonial theory. Ideas from both critical theory and post-colonial theory have been used in museum studies, which is an interdisciplinary field that examines such topics as history and nationhood, colonialism, culture studies, gender, art, and rhetoric (Sherman & Rogoff, 1994). As Crotty (1998) has explained, critical theory "emphasizes that particular sets of meanings, because they have come into being in and out of the give-and-take of social existence, exist to serve hegemonic interests. Each set of meanings supports

particular power structures” (pp. 59-60). The main contribution critical theory made to my design and analysis was the notion that social and historical context informs my understanding of the present-day experiences of people (Bentz & Shapiro, 1998; Crotty). Post-colonial theory arose to examine the responses of colonized peoples to European imperialism, and “addresses all aspects of the colonial process from the beginning of colonial contact” (Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin, 1995, p. 1). The main idea that I took from post-colonial theory is that experiences within and after colonialism are multiple, complex, and ambiguous, and colonial histories encompass a series of linkages that are neither linear nor always directly oppositional (Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin).

Because I was conducting research with Indigenous participants, I also had to consider Indigenous scholars’ criticisms of grand theory, including critical theory and post-colonial theory, for being Eurocentric and androcentric. Harding (1993) claimed that the monopolization of legitimate knowledge by scholars, policy-makers, and highly educated people imposes boundaries on public understanding and enforces a type of illiteracy among people with less academic knowledge. Advocates of Indigenous Knowledge, such as Villegas, Neugebauer, and Venegas (2008), also asserted a need for the academy to acknowledge alternative ways of knowing that have not traditionally been included in dominant Western theoretical frameworks. These theorists and methodologists place Indigenous knowledges at the center of their investigations and shift the taken-for-granted epistemologies of social science research. In attempting to redefine the boundaries of theoretical knowledge, Indigenous scholars have pointed out a number of critiques of critical and post-colonial theory that I kept in mind during my analysis. I was particularly interested in critiques that critical theories tend to focus on grand narratives that lack cultural specificity and sensitivity, and that post-colonial theories of hybridity

may overlook the imminent dangers of cultural loss for Indigenous peoples (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999). The theoretical perspectives I brought to my research design, then, were “multiple, simultaneous, and interruptive” (Lather, 2007, p. 2), and, like all theoretical perspectives, “provisional and tentative” (Sipe & Constable, 1996, p. 162). I represented these multiple theoretical influences in Figure 2 to illustrate how ideas that come from divergent perspectives and embrace different assumptions about knowledge and its creation interacted in my design.

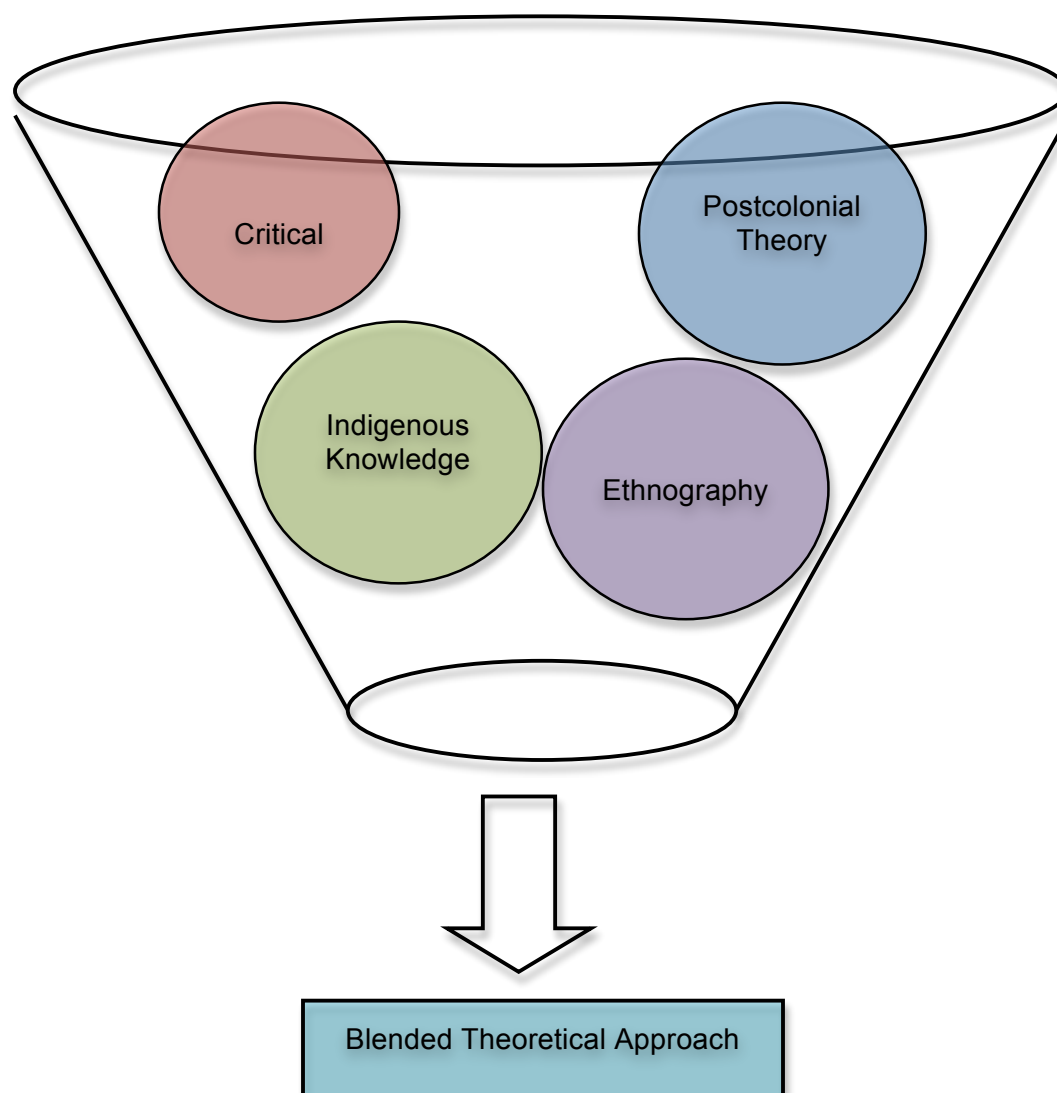


Figure 2. Major theoretical traditions influencing the study design.

Setting for the Study

The Homeland Preservation Project was the primary site for my case study, although I also included the following related secondary sites: the Occaneechi Band of the Saponi Nation tribal office in Mebane, North Carolina; the North Carolina Museum of History in Raleigh, North Carolina; Oconeechee State Park in Clarkesville, Virginia; and the National Museum of the American Indian in Washington, DC. The study was broadly set in the Piedmont region of North Carolina in the Southeastern United States, and I gathered data not only at the Homeland site, but also at the secondary sites and at some tribal members' homes. The community surrounding the Homeland site is a rural, agricultural setting, and the Homeland site is 25 acres of former farmland once sharecropped by Occaneechi families. I provide additional details on the Homeland site's history and composition in Chapter 4, as the construction of my case included acquiring an understanding of these sites and the context for the Homeland Preservation Project. I asked the following research questions in order to build my case study of the Homeland Preservation Project as a preservation and education initiative of an Indigenous group in the Southeastern United States:

1. What are the general features of Occaneechi education and preservation initiatives and the Homeland Preservation Project, including physical boundaries and temporal boundaries?
2. How are educational outreach and heritage preservation initiatives combined to encourage visitors to develop new understandings about this community?
3. What meanings do the Homeland Preservation Project and related educational programs have for tribal members, particularly relating to their personal and group identity and the representation of that identity to others?

4. How have the grassroots approach and site-based model of the Homeland Preservation Project influenced the structure, representation, and execution of the project's educational components?
5. How do tribal members balance the interests and needs of tribal members and visitors in the representation of cultural heritage and identity in this project?
6. What types of knowledge and power are constructed, exercised, and transferred in the Homeland Preservation Project and how do they differ for tribal members and visitors?

Data Types

I addressed each research question by gathering data from a combination of sources designed to illuminate certain elements of the particular issue or subject. I used documents, interviews, and observations as primary data sources. Each of these types of data provided different information and insights, and each data source required specific procedures for locating and gathering the data.

In order to investigate my research questions, I first needed to obtain background knowledge of the community and the Homeland Preservation Project. I conducted some background research in the fall of 2009, gathering information from scholarly literature on the American Indian heritage of the region, the state, and the Alamance and Orange county areas in which the majority of Occaneechi tribal members reside. I also attended the annual School Days on the Homeland site in October 2009 and the North Carolina American Indian Heritage Celebration in November 2009 to observe educational programming on- and off-site. After receiving IRB approval for my project in December 2009, I conducted background interviews with the tribal historian to gain additional familiarity with the tribe's history and I gathered

documents that included tribal history and governance documents, educational materials, promotional documents for the site, and newspaper articles documenting the process of Occaneechi recognition and information about how Occaneechi history has been shaped over the past several centuries. With the tribal historian and office manager serving as my key informants and liaisons with tribal members, I then used purposeful and judgment sampling of tribal members to identify individuals involved with the Homeland Preservation Project who would serve as information-rich sources and who would be willing to participate in the study (Patton, 2002). I conducted interviews over a period of six months and also collected observational data at off-site locations during May and June 2010. I returned to the field in November 2010 and used theoretical sampling to select informants for follow-up interviewing on several key issues in the findings.

Informants and Interviews

I identified an initial set of 14 potential interview participants through purposeful sampling; in keeping with Patton's (2002) guidelines, I used purposeful and judgment sampling in collaboration with the tribal office staff to identify participants involved in and knowledgeable about the Homeland Preservation Project, and snowball sampling to identify and confirm additional participants based on their involvement, as identified by informants. During the later stage of follow-up interviews, after my main field season of data collection, I used theoretical sampling to fill in gaps in data for my analysis. A majority of interview participants came from the tribal council leadership, and I selected additional participants from outside the tribal council who had otherwise been involved in preservation or education initiatives. I used the following selection criteria:

1. Participants had to be adult tribal members of the Occaneechi community as defined by tribal organization rules and cultural practice.
2. Participants had to self-identify as active in the tribal community.
3. Participants had to self-identify as knowledgeable about or involved in the Homeland Preservation Project and related educational programs.

I created and used interview protocols for background interviews with each key informant and semi-structured in-depth interviews with all participants (see Appendix A). As recommended by Patton (2002), I did not use the research questions themselves in interviews; instead, I created two interview protocols composed of interview questions designed to elicit information useful in answering the research questions. I followed up on the first two interview protocols with a third protocol of questions pertaining only to the issue of how tribal members saw the Homeland project in relation to the other museums they mentioned in the first round of interviews. I also documented contextual or situational factors related to the interviews as appropriate in field notes taken during and after each interview.

Having obtained informed consent from participants, I recorded interviews using a digital audio recorder. I transcribed recordings as soon as possible after conducting each interview, creating verbatim transcripts of the entire audio recording including both my questions and participants' responses. The only information from the audio recordings that I omitted from interview transcripts was identifying information about participants and names of other people they mentioned in their responses. To abide by human subjects research stipulations, I removed all identifying information from the data record to keep participant identities confidential. Instead, I recorded identifying information about participants in a separate file from interview transcripts.

I ultimately interviewed nine individuals: five Occaneechi men, two Occaneechi women, one male staff member who identified as American Indian but was not Occaneechi, and one female staff member whose husband and children are Occaneechi. I attempted to contact three other Occaneechi women who were members of the tribal council in 2009 and 2010 and one other Occaneechi woman who was a demonstrator at the School Days event in 2009, but was unable to reach them. While all of the people I interviewed shared very personal information about their work with the tribe and I acknowledge that more personal context could have added to the findings of my study, I made a decision to provide very little of such personal context in order to protect the confidentiality of the participants in my study. Because many of the people I interviewed work closely with one another or are even family members, I tried to avoid framing the perspectives that they shared in a way that might result in interpersonal conflict. By contextualizing my participants' responses within specific issues and themes instead of in relation to each person's individual life experiences, I chose to focus on the many perspectives on each issue rather than a holistic portrayal of each person.

Documents

I gathered documents for analysis from a variety of public and tribal records, some of which I identified prior to entering the field and others that emerged during the data collection phase. Documents I used regarding the establishment of the Occaneechi Band of the Saponi Nation and the Homeland Preservation Project were primarily published on the tribe's website and in the tribe's newsletters, and were available for public access. They included newspaper articles, the tribal constitution, tribal history, and the mission and vision of the tribe. I also gathered promotional and educational materials such as DVDs, brochures, and flyers for the Homeland site, School Days, powwow, and other educational events in which the tribe took part.

As I learned about the existence of specific educational documents from participants while in the field, I requested and obtained access to them from the tribal historian or tribal office manager. I also consulted newspaper articles about the Occaneechi recognition process published in local newspapers and available in archival records, and used accounts of Occaneechi history from academic sources and the tribe to create the historical account of the Occaneechi Band of the Saponi Nation provided in my case study. I received access to all of the documents that I had identified as data sources prior to entering the field, since the documents I had already specifically identified were available for public access online. While I entertained the possibility of using minutes from previous tribal meetings in which the Homeland project was discussed, I did not obtain any minutes and instead used only observational data from tribal meetings that I attended in the field.

Observations

I supplemented data gathered from interviews and documents about participants' experiences with observations of educational programs being conducted on tribal lands and at off-site locations. The primary on-site event I observed was the annual Occaneechi School Days, two days of visits from local area school children. I also observed the North Carolina American Indian Heritage Celebration in which the Occaneechi took part along with other state-recognized tribes, and conducted observational visits of the Occaneechee State Park visitor center in Clarksville, Virginia and the National Museum of the American Indian in Washington, DC. Several participants mentioned these two museums as informing their perceptions of museum displays about American Indian people. I observed both how tribal members executed educational programs and how visitors received the educational material as representations and performances of culture. I also had several chances to observe some of the daily work and

activities of the Occaneechi staff through visits to the tribal office and during other planned events such as tribal council meetings. I documented these data using an observation protocol to structure my data collection (see Appendix B). I supplemented the observation protocol with additional detailed field notes recording my responses and information not anticipated in the protocol, and I took photographs, where permitted, to document and provide a context for observed events.

Other Data Types

I created expanded field notes from notes I took while collecting interview and observation data, as well as any time I visited the tribal office or spoke with the office staff, and these field notes constituted an additional data source. My handwritten field notes, as recommended by Patton (2002), contained descriptive information and my personal reactions or observer comments to myself. To create my expanded field notes, I typed my handwritten field notes, including date, time, and location. I then made notes to differentiate descriptive data from observer reactions. I also added additional comments where a specific issue or event stood out to me as significant for either later data collection or analysis. I added observer comments that included any additional information that I recalled, but had not had time to include in my handwritten field notes. I added methodological comments about potential data sources, challenges, and opportunities for reciprocity. Finally, I added analytical comments about any emerging themes or theoretical connections that I made with the field notes. These expanded field notes not only provided me with a source of observational data, but also allowed me to plan emergent data sources, track the data collection process, and develop analytical insights.

I also took photographs of the site during observations. I used the photographs to corroborate observational data and I analyzed the photographs as a data source. Patton (2002)

advocated taking photographs during qualitative data collection to help the researcher recall details of observations, elaborate on descriptions of a setting, and vividly convey the setting to others. I tried to take photographs that would convey the physical environment of the events I was observing, as well as the set up of the museum exhibits and key types of visitor interaction. I relied heavily on photography during museum visits in order to document how exhibits were organized and what objects and information they contained. Rather than documenting every word of a display text in my field notes, I photographed the displays and used the photographs to record and later reread significant pieces of text. My photographs were helpful for recalling additional details about the setting that I used to describe places and events that I observed. I also analyzed the photographs as a data source separate from my observations, looking for details relating to the site layout of and human behavior within museum spaces.

Finally, I wrote methodological memos throughout the data collection process to chart my progress and keep track of new research directions and insights, and these memos, like my field notes, also served as additional data sources during analysis. I wrote the memos in the same form as my field notes, recording the date, location, and event that caused me to reflect on my research process. In these methodological memos, I included observer comments relating to any events I had observed, methodological comments regarding obstacles to data collection or changes I needed to make to the study design, and analytical comments about any emerging themes and what data sources included them. The memos assisted me not only in cross-checking details of data, context, and process, but also in documenting my own researcher comments and observations during the field data collection experience.

Gaps in the Data

As I wrapped up my data collection, I concluded that I had reached saturation, which according to Charmaz (2006) means that “gathering fresh data no longer sparks new theoretical insights, nor reveals new properties of these core theoretical principles” (p. 113). Patton (2002) described the same signs to researchers that they are ready to draw data collection to a close in the following way: “data-based patterns have emerged, and the whole takes shape” (p. 324). When revising the write-up of the findings and receiving feedback from my advisor, however, I discovered that I had not fully explored the depth and breadth of informants’ responses to questions of how the Homeland Preservation Project compared to other museums because I had not visited all of the museums that informants mentioned until after I concluded the first round of interviews. In order to fully understand the comparisons that informants had made, and in order to obtain the highest quality of analysis, it was necessary for me to conduct follow-up interviews with several informants to attempt to fill in these gaps in my analysis.

Although I collected data until I could find confirming evidence from multiple data sources and data types for all major theoretical ideas, I was left with some gaps in the data that could not be filled with follow-up interviewing. First, the history of the tribe itself is a reconstructed knowledge base that contains gaps in its documented history, so my data can only reflect what researchers in the tribe and outside the tribe have assembled from the historical record. I addressed this gap in the findings of my study by treating historical knowledge about the Occaneechi as a significant aspect of tribal members’ heritage recovery process and identity formulation, without asking questions or making claims about its accuracy or confirmability. Second, interview participants choose to emphasize different aspects of their experiences and leave out other aspects, and so I could not hope to gather exhaustive information about

participants' experiences with the Homeland project. Instead, I asked questions in my design about the ways that the Homeland project was particularly important to participants, assuming that they would emphasize those aspects of their experiences that stood out to them as especially significant. I also interviewed only a select group of Occaneechi tribal members—those active in planning and executing preservation and educational initiatives. Because of this, my data do not contain information about the experiences of Occaneechi people who are either not active tribal members or who are not currently involved with the Homeland Project. Therefore, my research questions asked only about the experiences of those Occaneechi people who are active in preservation and education initiatives and my findings do not include claims that generalize to the broader population of Occaneechi people, unless I am discussing generalizations that participants themselves made.

Gaps also exist in my observation data based on my selection of events to observe. Because of scheduling conflicts and the fact that some uses of the Homeland site are not open to the public, I could not observe every visitor experience on the site or every planning meeting and I was able to observe only the major events that interview participants discussed. Finally, because the focus of my proposed study was on the planning experience of the Homeland Preservation Project, I did not attempt collect data addressing the complete range of visitor experiences. Although I collected observation data that included visitors as subjects of observation, I did not seek IRB permission to interview individual visitors to confirm their perceptions of the site and thus I collected data only on visitors' outward behavior and interactions with Occaneechi volunteers while on the Homeland site. The gaps in data relating to visitor experiences may be filled in the future with additional directions for research.

Logistics

I approached the tribe in the fall of 2008 to obtain permission to conduct my dissertation research with the tribe. I was granted permission in a letter from the tribal council in January 2009. I also sought the tribal council's approval to begin my data collection at the council meeting in October 2009. I was granted permission to use as my sources documents pertaining to the Homeland Preservation Project provided to me by the office staff, activities conducted as part of the project, and individuals knowledgeable and willing to share experiences in project planning and execution. The complete timeline for my study is shown in Table 1.

Prior to conducting my study, I relocated to Orange County, North Carolina, adjacent to Alamance County, the site of the tribal office and Homeland Preservation Project. The bulk of the 600-member Occaneechi population resides in Orange County and Alamance County, and living in Orange County allowed me convenient access to many participants and the chance to develop some familiarity with the geographical and social context of the Homeland Preservation Project. During the data collection and analysis phases, I visited the tribal office regularly to conduct fieldwork, gather documents, and stay abreast of scheduled events and activities. I conducted data analysis on an ongoing basis following a constant-comparative approach, conducting initial analysis of data while I was still collecting data from the field, engaging in more in-depth analysis after finishing field research, and continuing to examine data analytically as I wrote up the findings of the study. Continued engagement during the analysis and writing phases enabled me to conduct member-checking and maintain rapport with participants. During the writing phase, I continued to visit the tribal office periodically to fulfill reciprocal obligations, which included delivering copies of interview transcripts to the tribal office, presenting my findings to the tribal council, and volunteering at the 2011 School Days. I also

shared the results of the analysis and writing phase with participants, and I plan to maintain ties with the tribal organization for the possibility of future longitudinal study, assisting in co-research projects and grant seeking, and in co-authoring publications.

Table 1

Timeline for the Study

Month	Tasks completed	Ongoing case study work
<i>January 2009</i>	Initial site visit Received letter of permission	Building literature review
<i>August 2009</i>	Relocated to North Carolina	Building literature review Creating research proposal Creating interview and observation protocols
<i>October 2009</i>	Attended tribal council meeting and received permission to proceed with research Began obtaining documents Observed School Days Volunteered at School Days	Building literature review Revising research proposal Transcribing oral history interviews (reciprocity) Transcribing and expanding observation field notes
<i>November 2009</i>	Observed American Indian Heritage Celebration	Transcribing and expanding observation field notes
<i>December 2009</i>	Received committee approval of research prospectus Advanced to candidacy Received IRB approval Background interviews conducted	Adjusting interview protocols based on background information
<i>January-April 2010</i>	Conducted in-depth interviews	Transcribing and expanding interview recordings and field notes Initial coding
<i>May-July 2010</i>	Observed Occoneechee State Park visitor center Observed National Museum of the American Indian Observed Occaneechi powwow	Filling gaps in data Initial coding continued Focused coding Memo writing Member checking

		Initial write-up of findings
<i>July-August 2010</i>	Write-up of results and conclusion in complete draft dissertation form	Continuing to fill gaps in data with follow-up data collection Member checking throughout writing stage and upon completion
<i>November 2010</i>	Revising dissertation Follow-up interviews, analysis Additional writing	
<i>January 2011</i>	Defense scheduled with committee	Final revisions
<i>April 2011</i>	Dissertation defense Final revisions	

Roles of the Researcher

Creswell (2003) described a number of roles for qualitative researchers as “inquirers [who] explicitly identify their biases, values, and personal interests about their research topic and process. Gaining entry to a research site and the ethical issues that might arise are also elements of the researcher’s role” (p. 184). The roles that I actually fulfilled in my study began with contacting the tribal council to gain respectful access to the site prior to beginning the study, and clearly explaining my research interests and objectives to the tribal council and individual participants in order to build rapport. During data collection, my main roles were to schedule interviews with individuals selected for participation, to arrange and conduct interviews at times and places convenient for the research participants, and to keep abreast of tribal organization events and scheduled visits to the Homeland Preservation Project in order to request to be present to observe events. I requested access to any relevant documents and permission to use documents and photographs in my dissertation document. Finally, I also observed my ethical responsibilities as a researcher by seeking IRB approval for my project, following all IRB

guidelines for human subject research, allowing participants access to their interview transcripts, and identifying opportunities for researcher reciprocity and volunteer assistance as appropriate.

Insider/Outsider Issues

As a researcher, my role in the Occaneechi case study was as a “nonthreatening outsider” (Glesne, 2006, p. 98) and as a non-Indigenous person interested in conducting culturally-relevant research on an Indigenous heritage project. While the differences between my own background and that of my participants did not negatively impact my rapport with participants, in interacting with participants I was mindful and respectful of how they might perceive and be sensitive to these differences. As a White, middle-class, female graduate student from Georgia, working with American Indian and multiracial individuals from a variety of socioeconomic backgrounds, male and female, in a rural setting in North Carolina, and furthermore as a researcher living in the vicinity and having extended engagement in the field, each of my researcher-participant relationships represented a combination of identity categories. My personal interactions with each participant were affected by the context in which we met, the person who introduced us, and which of their family members or friends I had already met. In conversation, I shared different personal information with participants depending on the circumstances; for instance, with several participants I discussed details relating to my graduate study, my job at a nearby community college, and my marriage. Some participants talked with me about similar aspects of their lives and the lives of family and friends: teaching, enrolling in graduate school, and marriages. In turn, many participants got to know me and they became familiar with my life and interests. As such, another one of my roles as a researcher was to be attentive to and accurately judge the insider-outsider relationship dynamics, making sure that participants did not assume

that I understood something that I actually did not, and ensuring that I resolved any resulting assumptions or misunderstandings collaboratively with my participants.

Biases

This study is my attempt to present as fully and accurately as possible the *emic* accounts of my participants, both of subjectivities such as identity constructions and personal experiences, and of information such as histories and legal processes. Because meanings generated by participants are at the heart of my study, I recognize that participants' accounts of themselves and my interest in portraying those accounts may be considered biased. In my attempt to represent Indigenous perspectives and experiences, I followed the recommendations of Tuhiwai Smith (1999) to consider Indigenous interests, interpretations, and priorities in my study design and outcomes in order to avoid perpetuating research that colonizes or appropriates Indigenous knowledges. I agree with Indigenous methodologists such as Tuhiwai Smith that abiding by Indigenous standards, attempting to maintain a neutral standing, and reserving judgments of Indigenous accounts are not barriers to research, but instead they allow for the construction of knowledge that is useful and relevant to multiple audiences. Furthermore, because participants' responses regarding their racial and ethnic identities were often complicated and to some degree personally sensitive, I expected ambiguity in participant perspectives and I remained open to multiple understandings of specific concepts that emerged in the data collection. I used structured analytic techniques such as coding and memo writing to create a careful and organized analysis of the complex data and, later in this chapter, I include specific information about the analytic techniques and triangulation I used so as to increase the transparency and validity of my findings.

As a researcher, I also brought my own biases to the study, which came from my personal interest in visiting museums, my exposure to theoretical ideas about museums, and my background research on the Occaneechi. While I enjoy visiting museums and find them to be personally interesting, I focused my study on the perspectives on museums that my participants shared with me. In order to allow participants to express their ideas and feelings about museums, I attempted to clarify the interview questions that I asked about museums, removing any theoretical or ideological language about museums from the questions themselves. Furthermore, because I had conducted outside research prior to collecting data, I sought background information on the Occaneechi tribe and the Homeland Preservation Project from multiple key informants and confirmed the relevance of academic sources with official documents from the tribe and personal accounts from participants to avoid biasing my accounts of the tribe's history.

Ethical Considerations

Finally, it was my responsibility to observe responsible and ethical research practices, both those ethical practices identified by the IRB and additional recommendations from Indigenous methodologists (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999) for conducting culturally appropriate and respectful research about Indigenous peoples. The guidelines for research on Indigenous peoples created by Tuhiwai Smith suggested that researchers show respect for the people they study; present themselves face to face; look, listen, and speak with the people they study; share with and host the people they study; be generous toward the people they study; be cautious; not trample on the rights of the people they study; and that researchers not flaunt their own knowledge. These guidelines have been key in sensitizing my perspective as a non-Indigenous researcher working with Indigenous participants who were willing to grant me access to their lives and experiences. After the tribal council granted me permission to conduct research and I

provided a statement of interest to the tribal organization with information about the goals and design of my research project, I also tried to establish personal trust and rapport with individual participants in order to establish a respectful research relationship. I reiterated my neutrality, open-mindedness, and respect for participants' points of view throughout the research process to give participants a clear understanding of my role and of my expectations for research outcomes. Because I wanted to represent participant voices and the meanings participants had derived from their experiences without predisposing my findings, it was my responsibility to convey an honest representation of my data and participants consistent with how I strove to present myself to build access, trust, and rapport. It was also my responsibility, through member checking (p. 91), to share interview transcripts and thematic findings with informants in order to determine their accuracy and acceptability from informants' perspectives.

At the same time, it was also my responsibility to offer reciprocal services to the tribe and to make myself available for tasks requested by the tribal office staff. According to Patton (2002), "Mutual trust, respect, and cooperation are dependent on the emergence of an exchange relationship, or reciprocity" (p. 312), and I took steps to identify possible services I could provide the Occaneechi tribe and accepted requests from key informants for specific services. For example, the tribal historian requested that I transcribe some existing oral history recordings, and so I transcribed roughly 28 hours of audio from September 2009 through March 2010. I also volunteered at the 2010 and 2011 School Days and at the 2010 powwow as requested by the office staff, although the powwow closed due to rain during the hours that I was scheduled to volunteer. I provided copies of my interview transcripts to the interviewees, provided case study materials for the tribal office records, and provided data and findings for the tribal office staff to include in a grant application. Finally, I will provide the tribal office with a copy of my

completed dissertation. As Patton explained, “Participants in research provide us with something of great value, their stories and their perspectives on their world. We show that we value what they give us by offering something in exchange” (p. 415). Reciprocal work, therefore, allowed me to demonstrate that I valued the contributions of my participants and respected the access that the tribal organization and individual tribal members gave me to their lives and experiences.

Data Collection Procedures

While I obtained initial background information from the Occaneechi Band of the Saponi Nation website and the tribal historian nearly a year earlier, most of the data collection was concentrated between October 2009 and May 2010. I began with collecting documents from the tribe, starting with brochures for visitors and historical information about the tribe. Most of the relevant materials about the Occaneechi that I used to gather data came from the tribal office and website. For website documents, I saved digital copies of the web pages for later analysis. I gathered any materials that the tribe used for visitor education, including brochures, fliers, maps of the site, and tribal histories, as well as some documents that the tribe used for member education, such as the tribal newsletter and a selection of court cases relating to Occaneechi recognition, and some documents used for fundraising, including a cookbook and powwow calendar. I also collected any documents that were available during any of the observations I conducted, such as event brochures and museum maps. I took notes on documents, similar to the field notes I constructed for interviews and observations, in which I recorded relevant excerpts of the document text and my own researcher comments on the data contained therein.

I began collecting observation data in October and November 2009 when the tribe held its annual School Days event and the North Carolina Museum of History held its annual American Indian Heritage Celebration. I completed my observations in May and June 2010 when

I visited the Occoneechee State Park visitor center and the National Museum of the American Indian after hearing several interview participant mention the two museums as influential in their understanding of museum institutions. I collected observation data by taking detailed and systematic notes in my observation protocol (see Appendix B), focusing on interactions between visitors and Occaneechi volunteers where applicable. In off-site observations where no Occaneechi people were present, I observed exhibits directly and visitor interactions with exhibits. I also took digital photographs to help me recall additional aspects of the events after the fact.

I collected interview data by first obtaining a list of the tribal council members and their contact information from office staff, then contacting each council member individually to inquire about their interest in participating in an interview. I had an initial list of eight council members and I conducted interviews with five who agreed to participate. I also interviewed two office staff members and two additional participants involved in preservation and education initiatives whom I had met at the School Days. I received participants' permission to record all interviews and I took brief observational notes while interviewing. I then used both the recordings and notes to create transcriptions of the data after interviews. I used all or nearly all of the questions listed in my interview protocols (see Appendix A) for most interviews. I deviated slightly from the protocol in some of the in-depth interviews, abbreviating the protocol when time was an issue and expanding on the protocol with follow-up questions when related but unanticipated topics for discussion arose. I significantly abbreviated the protocol in only one instance, when the participant gave particularly in-depth responses to the first several questions that I asked and I selectively limited the rest of my questions based on the topics the participant preemptively covered in his earlier responses. I returned to the field to conduct follow-up

interviews in November 2010, during the writing and revision stage of the dissertation. I completed three follow-up interviews using an interview protocol addressing select issues from the findings about which I needed to obtain additional depth or breadth of information. One interview was in person, one by phone, and one by email. I recorded and transcribed informants' responses in the face-to-face and phone interviews. Subsequently, I added data from these responses to my larger data set, analyzed them for additional insights relevant to my research questions, and incorporated these insights into my findings.

Reliability, Validity, and Verification

Standards for rigor in qualitative research provide equivalents for the ideas of reliability, validity, and verification of data characteristically found in quantitative research. As a qualitative researcher, I worked toward reliability, validity, and verification of my data through a number of techniques. First, I triangulated my findings using multiple data sources, data types, and theoretical ideas. Furthermore, I conducted my case study through extended engagement in the field, which is particularly important for ethnographic studies and research that attempts to understand the culture of a group or an organization like the Homeland Preservation Project. I used member-checking to confirm my findings and to verify that they rang true to the life experiences of my participants and that they did not misrepresent participants' accounts of themselves. Finally, I also anticipated a variety of dilemmas and issues in my proposed study. I admitted these, and I tried to deal with them in an appropriate manner in order to portray as accurately as possible the complexity and diversity of Occaneechi experiences within the Homeland Preservation Project and related preservation and education initiatives.

Triangulation of Data Sources

My first means of ensuring reliability of data was to construct a detailed case record using field notes from all data sources. As recommended by Patton (2002), I triangulated by using multiple data sources and data types in order to account for the theoretical and analytical weaknesses in individual data collection strategies and to assemble analyses confirmable from multiple angles, across data types, across participants, and over time. I also expected participants to report a certain version of their experience and to emphasize different issues in their experience such as poverty, race, gender, and authenticity. I anticipated that these subjectivities would result in ambiguous meanings constructed by participants, and I tried to report these meanings as accurately as possible, even though they were ambiguous. Because individual data sources could not necessarily give me a clear picture of any given issue, I used multiple data sources and types to elucidate these ambiguities in the data and to cross-check the information whenever possible. To address the issues that emerged during data collection and analysis, I constructed thematic memos (Charmaz, 2006) for each theme I wanted to address, which included a definition for the theme and excerpts of data in each data type to confirm and develop the theoretical idea or theme, as well as any data excerpts that contradicted or complicated the theme. I then constructed a triangulation matrix (see Appendix C) to confirm that all themes could be confirmed with each data type.

Triangulation of Theories

I used triangulation not just for data types, but also for theoretical ideas, as recommended by Bentz and Shapiro (1998). To triangulate theoretical perspectives, I built a literature review that included theoretical ideas from the perspectives of critical theory and post-colonial theory, and I considered several different viewpoints within these when selecting categories and themes

for analysis. I considered that my theoretical findings were both confirmed by evidence from multiple data types and informed by ideas drawn from multiple theoretical perspectives to strive for validity and confirmability of my findings.

Extended Engagement in the Field

I also used extended engagement in the field over a period of several months to enhance the reliability of my findings. Patton (2002) recommended that after becoming reasonably knowledgeable about one's topic, the Homeland Preservation Project in my case, and confirming emerging patterns and themes with multiple data sources and data types, researchers should fine-tune data collection to fill gaps in understanding of emergent themes, which I did as I prepared to end data collection. At this point, my findings, in the form of emergent themes, were each confirmable from multiple data sources and types, suggesting that I had reached the stage of data saturation. While still engaged in the field, I began to focus on analysis, addressing the research questions. During the summer months, I augmented my analysis of previously collected data with several off-site observations and observation of the annual powwow in June 2010. I maintained contact with the tribal office and participants by phone, email, and in-person visits to the office to maintain rapport, facilitate member-checking, obtain permission to include tribal documents as appendices, and fill in remaining gaps with follow-up interviews as I proceeded with analysis and writing. Although data collection ended once confirmation of major patterns and themes revealed data saturation, I did not leave the field in the sense that I remained in the local area and conducted additional follow-up interviews during the analysis and writing phases of the study. Over the course of my study, living in the same area as the tribal members and working at a local community college helped me to become more familiar with the local social context in addition to facilitating data collection.

Member-Checking

I used member-checking—taking collected data and interpretations back to informants to confirm or correct their meaning—to verify quotations from participants and factual events and occurrences, as well as to confirm the appropriateness and acceptability of my interpretations in the eyes of participants (Charmaz, 2006). Member-checking is an important aspect of ethical qualitative research (Charmaz; Patton, 2002), particularly research that hopes to produce knowledge both about and for Indigenous peoples (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999). During each interview, I conducted informal member-checking by asking participants to clarify or confirm my understanding of explanations and descriptions. I also asked participants for feedback on the questions that I asked, and adapted the wording of some questions in response to participants' feedback. I also gave each participant a copy of his or her own interview transcript, along with a list of the major codes I used to analyze the data and themes I would use to discuss the data. I requested that participants contact me to report any inaccuracies in the transcript and to request that data be thrown out if they contained sensitive material. Several participants offered corrections of errors in their transcribed interviews, primarily misspellings of Indigenous terms or names of schools, theaters, or other local settings. Some other participants requested that their transcripts not be given to the tribal office for the office files, and I complied with these requests. I also gave a brief report of my findings at the July 2010 tribal council meeting to give all of the council members, including those who did not participate in the study, the opportunity to question the findings and how they would be used. No one present at the council meeting made objections or requests to remove data. Following Tuhiwai Smith's recommendation, I used member-checking to help ensure that the findings and outcomes of my study would not harm any

participants or other Occaneechi tribal members, because as a non-Indigenous outsider I realized that I may not be aware of the ways in which certain representations may cause harm.

Dilemmas and Issues

The complex regional and local history and the tribe's preservation and educational initiatives have combined to create diverse individual constructions of identity for the participants in my study. Thus, I expected to encounter a certain amount of both controversy and ambiguity as I undertook my study. The theoretical literature in museum studies and the inductive strategies for analyzing qualitative data both provide the possibility of these complex, contradictory, and ambiguous findings, and in my dissertation proposal I anticipated such issues related to the Homeland Preservation Project might emerge in the course of my study. Although I anticipated that such disagreements in the data might also result in interpersonal tension among participants, or between participants and me, and I did find that some participants themselves expressed these tensions, they did not present a barrier to my interaction with participants. I remained open to the possibility of participants discussing negative attitudes, racial or gender prejudice, or accounts that espoused a particular motive. In order to diffuse tension, I articulated to each participant my neutral and non-judgmental position toward the data, and maintained honest communications about my role as a researcher to ensure careful entry and negotiation of access. I maintained the confidentiality of participants' responses to reduce the possibility of harm to participants as a result of any sensitive issues. Because of the tribal members' familiarity with one another, it was impossible to remove information that would allow tribal members to identify one another, so I also gave participants the opportunity to remove statements they believed might be offensive or controversial when read by other tribal members and separated potentially identifying data from other data when using interviews in the dissertation. I have

made every effort to include sensitive data in my analysis in a way that cannot be linked to a particular participant in order to give an accurate account of the data while also protecting participants. Because I sought to understand Occaneechi experiences planning and executing the preservation and education initiatives of the Homeland Preservation Project, the dilemmas and issues that were an integral part of these experiences are also a necessary part of the emergent themes of my dissertation. My goal for the study was not to obtain a single, true account of the Homeland Preservation Project; instead, I designed my study with the assumption that each participant would have a different personal account that would add its own valuable insights to the case while creating a complex and ambiguous data set that I would need to analyze carefully and systematically.

Data Analysis Procedures

The specific techniques of analysis that I employed also provided a means of ensuring the reliability, validity, and verification of complex and ambiguous data in my study. Coding is the foundation of analyzing qualitative data, and in several forms it provided me with an organized and structured approach to reviewing the data I collected and to distilling transcripts, field notes, and documents to relevant points for answering my research questions. Thematic memo writing is a tool for more advanced analysis, and I used memos to establish the basis for specific themes of analysis and to eliminate findings that could not be substantiated with sufficient evidence. The constant-comparative approach, as recommended by Charmaz (2006) and Patton (2002), explains the scope of the analysis phase of qualitative inquiry, which extended from data collection to writing up findings following an inductive analytic method to draw findings from extensive data.

Constant-Comparative Approach and Inductive Analysis

As Patton (2002) recommended, I used inductive analysis to examine the breadth of findings within my case as a whole, rather than using only the data pertaining to a specific hypothesis posed before beginning data collection. When using inductive analysis, researchers do not make hypotheses about the relationships between ideas before beginning research; instead, Patton explained that inductive analysis uses immersion in the data to discover patterns and themes. As opposed to deductive reasoning, which makes inferences about the particular based on general rules, inductive reasoning draws general understanding using the details of particular cases. While inductive analysis begins by exploring the details of qualitative data, Patton explained that qualitative researchers also use deductive reasoning toward the end of data analysis as they begin to confirm their emerging themes with additional data.

Charmaz (2006) and Patton (2002) recommended several steps for using inductive analysis to understand the connections across a large amount of qualitative data, known as a constant-comparative approach. Charmaz explained how a constant-comparative approach can help researchers using ethnographic methods of data collection to deal with the potential problem of having so much descriptive data that its significance is difficult to grasp, or “seeing data everywhere and nowhere, gathering everything and nothing” (p. 23). Charmaz suggested that constant-comparative methods of analysis “help in maintaining control over the research process because they assist the ethnographer in focusing, structuring, and organizing it” (p. 23). Creswell (1998) also explained that using a constant-comparative approach to compare the data to emerging categories of analysis helps researchers to ensure that their findings reflect the full breadth of themes present in the data, which is the goal of inductive analysis.

To follow a constant-comparative approach, Charmaz (2006) recommended that qualitative researchers follow specific steps that she outlined based on the analytic methods of Glaser and Strauss (1967/1999). The first step in a constant-comparative approach is to compare data with data, a process elaborated below in the section on coding. When comparing data with data, researchers look for similarities and differences across different pieces of data, for instance comparing interview statements to observed events. The next step is to compare the different codes used to develop categories of analysis, after which the researcher can compare data with categories of analysis to find emergent themes. A constant-comparative approach allows qualitative researchers to inductively analyze data while also challenging the ideas that emerge.

Using a constant-comparative approach, I used inductive analysis as described by Charmaz (2006) and Patton (2002) to generate themes among data from multiple sources and types to trace the confirmability of findings and to strengthen my evidence for the themes as they emerged, finally comparing these emergent themes with theories in the scholarly literature. The first step of my data analysis began during the data collection stage, when I composed expanded field notes and methodological memos, which included my reflections and initial theoretical ideas about the data. The next step of data analysis was coding, discussed in more detail subsequently (see p. 100). When I coded my data the first time, I made hand-written notes on printed transcripts of the interviews, observations, and field notes, and attached hand-written notes to the documents. After the initial phase of coding, I compared the codes to one another and combined similar codes to create my list of categories for focused coding. I conducted my subsequent phases of coding using my computer's word processing program to highlight text and insert the codes. I used the same categories across all data sources and types to ensure that the relevance of selected categories was not limited to one data source or type. For each focused

code, I compiled a set of data excerpts for which I had used that code, and I color-coded each data type and numbered each data source within its type to compare within each category. After several phases of coding, I then compared the categories for focused coding to one another and to my research questions to create emergent themes that addressed my research questions. I constructed memos for each theme, again examining my data and comparing the themes with the data to find evidence that confirmed and disagreed with each theme. I retained my color-coding and numbering of data excerpts in my memos to ensure that each theme could be confirmed by data from multiple sources and types. Finally, as I formulated my findings based on the emergent themes, I drew comparisons between the emergent themes and my theoretical perspectives for viewing the data. In using a constant-comparative approach, I began the first stages of analysis while still collecting data as I transcribed interview recordings and expanded field notes, and I extended analysis into the writing phase when I compared the themes and ideas that emerged from my data with those in the theories and in the literature that informed my study regarding issues, theory, and methodology.

A final aspect of inductive analysis that I included in my case study was the goal of achieving thick description in qualitative reporting. As Patton (2002) recommended for answering descriptive research questions, I provided detailed accounts of the events that I observed and a historical description of the case based on multiple data types and sources. Like the other steps in a constant-comparative approach, Patton explained that different types of thick description, including descriptions of history, critical incidents, and various settings, can help researchers organize and manage large amounts of data. I used thick description to give my case density and to create a basis for comparing across settings and events. I used the constant-comparative approach to inductively analyze a large amount of qualitative data and develop

think description as answers to my research questions. While some researchers use inductive analysis to generate grounded theory, inductive analysis and a constant-comparative approach are useful to a range of qualitative study designs, and creating a grounded theory was not my goal in using these data analysis strategies. Instead, I used inductive analysis to explore all of my qualitative data and to develop the fullest, richest understanding of the case that was possible in my study. Because I sought to understand and represent my participants' perspectives of the Homeland Preservation Project and Occaneechi experiences in my case study, I used inductive analysis to ensure that the codes and categories I used for analysis accurately reflected the data and did not limit my analysis to theoretical boundaries established prior to research. By analyzing data inductively rather than deductively, I was also able to incorporate unanticipated issues and themes into my findings, whereas analyzing the data solely to prove or disprove an established idea would have precluded large amounts of information from my findings.

Transcription

I transcribed all interviews and typed up expanded field notes as soon as possible after conducting interviews and observations, usually the same day as the data collection or the following day. I transcribed each interview by listening to the audio recording, pausing after each phrase to type up the participant's words verbatim. In the transcription, I used punctuation to indicate pauses, hesitation, and rephrasing of ideas, and I recorded all the participants' words exactly as I heard them, including filler words. I had to listen to some portions of the recording multiple times, particularly if they contained background noise like traffic or other people talking. After transcribing each interview, I removed the identifying information about the participant and kept a separate file with a key containing each participant's name, role in the tribe, and years involved with the tribe, as well as the date, time, and location of the interview. I

kept my audio recordings, but will delete them once the dissertation process is complete, in keeping with my IRB approval. I printed the interview transcriptions to complete my initial coding, and used electronic copies of the transcriptions to complete subsequent rounds of coding using my computer's word processing program. I then copied and pasted excerpts from the interview transcriptions to include in my categories of analysis and memos of emergent themes, and drew quoted portions of my interviews from the memos to use in the write up of findings. A sample of an interview transcription with coding in the text can be found in Appendix D. In addition to transcribing my interview recordings, I also typed up all of my field notes to create expanded field notes with descriptive data and observer, methodological, and theoretical comments on the data. As with my interview transcripts, I printed my expanded field notes for initial coding and used electronic files for subsequent rounds of coding and analysis. I also copied and pasted portions of the expanded field notes into my categories of analysis and thematic memos in order to compare data across multiple sources and types.

Analyzing Photographs

I analyzed the photographs that I took in the field as a separate data source from my field notes. Some of the photographs I took were of museum display text, to record the information in the museum displays without having to copy long blocks of text into my field notes. For these photographs, I created typed transcriptions of all of the visible text in the photograph. I examined all of my other photographs for several specific features during the analysis process, which were similar to the elements that I documented at each of my observations using my observation protocol (see Appendix B). I noted the context of each picture, making notes about the natural and built environment visible in the photograph, as well as the process or event taking place at the moment the photograph was taken. I looked at any artifacts or other objects depicted in the

photograph, and made notes about what the objects were, their context, and how they were being used in the moment the photograph was taken. Finally, I looked for people within the photograph and any evident body language, and I noted any interactions people were engaged in with one another, with their environments, and with the objects in their environments.

Analyzing Documents

In analyzing my documents, I used interpretive content analysis, defined by Schwandt (2007) as “a common general approach to analyzing qualitative data that does not rely on the specialized procedures of other means of analysis” (p. 291), to examine the documents’ text, visuals, and features of presentation. Some documents, such as brochures and newsletters, included photographs; in analyzing these documents, I examined any photographs using the same process by which I analyzed my own photographs. To analyze all documents, I first read over the document in its entirety, making notes about the audience, purpose, and overall message. When I coded my interview transcripts and observation field notes, I also examined the documents using the same codes and categories. Rather than writing directly on the documents during my initial phase of coding, I inserted notes into documents where I found that the text related to a specific topic. During my next phase of coding, I typed up the relevant text from my documents and added these data excerpts to my categories of analysis.

Coding

I used several different phases of coding to develop analytic findings from my data; Patton (2002) defined coding as a process for making analysis of qualitative data manageable. During my first phase of coding, I printed out all of my interview transcripts, expanded field notes, and any electronic documents, adding in any documents I had collected in hard copy. I read through all of these materials once to conduct interpretive content analysis, which Creswell

(2003) recommended to gain an overall understanding of the contents of the data. Next, I conducted an initial phase of sentence-by-sentence coding, which Patton explained as an indexing process of reading the data, deciding what information it contains, and giving the information a name to describe it. Creswell (1998) referred to this phase of coding as open coding, while Charmaz (2006) described the same process as initial coding. During this phase, Charmaz explained that the researcher should remain open to any understanding of the data, and should keep the codes written in the margins brief and simple. According to Patton, the purpose of the first close read-through is to develop the categories for closer analysis. The codes I used during my initial coding were what Miles and Huberman (1994) referred to as descriptive codes, in which I “attributed a class of phenomena to a segment of the text” (p. 57). When I conducted my open coding, I wrote notes by hand in the margins of my transcripts, field notes, and text documents, and I attached notes to documents that were not in a text-only format, like brochures and newsletters. As Creswell (2003) suggested, I started with my first interview transcript, and after reading through several interview transcripts I made a list of all the topics I had coded so far. I then used this list of codes when coding the rest of my data, adding to the list as needed. I have included a complete list of the initial codes that I used during open coding in Appendix E. As explained by Charmaz and Creswell, part of the process of open or initial coding is to look for *in vivo* codes, which are codes taken from the exact wording of the participants. The rationale behind using *in vivo* codes is that they allow the researcher to look for shared wording across different participants, and I used *in vivo* coding to look for complex and multiple meanings of ideas that contributed to participants’ sense of group identity. For example, the initial codes “pride,” “self-sustaining,” and “right reasons” in my list of codes were all terms that multiple participants used in their interview responses, and I used these *in vivo* codes to examine how

different participants used the same terms in discussing their work with the Occaneechi Homeland Preservation Project.

Following the overview readings and open coding of the data, I compared across my list of initial codes, combining codes into a shorter list of categories of analysis that they described. A diagram of how initial codes were combined to form categories and focused codes, which later constituted a specific theme, can be found in Appendix F. I attempted to be as comprehensive as possible and to create a list of categories of analysis that provided a holistic picture of the data I collected. As Creswell (2003) recommended, I then created a list of abbreviations, or focused codes, that stood for the categories and I alphabetized them (see Table 2 and Appendix E). I used this list to conduct another round of coding. Charmaz (2006) referred to this type of coding as focused coding, which she described as a more directed type of coding for sifting through the data for evidence pertaining to the categories of analysis. Creswell (1998) referred to this round of coding as axial coding, and recommended that during this phase, unlike open coding, the researcher look at the data for specific phenomena. I conducted my focused coding using my computer's word processing program, which allowed me to highlight certain portions of text in the electronic versions of my transcripts, field notes, and documents, and insert comments that contained the applicable codes (sometimes multiple codes for one highlighted passage). I have included a sample of a transcript with focused codes in Appendix D. For documents that I did not have in digital form, such as brochures, I typed up the portions of text that I wanted to label with a focused code. I then compiled a list of all the categories that I had used in focused coding, and under each category, I copied and pasted all the data that I had labeled with that focused code. Creswell (2003) recommended that researchers similarly assemble all the data belonging to each category in one place for further analysis. Creswell and Patton (2002) both suggested that

researchers use color coding to differentiate categories of data; while I did not use color coding for different categories, I did use color coding for different data types when I assembled the data for each category and numbered the data sources within each data type to make it easier to see if the categories applied across multiple data sources and types.

Table 2

Focused Codes and Categories for Data Analysis

(Ad)	Adapting to changing societies and cultures
(An)	Serving ancestors through education today
(Ch)	Promoting an understanding that indigenous people change over time
(Com)	Participating in community: tribal, local, state, national, or international
(F)	Financial challenges and limitations
(H)	Promoting an accurate or honest account of history
(ID)	Revitalizing community and identity
(IK)	Recovering historical and cultural knowledge
(Inc)	Inclusiveness of the tribal community
(Obj)	Use of objects and artifacts
(Perf)	Performance and participation in social interaction
(Pl)	Importance of place
(Rec)	Achieving recognition
(S)	Counteracting stereotypes or received images of American Indian people
(Svc)	Serving tribal members
(Vis)	Increasing the visibility of indigenous people today

I also compared the categories that I used for focused coding with the original analytical framework that I created during the proposal stage of my dissertation. The analytical framework was organized into four main categories of data that represented aspects of the Occaneechi Homeland Preservation Project: Mission and Goals, Place, Structure, and Community. During the proposal stage, I also brainstormed potential data and issues that might emerge within each of those four areas. After finishing my focused coding, I returned to this analytical framework and mapped my actual categories of analysis onto the four original categories of Mission and Goals, Place, Structure, and Community. Figure 3 depicts this map, with my categories for focused

coding placed into the relevant areas of the analytical framework. I found that the categories of data relating to participants wanting to promote an accurate or honest account of history and to increase the visibility of Indigenous people today fit into the center of my analytical framework because these categories incorporated elements of all four aspects of the Homeland Preservation Project. Thus, these two categories for focused coding emerged as the categories most central to the study as a whole. Each of the other categories also made the most sense to me when viewed at the intersection of two different aspects of the project. Therefore, although the analytical framework provided me with a useful tool for brainstorming possible issues for analysis, the actual categories I used for analysis complicated the original four aspects of the project that I used when designing my study. I decided to keep these four original conceptual areas in Figure 3, while refining, collapsing, or replacing the issues that I anticipated within each area of my original analytical framework.

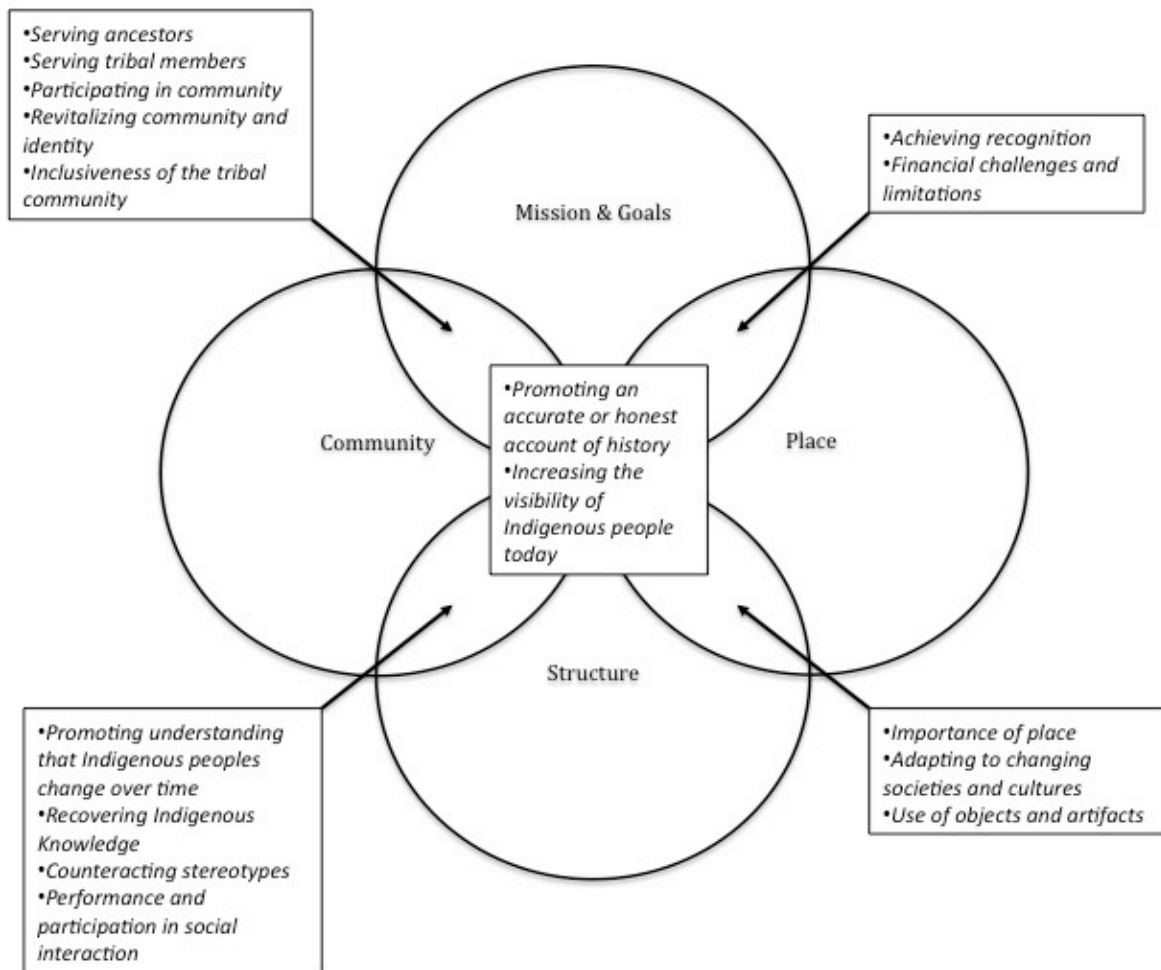


Figure 3. Categories used for focused coding organized in the analytical framework.

Finally, after compiling the data pertaining to specific categories of analysis, I compared across categories and between categories and research questions to create an even more focused list of themes. I then examined the data listed under each category for representative examples of each theme, as well as for negative examples that stood out because they disagreed with or complicated my understanding of the theme. At this point in the analysis process, I completed a final round of coding that Creswell (1998) referred to as selective coding, in which I looked back at the data only for specific evidence to confirm or disconfirm the ideas I was developing for my themes. I used selective coding to sort through ambiguous, complex, and contradictory

expressions or occurrences in the data, and I compiled the most relevant examples for each theme in my analytical memos, discussed in more detail below.

Memos

After several phases of coding, I also constructed analytical memos on each specific theme that emerged from the data. Charmaz (2006) suggested that researchers may use a variety of formats for memos, and may write them at various stages of research. Although I wrote memos throughout the research process to document my data collection and analysis procedures and to track developments, the analytical memos I wrote following my focused coding were organized into six emergent themes, and I have included a sample memo in Appendix G. To create these themes, I compared the categories of analysis I used during focused coding with one another and with the research questions for my study, defining six themes that encompassed all the categories while also addressing my research questions. The themes of these memos did not correspond one-to-one with my research questions, but instead each theme addressed different aspects of multiple research questions. I included in each memo a working definition of the theme based on how it appeared in the data, and at least three pieces of evidence of its occurrence in the data drawn from different data sources and types. I used my color-coding to confirm that each memo included confirming data from multiple data types. I also included in each memo any examples in the data that contradicted or complicated the thematic idea, in order to present a complete picture of each theme within the case study and to understand the complete breadth of applications of each theme. I used selective coding to locate these examples to confirm, contradict, and complicate each theme. I used memos to organize the data and clarify my understanding of key themes related to the research questions, but I also used memos to incorporate unanticipated dilemmas and issues into my findings rather than merely dismissing

controversial or ambiguous information. I used memo writing to contend with problematic issues in my data and in my overall findings.

These analytical memos also provided the themes discussed in Chapter 5. Throughout data collection and analysis, I realized that I was attempting to learn two different types of information: what exactly the Homeland Preservation Project was as a museum site and how Occaneechi people experienced the work of museum making. Because understanding people's experiences required that I first understand the history of the Homeland site and what types of educational activities the Homeland Preservation Project included, I organized my case study into two findings chapters rather than just one. Chapter 4 provides the case background that includes historical information relevant to understanding how Occaneechi people view their roles on the Homeland site and comparative observations to help readers understand how the Homeland Preservation Project is like and unlike other museum institutions and events. In Chapter 5, I explore the experiences of Occaneechi informants and the thematic issues that emerged from my analysis.

CHAPTER 4

LEARNING OCCANEECHI STORIES:

HISTORIC AND COMPARATIVE FINDINGS IN THE HOMELAND CASE

The recovered history of the Occaneechi and the identity politics leading up to reorganization of the tribe are deeply significant for Occaneechi people in thinking about their present-day role as educators and preservers of culture. In this chapter, I present findings related to Occaneechi history constructed by the tribal organization and the Homeland Preservation Project in comparison with other museum institutions as the foundation for the case study that precedes findings related to the emergent themes in the case, which are presented in Chapter 5.

The Occaneechi people have publicly identified themselves as American Indians and have become involved in the tribal organization after generations in which their parents, grandparents, and more distant ancestors closeted their Occaneechi identity in response to discrimination. The cultural loss that resulted from so many years of hiding their identities also created the need among present-day Occaneechi people to recover and promote these histories and their American Indian identities. In this chapter, I address my first and fourth research questions, which both focused on the Homeland Preservation Project as a museum:

- What are the general features of Occaneechi education and preservation initiatives and the Homeland Preservation Project, including physical boundaries and temporal boundaries?
- How have the grassroots approach and site-based model of the Homeland Preservation Project influenced the structure, representation, and execution of the project's educational components?

The summarized findings for all research questions and the major emergent themes are depicted together in Figure 25 in Chapter 5.

Sources of Historical Information

In creating the historic foundation of the Occaneechi case, I drew on several sources in order to convey the type of history told by the tribal organization to tribal members and members of the public. In seeking recognition and in raising awareness among tribal members of their own history, the tribe has assembled a number of sources of historic information, including court cases, colonial-era documents and records, and archaeological evidence. The tribe provides this historical account both on the “History” page of their website, www.occaneechi-saponi.org (Occaneechi Band of the Saponi Nation [OSBN], n.d.), and in a four-page document entitled “A Brief History of the Occaneechi Band of the Saponi Nation” (Hazel & Dunmore, 1995) kept in the tribal office for distribution to visitors. For information from the tribe’s historical account, then, I used this document (Hazel & Dunmore) and the website (OSBN, n.d.) as my sources, along with informants’ accounts that were useful for triangulation of data and for verification of some details. Another resource I obtained from the tribe was a political science dissertation (Nowell, 2000) that focused on the racial politics of the Occaneechi recognition process that remained unfinished when the dissertation was published in 2000. In addition to these sources of historic information, I referred to several references to the Occaneechi by historians (Binford, 1959; Oakley, 2005; Ross, 1999; Ward & Davis, 1999). These provide accounts of Occaneechi history similar to those in the tribe’s historical resources. A timeline of some significant events in the history of the tribe can be found in Appendix H, while Appendix I contains a comprehensive list of terms used in historical documents referring to ancestors of the present-day tribe.

Before recounting the history of the Occaneechi as a cultural repository from which tribal members draw during the process of identity formation, I provide an overview of the present-day tribe and how the tribal organization came to be. While the background of the tribal organization is significant for understanding the tribe's construction of the Homeland Preservation Project, the specific history of the Occaneechi people that is endorsed by the tribe is significant in understanding how informants viewed the Homeland as a historical reconstruction within which they had control over the historical tales told.

Occaneechi Reorganization

After WWII, many American Indian groups re-tribalized and publicly identified as American Indians. People who were Black or White on censuses in 1930 reclassified themselves as Native Americans in the 1960s (Oakley, 2005). The same was true in North Carolina, which in 1940 had 22,500 Indians and in 1980 some 60,000 (Oakley, p. 65). Reorganization tended to be a response to criticisms from Black and White people regarding American Indian people's cultural authenticity, although Nowell (2000) argued that Occaneechi identity specifically needed to be "re-galvanized" after racial integration (p. 84). Since the 1960s, Pan-American Indian organizations became a unified American Indian movement within the United States, and in order to establish ethnic borders, many Pan-American Indian movements co-opted well-known images of American Indians such as Plains Indian styles of dress in order to identify themselves (Oakley). These movements helped to strengthen the ethnic identity of many smaller and lesser-known Indian groups through re-tribalizing and Pan-American Indian powwows (Hirschfelder & Kreipe de Montaña, 1993; Oakley; Williams, 1979). The first of these types of powwows in North Carolina was held in 1967 by the Haliwa-Saponi (Oakley), and Occaneechi tribal enrollment doubled after their first reorganized powwow in 1985 (Nowell). For the

present-day Occaneechi, as for many reorganized American Indian tribes, traditions have come to include both recovered local heritage informed by archaeological and historical research, as well as cultural knowledges gleaned from related tribes and Pan-American Indian movements.

The Eno-Occaneechi Indian Association was established in 1984 on the basis of local historical research by the current tribal historian (Interview transcript, December 1, 2009). The group changed its name in 1995 to the Occaneechi Band of the Saponi Nation to more accurately reflect the group's historical ties to the Saponi, drawing from the Fort Christanna period and before (Hazel & Dunmore, 1995). Reorganization occurred alongside, although not in conjunction with, the excavation of the Occaneechi Town site in Hillsborough, North Carolina by University of North Carolina archaeologists. According to the tribal historian, the main goals of reorganization in 1984 were to make Occaneechi people more secure in their American Indian identities and to gain acceptance in their communities (Interview transcript, December 1, 2009). The tribal constitution identified correction of racial misclassifications on birth certificates and other legal documents as one of the primary tasks for the tribe (OBSN, n.d.). Prior to reorganization, many Occaneechi people reportedly knew they were American Indian, but they were uncertain of the specific tribe to which their ancestors belonged (Interview transcripts, December 1, 2009; January 29, 2010). The substantial historical, genealogical, and public records research of this period laid the groundwork for the educational work that informants in my study have done on behalf of the tribe at events like the Occaneechi School Days and North Carolina Museum of History American Indian Heritage Celebration, where Occaneechi people share recovered historical and cultural knowledge with non-Indian visitors.

The extensive research conducted by the tribal historian and a selection of Occaneechi people at the time of reorganization also supported the tribe's petition for official state

recognition. The North Carolina Commission of Indian Affairs (NCCIA), a governing body created by the state legislature and made up of delegates from state-recognized tribes, determines the criteria for new tribes to be recognized (Commission of Indian Affairs Mission and Objectives, n.d.; Legal Recognition of American Indian Groups, 1980/2006). As one of eight criteria, the NCCIA stipulates that tribes must have inhabited the same area for at least 200 years, and this criterion was the grounds by which the NCCIA denied the Occaneechi petition for recognition in 1990 (Nowell, 2000). Occaneechi recognition went through several appeals, with the tribe eventually gaining recognition in 2002 through a court order based on the recommendation from Judge Dolores Smith in 1998 that the NCCIA grant recognition based on the evidence the Occaneechi provided documenting 200 years of distinct existence in the Little Texas community (Ross, 1999). While the NCCIA argued that they denied Occaneechi recognition to avoid having to deal with two separate petitions for recognition after a split in the tribe in the 1980s (Oakley, 2005), Nowell suggested that the NCCIA and the recognition process involved complex identity politics controlled by the state's "Indian elite" (p. 128). Nowell also argued that nearly all Southern tribes went through so many phases of classification during slavery, segregation, and integration that it has become a commonplace need for American Indians in the South to engage in historical and cultural recovery processes, as the Occaneechi have done, in order to gain recognition for their heritage. While maintaining a low profile during much of United States history helped the Occaneechi to survive and to escape removal, it also presented a problem in obtaining recognition when many members of the NCCIA had never heard of the Occaneechi and were suspicious of their claims (Nowell).

The perceptions of both state-recognized American Indians and non-Indian people play an influential role in the recognition process. Unfortunately for many American Indian people

today, the romantic image of American Indians that arose in the late 1800s during westward expansion continues to dominate many people's perceptions. As Nowell (2000) asserted, "For many contemporary non-Indian residents of the southeast, the only Indians of whom they are aware are those chased across the western plains to their inevitable destruction by John Wayne and his cohorts, Disney's *Pocahontas*, and, of course, Tonto" (p. 242). Despite the fact that American Indian people reside in every Southern state and have coexisted with their non-Indian neighbors for centuries, most contemporary American Indians in the South receive very little face recognition, regardless of their legal status. The quandary of American Indian people who wish to be recognized by others as American Indian and as members of a broader American society, a problem that several Occaneechi informants articulated in my study, demands that mainstream perceptions embrace a broader definition of American Indian rather than the stereotypes perpetuated over the past several centuries.

Despite lacking official recognition for many years, the Occaneechi maintained Pan-American Indian relationships with many tribes, especially with the Guilford Native American Association, an American Indian organization that granted housing construction funds and scholarship money to Occaneechi individuals. The Occaneechi also took part in meetings at the White House with the National Organization for the Unification of Native Americans (NOUNA), an organization designed to raise cooperation between non-federally recognized tribes to help in the recognition-seeking process, and in the National Coalition for Indian Sovereignty (Nowell, 2000). The tribe's "Brief History" highlights Occaneechi involvement in area powwows and heritage festivals, emphasizing the tribe's interest in and contributions to community education, as well as recognition-related research, language study and education for the tribal community, and cooperation with archaeological research at the Occaneechi Town site (Hazel & Dunmore,

1995). In the historically agricultural Little Texas community, about 5% of the Occaneechi population is still involved in farming, although the majority of Occaneechi-owned property was sold to Whites in the late 1800s; today many are employed in manufacturing, textile mills, construction, skilled work, and office work (OBSN, n.d.; Ross, 1999).

The Historic Occaneechi

While the history of the Occaneechi did not begin with European contact, the historical record of the Occaneechi does. From their position as powerful river traders in the Piedmont region of modern North Carolina and Virginia, the Occaneechi were first displaced during Bacon's Rebellion in 1676. The historic Occaneechi people then formed a new Occaneechi Town at the present-day site of Hillsborough, North Carolina, from which they were later removed to a multi-tribe resettlement near a trading post called Fort Christanna, Virginia in 1713. The Occaneechi were displaced again in 1730 after the fort was closed and their reservation land sold. The Occaneechi and other tribes living near Fort Christanna dispersed to join other tribes or to return to their respective homelands, and between 1730 and 1840 some of those who relocated elsewhere in the South retraced the Occaneechi trading route to a new home near the historic Occaneechi Town site where the Occaneechi lived during the late 1600s and early 1700s. New challenges awaited the Occaneechi who returned to North Carolina in the late 1700s and early 1800s, as racial politics defined the everyday existence of many Occaneechi people from their return to North Carolina from Fort Christanna through the reorganization of the tribe in 1984 and recognition in 2002. A timeline of the key dates relating to the historic Occaneechi and the reorganization of the present-day tribe can be found in Appendix H.

Contact-Era Occaneechi Culture

According to the tribe's "Brief History," the Occaneechi are descended from an ancient group of Indigenous people who called themselves the Yesah, or "the people," who migrated to the Piedmont area of North Carolina and Virginia from the Ohio River Valley about 1,000 years ago (Hazel & Dunmore, 1995). The Yesah formed several villages, including Sapona (Saponi), Totero (Tutelo), and Occaneechi, and from there the bands of people took their names. Historical accounts vary in their description of these groups' relationships to other tribes. Binford (1959) argued that the Occaneechi, Saponi, and Tutelo belonged to the Algonquian group of tribes, but the materials distributed by the tribal office, which were based on archaeological findings of the 1980s, referred to the Occaneechi village reconstructions as "typical of the Siouan-speaking tribes that inhabited the North Carolina/Virginia Piedmont area in the last half of the 1600s, after trade had begun [interacting] with the European settlers" (OBSN, n.d.). According to the brochure, the traditional village structure for the Occaneechi during early European contact consisted of several grass-covered huts, or *atis*, enclosed by a palisade to keep out animals (OBSN). The village that the Occaneechi inhabited during the tribe's early contact with European settlers was located on an island in the Roanoke River near Clarksville, Virginia (Hazel & Dunmore, 1995). Although the island is now under water, Occoneechee State Park in Clarksville takes its name from the historic inhabitants and it includes a visitor center with a small exhibit on Occaneechi history. This Occaneechi island was located in an advantageous position on the trading path of the Catawba and Cherokee Indians. This led to the Occaneechi language and religion becoming commonly accepted among other tribes in the area (Hazel & Dunmore; Ross, 1999). The first recorded mention of the Occaneechi is from John Lederer, a German physician who visited the Occaneechi at their island home in 1670 (Ross). Around the

same time, other small tribes such as the Tutelo and Saponi banded with the Occaneechi for protection (Ross).

Bacon's Rebellion

Nowell (2000) suggested that the position of the Occaneechi was not only economically advantageous but also politically risky. Positioned not only on a trade route, but also on a war trail between the Iroquois and Catawba Indians, the Occaneechi were susceptible to inter-tribal conflicts and rivalries initiated by Europeans. One such rivalry occurred in 1676, when Nathaniel Bacon enlisted Occaneechi support in a conflict between other local Indians and White settlers. The tribe's "Brief History" described Bacon as "jealous of the lucrative trade that the governor had with the Occaneechi," and asserted that he involved the Occaneechi in his rebellion against the colonial government in order to sabotage this trade relationship (Hazel & Dunmore, 1995, p. 1). Bacon's militia ended up turning on the Occaneechi and killing many of them (Nowell). The remaining Occaneechi left their island on the Roanoke River and migrated to a new home on the banks of the Eno River at the site of present-day Hillsborough, North Carolina. The archaeological remains of this village were dated from 1680 to 1710 (Ward & Davis, 1999), and were referred to as Occaneechi Town or Achonechy Town in historical records. John Lawson visited the Occaneechi at this site in 1701 and reported the tribe's wealth of food and other supplies, claiming "no *Indians* having greater Plenty of Provisions than these" (1709/1967, p. 61). Lawson went on to assert that "the Savages do, indeed, still possess the Flower of *Carolina*, the *English* enjoying only the Fag-end of that fine Country" (p. 61), indicating that the Occaneechi continued to fare well after losing their economic advantage. The Occaneechi Town that Lawson visited was excavated by archaeologists at the University of North Carolina between

1983 and 1986, during the same period in which the present-day descendents were reorganizing as a tribe.

Relocation to Fort Christanna, Virginia

The Occaneechi had formed treaty relationships with the colonial government of Virginia with the Treaties of Middle Plantation in 1677 and 1680, and another treaty in 1713 established peace between the Yesah tribes, the Virginia colony, and Great Britain and brought the Occaneechi back to the area on the border of Virginia and North Carolina (OBSN, n.d.). This treaty established a trading fort, Fort Christanna, and reservation lands for the Saponi, Occaneechi, Eno, Tutelo, and other small tribes in the area (OBSN, n.d.). About 300 American Indians from various tribes lived near Fort Christanna, and all were linguistically and culturally related. These tribes collectively came under the Saponi name, they abandoned the Occaneechi language for English as the common language, and they attended a missionary school (Nowell, 2000). Beginning in the 1720s or earlier, the Occaneechi also began to adopt European names in order to participate in European-American political and social spheres (Nowell), and some Occaneechi people formed a separate, acculturated community distinct from the traditional tribal community (OBSN, n.d.). According to the Occaneechi website (OBSN, n.d.), many present-day tribal members can trace their ancestry, through public records and other documentary evidence, to the recorded members of this acculturated community. Oakley (2005) described such small, isolated American Indian communities in North Carolina as being “acculturated but not assimilated” (p. 15), indicating that while the Occaneechi and other small tribes in the South gradually assumed European names and ways of living over the 1700s and 1800s, American Indian people stayed geographically and socially close to other members of their tribes. An informant who had worked with many North Carolina tribes through his role in the North

Carolina Indian Economic Development Initiative (NCIEDI) confirmed this idea in the literature with his statement that the North Carolina tribes, among which only the Eastern Band of the Cherokee live on reservation land, are more “community-oriented” than the tribes in other states (Interview transcript, January 25 2010).

Closing of Fort Christanna and Dispersal

Fort Christanna closed in 1717, after just a few years of operation, but many of the Saponi people continued to live in the area or migrated throughout the region. The reservation land where the Occaneechi lived was sold to settlers in 1730 while the Occaneechi were away visiting related tribes. This action damaged the tribe’s relations with the Virginia government and the White settlers when the Occaneechi returned in 1732 (Hazel & Dunmore, 1995). During the Revolutionary War, the social pressure that White settlers exerted on free American Indians grew stronger. In the latter part of the 1700s, the tribe dispersed once again. Some moved west to Ohio and Indiana, others went north to join loyalist factions of Saponi, and others returned to North Carolina (Hazel & Dunmore; Nowell, 2000; Ross, 1999). Those who returned to North Carolina settled about 15 miles from the previous Occaneechi Town to form an agricultural community that would come to be known as Little Texas. By 1830, a community made up of the ancestors of present-day tribal members had solidified (Nowell; Ross).

Life in the Jim Crow Era

After the Revolutionary War, the legal position of the Occaneechi became much more tenuous, with their few treaty relationships subject to changing political definitions. By the 1840s, most of the recognized tribes in the Southeast had been removed to Western territories, the exceptions being the Seminoles and the Eastern Band of the Cherokee. Other small tribes also remained in the region, including the Occaneechi, in large part as a result of their

“willingness to engage in strategic accommodations of White mores and practices” (Nowell, 2000, p. 61). Indigenous people in the South came under the label of free persons of color, and they were often denied rights under this new racial category. Instead of attempting to maintain political identity as a tribe, Occaneechi people began to assert a public American Indian identity, primarily regarding their individual rights. Throughout the 1800s, several court cases argued for the American Indian heritage of Occaneechi individuals in various locations across the country in order to avoid discrimination aimed at African Americans that they received (Hazel & Dunmore, 1995).

As did many other small American Indian communities, the Occaneechi established their own schools and churches (Oakley, 2005). In the 1840s, a one-room school and the Martin’s Chapel and Jeffries Cross Baptist churches served the Little Texas community. Both the two churches and the schools that replaced the original one-room schoolhouse—the Martin School, Crawford School, and Patillo School—had almost entirely Occaneechi attendance from the early 1900s when they were founded up until the 1960s (Nowell, 2000; Ross, 1999). During this period of history, many small tribes in the South went unnoticed by state and federal governments, with local areas dictating their own organization of schooling.

When some in North Carolina petitioned the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) for money for an Indian school in 1888, the BIA was surprised to learn that any American Indian people lived in the state, aside from the Cherokee (Oakley). Claims of American Indian heritage did not go unnoticed by other ethnic groups, however, and segregated conditions often bred social tensions. Indian community schools were seen by some African Americans as an attempt by multiracial individuals to pass as American Indian and to gain access to better resources (Oakley; Williams, 1979). It was common during segregation for American Indian communities to use

“blood committees” to admit applicants in an effort to keep out non-Indian children (Oakley, p. 25). The suspicion that many non-Indian people had for those claiming American Indian heritage can be seen in the derogatory term still heard in some areas of North Carolina, “Cro”—derived from “Croatan.” The name was once used for Lumbee Indians, but it later came to suggest a Black person passing as American Indian (Oakley). During the Indian New Deal era of the 1930s, the BIA sent agents to investigate claims of American Indian heritage in the South, either refusing or, in just a handful of cases, granting individuals recognition based on phrenology and other detailed measurements of physical features believed to determine racial categorization (Oakley). The effects of the very real racial tensions between Black, White, and American Indian groups in a segregated South continue to play themselves out in the complex identities of many Occaneechi people today. Several informants mentioned these tensions when they discussed stereotypes about American Indians in general and Occaneechi people in particular, as well as how non-Indian people viewed them based on their skin color, hairstyle, or dress (Interview transcripts, December 1, 2009; January 29, 2010; April 25, 2010). In one follow-up interview, a tribal elder emphasized the persistent effects of these racial tensions, particularly on older people in the tribe, recalling that his father had cautioned him about doing demonstrations for the tribe’s educational initiatives and said, “You’re going to get killed doing this, son” (Interview transcript, November 15, 2010). While the informant felt free to express his American Indian identity, he recognized his father continued to feel the effects of earlier decades of discrimination.

When several Occaneechi individuals petitioned the BIA for money for a school again in 1935, Director of Indian Education A. C. Monahan responded in a letter that confirmed the American Indian identity of the Occaneechi applicants, but that stated that the BIA could not afford to fund a school at that time (Nowell, 2000). A 1938 article by Staley Cook in the

Burlington Daily Times-News similarly confirmed a “vibrant, cohesive community” of American Indian people, though the author specifically used the phrase “the Texas Negro of Indian Strain” to describe the Occaneechi residents of Little Texas (Hazel & Dunmore, 1995; Nowell), indicating that non-Indian people had doubts about the legitimacy of the Occaneechi people’s American Indian identities and focused on Occaneechi people’s mixed racial ancestry.

The Occaneechi men in Little Texas were also allowed to vote despite Jim Crow laws. Because of the constant threat of racial discrimination, however, the “Brief History” reported that “the Occaneechi Saponi people continued to live quietly within their own community without publicly drawing attention to themselves” (Hazel & Dunmore, p. 3). Prior to reorganization, most Occaneechi people acknowledged their American Indian heritage and culture with family, but as several of my informants noted, they did not mention it outside the home (Interview transcripts, January 29, 2010; February 19, 2010; March 30, 2010). In order to preserve their distinct culture and to protect themselves from the types of discrimination employed by Whites against African Americans, the Occaneechi were among many Southern Indigenous groups that sought out institutions that were segregated from African Americans as well as from Whites, and they fought to continue the use of these institutions well in into the 1970s when they were eventually legally forced to integrate (Oakley, 2005).

The Occaneechi history that has been recovered and reconstructed since the 1980s was not only a key component of Occaneechi reorganization and recognition, but also played an influential role in Occaneechi people’s identities. In particular, the fact that for many years Occaneechi and other American Indian people in the South kept their histories and cultures closely regulated informed the work of present-day tribal members who have the opportunity to exercise public Occaneechi identities through the Homeland Preservation Project. Each of the

informants with whom I spoke had participated in historical and cultural recovery to allow the Occaneechi people to re-learn information about the historic Occaneechi and reconstruct the history and culture of their tribe. As informants emphasized in initial and follow-up interviews, they saw the Homeland Preservation Project as a tool for mobilizing this reconstructed history and culture to strengthen tribal members' identities and make the tribe visible to the rest of the local community in the wake of discrimination and cultural loss.

Overview of the Homeland Preservation Project Site

The Occaneechi Band of the Saponi Nation began the Homeland Preservation Project in 2005, shortly after recognition in 2002, as a hub for preservation- and education-related initiatives and to give the tribe a piece of communally-owned homeland. In my investigation of my first research question, I gathered data on the general features of the Homeland Preservation Project, including the physical and temporal boundaries, and I will explore the findings on this question in this portion of the chapter. I will also begin to address my fourth research question, focused on how the grassroots approach and site-based model of the Homeland Preservation Project have influenced the structure, representation, and execution of the project's educational components.

History of the Homeland Preservation Project

The Homeland Preservation Project was preceded by several other historic reconstruction projects in which the Occaneechi were involved. The first historic reconstruction that the Occaneechi were involved in was the Occaneechi village reconstruction in Hillsborough of the Occaneechi Town site. The reconstruction included a sweat lodge, an arbor, two *ati* huts, and a dugout canoe (Nowell, 2000). According to a tribal member who helped create the reconstruction, the Occaneechi village in Hillsborough was designed as a complete replica of

Occaneechi Town, with fewer huts to provide space for visitors (Interview transcript, March 30, 2010). The village in Hillsborough was actually moved to the Homeland site after the land was purchased, becoming one of the components of the Homeland project (Interview transcript, November 15, 2010). Occaneechi tribal members and the tribal historian were also involved in the construction of the visitor center at Occaneechee State Park in Clarksville, Virginia, which contains exhibits of artifacts as well as an indoor reconstructed *ati* (Observation field notes, May 16, 2010). The tribe purchased the land for the Homeland Preservation Project in 2004, and completed the first reconstructions and began hosting visitors on site in 2005 (OBSN, n.d.). Since 2005, various components of the site, which are discussed in the following section, were added gradually as they became available to the tribe. According to the Homeland Project website, the purposes of the Homeland site are to serve as a tool for educating tribal members and the public, to draw tourism to the local area, and to improve the tribe's self-sufficiency through employment opportunities and member services (OBSN, n.d.).

The land was selected for purchase based on convenience and significance to the tribe. The land was put up for sale at a time when the tribe was interested in purchasing a piece of land, and the tribe received a good rate on the land because of property specifications that decreased its value for other uses. Unlike the tribal office in downtown Mebane, the land was located within the Pleasant Grove community, where most tribal members reside. The land also had additional meaning to the tribe because Occaneechi families once occupied the land as tenant farmers.

While it provides a source of income for the tribe through school visits and other special events, the land is also costly to develop and maintain. Paying the mortgage became a recurring struggle when few of the tribe's funding sources allowed grants to be used for the land itself (Interview transcript, December 10, 2009). In 2010, the tribal organization had succeeded in paying off

nearly the entire mortgage. The one remaining land payment became due in the summer 2010, but there were few available funds (Observation field notes, October 15, 2009). The tribe was able to pay off the final mortgage payment in early 2011.

The Homeland site is operated by two to four paid staff members, depending on the availability of funds to pay staff salaries, and the paid staff is supplemented by volunteer work from tribal members. When I began collecting data, the tribe employed an office manager, tribal historian, promotions coordinator and groundskeeper. The promotion coordinator's position ended and the office manager's hours decreased in summer 2010 (Observation field notes, July 8, 2010). Aside from the tribal historian, all of the demonstrators at School Days and other events are volunteers (Interview transcripts, December 1, 2009; January 25, 2010). Volunteers do much of the maintenance work on the land, and even the paid staff members do additional, unpaid work on the land, in the office, and at events (Interview transcript, December 1, 2009). The tribal council members who make up the tribe's leadership are also volunteers, elected by tribal members for specified positions and terms according to the tribal constitution (OBSN, n.d.). Most of the volunteers who serve on the council, who act as educational presenters, or who help develop and maintain the land also work full-time and they balance their roles in the tribe with other work, family, and church obligations (Interview transcripts, January 22, 2010; January 29, 2010; February 4, 2010; March 24, 2010). Although much of the tribal leadership would like to be able to hire several full-time employees for the Homeland site, the tribe's finances are a limiting factor for staffing the project and for keeping the site open regular hours (Interview transcripts December 10, 2009; January 25, 2010; February 4, 2010). Despite whatever financial straits the tribe may find itself in due to limited funding sources, however, several informants from the tribe described the land as its own resource, one that could contribute to the cultural and

financial life of the tribe in years to come (Interview transcripts December 10, 2009; January 25, 2010; January 29, 2010; February 19, 2010; April 25, 2010).

Features of the Homeland Preservation Project

The Homeland Preservation Project is a 25-acre piece of farmland located in Alamance County, North Carolina in the area of the county where the Occaneechi community has resided since the late 1700s and early 1800s (Interview transcript, December 1, 2009). The Homeland project is a multi-site reconstruction that contains multiple historical spaces within the larger piece of land. As depicted on the Homeland Project website (OBSN, n.d.) and explained by several informants (Interview transcripts, December 1, 2009; January 25, 2010; January 29, 2010; March 24, 2010), the project is in an ongoing stage of development with certain additional elements planned for the future. In 2010, the Homeland site included a complete reconstructed turn-of-the-18th century village replica based on the Occaneechi Town archeological site, designed to illustrate traditional Occaneechi lifeways during early contact with European settlers, with a cooking pit, several work arbors, living areas, and a palisade fence surrounding the entire village (Observation field notes, October 8, 2009; OBSN, n.d., *Occaneechi Indian Village*).

The Homeland site also included two components of reconstructed farms that had been donated and relocated to the site, a cabin and a smokehouse, which the tribal historian explained were designed to eventually include everything that a visitor would have seen on a working farm of the period (Interview transcript, December 1, 2009). While the Homeland Project website (OBSN, n.d.) describes the site as having one reconstructed 1880s farm that is still in construction, during the 2009 School Days the two components were used to represent farm life in different decades. The tribal historian discussed 1930s farm life at the smokehouse, while several tribal members discussed their personal experiences with 1940s and 1950s tenant farming

at the cabin (Observation field notes, October 8, 2009; October 9, 2009). Visitors could look inside two rooms of the cabin, pump water from a well, and watch the Occaneechi demonstrators use a cross-cut saw and a corn grinder (Observation field notes, October 9, 2009). The 1930s representation consisted mainly of the reconstructed smokehouse for curing tobacco using traditional techniques, as well as a range of other tobacco farming implements (Observation field notes, October 8, 2009; October 9, 2009). Another agricultural component of the Homeland site consists of the heirloom crops, including an apple orchard and plots of chestnuts, pawpaws, and other crops grown from year to year. In addition to these reconstructed components, the Homeland site contains several informational kiosks, an outdoor shelter with picnic tables, and the permanent powwow grounds, which include a drum arbor and a fenced-off dance circle (Observational field notes, October 8, 2009; October 9, 2009). Figure 4, the map distributed to chaperones at the 2009 School Days, depicts the layout of the Homeland site in October 2009.

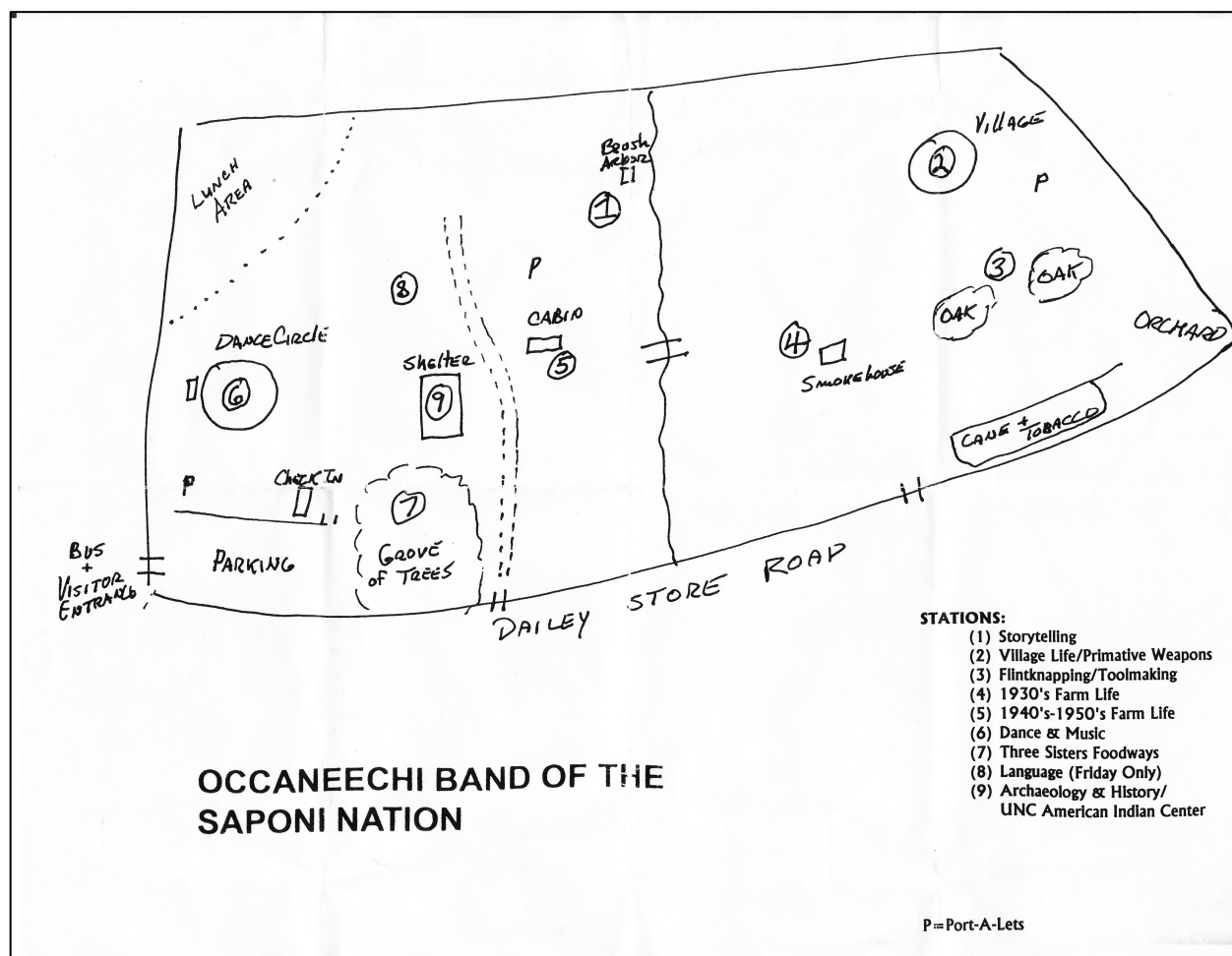


Figure 4. Homeland site map for 2009 School Days.

An element of the Homeland site currently under development is the educational nature trails, which, as one of the tribal members involved in constructing the Homeland Preservation Project explained, will display information about herbs and other plants used for traditional remedies (Interview transcript, March 30, 2010). According to the Homeland Project website (OBSN, n.d.), the future plans for the site also include a multi-purpose building, on which many participants in my study focused as a major goal for the tribe. Plans for this building include a formal museum, the tribe's office space, classroom space, and an auditorium that could serve as a community meeting area. Some additional possibilities that tribal members suggested included

a kitchen that could be used to serve regular meals to elders in the tribe, an area that could serve as an emergency shelter during severe weather, and a health facility or healing space (Interview transcripts, December 10, 2009; February 19, 2010; March 24, 2010).

In addition to addressing the features of the Homeland project, my first research question also focused on the physical and temporal boundaries of the project. The lack of funding available to keep the site open regular hours limits visitation of the site, since visitors can only access the site during annual events or by scheduling a visit. While the tribe's leadership and staff would like to keep the site open more, one staff member explained that keeping regular hours and expanding visitor access to the site would also add to the amount of resources required for upkeep (Interview transcript, December 1, 2009). As this staff member suggested, establishing visitor hours on a daily or even weekly basis would mean that the tribe could not postpone any of the chores around the site, as is often done during busy times of year when there are gaps in scheduled visits. When visitors could show up at any time, he said, "you need more people to be working out there and you have to expend more resources keeping the place up" (Interview transcript, December 10, 2009). Resources are also a limiting factor in the Homeland Preservation Project. Several informants, both tribal members and staff, reported that they would like to be able to include a little bit more of the surrounding land in the Homeland purchase, as the site acreage limits what can be included (Interview transcripts, December 10, 2009; January 22, 2010). Finances further limited the tribe's ability to protect the boundaries of the land that they did purchase; according to a tribal staff member, local children occasionally drove off-road vehicles onto the land before a complete fence could be added in 2010 (Interview transcript, December 10, 2009).

While financial constraints have postponed the addition of a formal museum building, they have in effect created a broader definition for the Homeland Preservation Project as a museum. Because visitors come to see a series of reconstructions rather than a single museum building, the physical boundaries of the educational space extend to include the entire site. The tribe's decision to include historical reconstructions from different periods of Occaneechi history also establishes many temporal layers for the Homeland Preservation Project. Occaneechi history is not confined to the traditional village reconstructed from archaeological evidence, but instead extends to include 19th and 20th century tobacco and subsistence farming as equally representative of Occaneechi culture.

This representation of change over time counters representations of American Indian people that situate them primarily in the historical past and that deny the legitimacy of adaptations in American Indian culture and tradition in response to social and political changes over time. The site instead reflects not only what is known about the traditional lifeways indigenous to the area, but also the shared agricultural heritage of the community and the contributions of Occaneechi community members to the local tobacco industry. A major feature of the site is the frequency of changes to its components, and the tribal staff members explained that the tribe targets additions and improvements to the site each year so that repeat visitors can encounter new aspects of tribal culture and history (Interview transcripts, December 10, 2009; March 24, 2010).

Homeland Site Uses and Events

While representatives of the tribe have visited local area schools to give presentations on Occaneechi history and culture, the tribe uses the Homeland site as a nonformal educational setting for hosting community events and field trips for local schools and organizations. No

formal classes are held at the Homeland site, but visitors to the site instead see demonstrations and may ask questions of the demonstrators. Beyond its role as a nonformal educational setting, the site also serves as a resource for the tribe as a communally-owned homeland. While I was able to observe some of the events on the Homeland site, others I could only learn about from tribal members who were involved with them. The Homeland Preservation Project encompassed both the tribe's current use of the property to display several historic reconstructions, and all of the ongoing plans for possible uses of the land. The Homeland site is currently open to the public by appointment only, but it also holds several major public events every year.

While a number of groups—including school groups, retirement communities, historical societies, agricultural organizations, Boy Scout troops, and others—schedule visits to the site, the largest number of visitors attends the annual School Days (Interview transcript, December 1, 2009). As the tribal historian explained, this event consists of two days in the fall when hundreds of local area school children come to the site on a field trip for part or all of the day (Interview transcript, December 1, 2009). During School Days, a number of volunteers from the tribe and experts from other organizations come to present information to visitors at several themed areas, labeled as “stations” with small, moveable signs. Some of the stations consist of volunteers standing at each of the historic reconstructions on the Homeland site, while others were simply tables set up with objects to facilitate demonstration of a specific topic. The 2009 School Days included stations on traditional dance, 1930s farm life, 1940s-1950s farm life, village life, traditional weapons, and Tutelo-Saponi language, all staffed by Occaneechi volunteers, as well as stations on archaeology, Indigenous foods, flintknapping, and storytelling staffed by archaeologists and American Indian students from UNC and volunteers from other state tribes

(Observation field notes, October 8, 2010; October 9, 2010). The stations and their locations are depicted in Figure 4.

In addition to the School Days events, which are open to the public, visitors can also come to the site during the annual powwow. Although the powwow is in large part a reunion event in which families gather and members of many of the state tribes perform drumming and dancing, several tribal members and staff reported that the tribe also considers the powwow to be a community education event (Interview transcripts, January 25, 2010; January 29, 2010; March 24, 2010; March 30, 2010). The powwow adds a number of contemporary American Indian elements to the site, including vendors selling clothing, jewelry, crafts, and foods. In addition to the powwow, the Homeland site also has a variety of other uses for tribal members. For instance, the tribe has consecrated the Homeland site as ceremonial ground. Several participants reported to me that they visit the Homeland site for personal and spiritual reasons in order to feel grounded on that particular space (Interview transcripts, February 19, 2010; April 25, 2010). The Homeland site is always available to tribal members for such visits, and as one informant explained, “I know when I need to go” (Interview transcript, February 19, 2010). Some tribal members also use the site for events that are not open to the public, such as healing ceremonies or welcoming ceremonies for visitors from other Indigenous groups (Interview transcript, February 19, 2010). Furthermore, other initiatives within the tribe, such as the Health Circle and the youth group, use the Homeland site periodically. For instance, the youth group has several donated telescopes that they use for stargazing on the site (Interview transcript, February 4, 2010).

While the site currently has this wide variety of uses, informants voiced different ideas for further expanding the uses for the site within the local community. These different

interpretations for the roles that the site could serve in the future reflect the broad scope of possibilities that informants imagined for expanding the site's current uses. The tribe plans to use the future building on the site not only for tribal events, but also for community gatherings or even as a polling place for voting in elections (Interview transcript, March 24, 2010; OBSN, n.d.). Several informants also reported to me that they would like the building to offer educational resources such as computers, tutoring, and basic education classes to the entire community, possibly hosting extension courses from the local community college (Interview transcripts, January 22, 2010; January 29, 2010; March 24, 2010). Furthermore, several tribal members and staff reported that they hoped that, as it develops, the site will become a tourism draw within the region, bringing economic stimulus to the entire local area while also preserving the shared agricultural heritage of the Occaneechi and their non-Indian neighbors (Interview transcripts, December 10, 2009; February 4, 2010). One of the goals of the tribal organization is to eventually have some form of heirloom agricultural product, such as apple cider or molasses, for sale to visitors, and the tribal historian suggested that in the near future they would like to host community events on the site in the style of communal farm work, such as barn raisings and wood choppings, once common in the local area (Interview transcript, December 10, 2009). He explained that these events, which might include shucking corn or making molasses, would both demonstrate the production process and serve as community gatherings.

While the Homeland Preservation Project is a major initiative of the tribe, it is not the only preservation- or education-related project of the Occaneechi people. Volunteers have also conducted guest visits in school classrooms, spoken at church events, participated in other powwows, and contributed to statewide American Indian heritage events. Several tribal members and staff reported that they and others in the tribe had spoken with teachers and worked with

local schools to ensure that the curriculum includes local state-recognized tribes, rather than focusing solely on the state's one federally-recognized tribe, the Eastern Band of the Cherokee (Interview transcripts, March 24, 2010; March 30, 2010; April 25, 2010). Several tribal members also mentioned their involvement in a variety of other educational events that the tribe offered for tribal members, including the youth group's instruction in drumming and dancing, Tutelo-Saponi language lessons for youth and adults, and Health Circle programs that included a recent series of workshops on recovering Occaneechi identity (Interview transcripts, February 4, 2010; February 19, 2010; April 25, 2010). The Homeland site is central to many Occaneechi preservation and education initiatives, not just the education of visitors. The future vision for the site encompasses this holistic relationship between all of the tribe's initiatives with the planned multi-purpose building. The site is used not only literally for events and activities, but also figuratively, in representing the contemporary existence of the tribe through their ownership of a particular physical space and control over its use.

Some tribal members expressed an interest in having an even broader range of facilities if the resources were available, including a health center and a tribal school (Interview transcripts, January 29, 2010; April 25, 2010). The breadth of planned and proposed initiatives on the Homeland site, then, illustrates the holistic nature of the project and its aim to encompass all of the tribe's member services and outreach activities. One tribal member even expressed the hope that the tribe could have "not necessarily a reservation, but...everything on our land. You know, our own—*our* own city" (Interview transcript, January 29, 2010). While an idealistic notion, this tribal member's interest in having the Homeland project serve as a living space for tribal members as well as place for preservation and education illustrates the broadest extent of the function that tribal members imagine the Homeland site *could* have within the tribe. According

to several members of the tribal leadership, all of the current uses of the Homeland project for the tribe and visiting groups are intended to further the tribe's mission to preserve, protect, and promote their history, culture, and traditions while providing social, economic, and education resources (Interview transcripts, January 22, 2010; January 25, 2010; February 4, 2010). While only one tribal member is currently employed on the site as a groundskeeper, the staff reported that the tribe hopes to one day be able to keep the site open on a regular basis and to employ 10 or 15 tribal members in management and operations (Interview transcripts, December 10, 2009; March 24, 2010). While the economic impact of the Homeland project on the tribe and its members remains to be realized, several tribal members and staff also saw the site as significant in its cultural contributions to the tribe and the community (Interview transcripts, December 10, 2009; February 19, 2010; April 25, 2010), providing a location for staging both preservation and promotion of cultural resources and for educating both tribal members and non-Indian visitors about these recovered and preserved histories.

Critical Incidents in the Case Study

As recommended by Patton (2002) as one option for organizing and reporting qualitative data, I have arranged my remaining descriptive findings into "critical incidents" or major events that I observed over the course of data collection (p. 439). To evaluate how the grassroots approach and site-based model of the Homeland Preservation Project influenced its educational components, I selected four critical incidents through which to examine the Homeland Preservation Project as a museum institution in relation to three other representations of American Indian people in museums. To characterize the Homeland Preservation Project as a museum, I have selected my observation of the 2009 School Days event, since this event brings the largest number of visitors to the Homeland site and is the primary public education use of the

Homeland site. In studying the Homeland Preservation Project as an education initiative, I talked with informants about their involvement with School Days and other programming, and the informants also frequently mentioned their participation in off-site events. Although the Occaneechi have participated in a wide range of community education initiatives, the other large-scale public event occurring in 2009 was the American Indian Heritage Celebration held at the North Carolina Museum of History in November. I attended the statewide event and observed Occaneechi tribal and staff members' participation, as well as visitor interactions with special exhibits and performances highlighting each of the eight state-recognized tribes. My observations of the Oconeechee State Park visitor center and the National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI) also constitute critical incidents in my case study because I visited these museums to better understand the comments and comparisons made by several of my participants, who mentioned these museums when discussing their experiences viewing exhibits about American Indian people and their visions for the Homeland project's future museum building. While I analyzed the Homeland Preservation Project as a type of new museum, informants often focused on the planned museum building when they discussed the Homeland as a museum, so a tension exists between the current Homeland site and these many visions of its future museum building. Informants, then, used a variety of conceptions of the Homeland site as a museum when comparing their work with the Homeland project with their experiences visiting other museums.

In the following critical incidents, I highlight the major features of four separate events or exhibits in order to complete my background portrait of the Homeland Preservation Project. By conducting observations of the Occaneechi School Days, the North Carolina American Indian Heritage Celebration, the Oconeechee State Park visitor center, and the National Museum of the

American Indian, I was able to draw comparisons to understand how other representations of American Indian people overlap with or inform the museum-making work done by Occaneechi tribal and staff members.

School Days

The School Days take place on the Homeland site every fall, as a two-day event bringing in hundreds of school children from the surrounding counties of Caswell, Guilford, Orange, and others. I observed the 2009 School Days in a year when school budgets had been cut, field trips had been minimized, and the office manager reported only about half of the record attendance they had experienced in the previous year (Field notes, October 5, 2010). According to tribal staff member who organizes the event, the school groups most commonly consist of 4th grade or 8th grade students, since the 4th grade curriculum covers American history and the 8th grade curriculum covers North Carolina history (Interview transcript, March 24, 2010), although in 2009 the School Days also had a large contingent of kindergarten-aged homeschooled children (Observation field notes, October 8, 2010). The groups come in at different times depending on their school schedules. While I was observing, most of the school groups came for the morning, ate a sack lunch on the Homeland site, and returned to school in the early afternoon. As the school groups arrived in busses or personal vehicles, the groundskeeper directed parking and the office manager and a few volunteers sat at a reception table labeled “information” to greet the visitors. Some parent chaperones came to the reception table to pay visitor fees that had not been paid in advance, and the table also had maps of the site for teachers and chaperones (see Figure 4). As groups arrived, the office manager welcomed them to the site and offered some information on the Homeland and its role in preserving and showcasing Occaneechi culture and history. She also divided school groups into manageable sizes for traveling around the site from

station to station, and assigned volunteers to act as guides for the groups as needed. Many of the teachers had come to School Days in previous years. Being familiar with the site, they used the map for a self-guided tour.

The School Days volunteers filled a range of roles—from dressing in regalia and performing traditional dances or demonstrating traditional lifeways to wearing t-shirts with the Occaneechi name or tribal seal and leading school groups around the site. Some of the volunteers were Occaneechi, some came from other tribes or American Indian organizations in the state, and some were not American Indian at all. The Homeland site is cut in half by a small stream, with the dance circle and shelter on the side closest to the parking area and the village, smokehouse, and orchards on the far side. As I moved around the site with various school groups, each station focused on some specific aspect of local American Indian culture and history, with some demonstrators comparing ancient ways of life to modern ones and others emphasizing the continuing lives of contemporary American Indian people. One of the first stations I visited was the storytelling station, nestled in the woods at the periphery of the site. A different woman did the storytelling each day, but on both days the storyteller was a member of the Lumbee tribe, wearing regalia commonly seen at Pan-American Indian powwows (see Figure 5). Both storytellers talked to visitors about their regalia and one used the word “Pan-Indian” to explain the role of powwows for contemporary tribes (Observation field notes, October 8, 2009).



Figure 5. Lumbee storyteller in jingle dress at School Days.

At another station, where visitors could learn about American Indian contributions to society, several University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill students from various state tribes brought posters and other resources from the university's American Indian Center. They talked to visitors about foods and tools native to the Americas that people continue to use today. At that station, children and their parents were surprised to learn the native origins of items such as tomatoes and toothbrushes (Observation field notes, October 8, 2009).

Other presenters were experts or professionals in a relevant field, for instance the archaeologists who showed maps of the Occaneechi Town dig site to visitors and explained how

the archaeologists doing the excavation used clues to draw conclusions about the village (Observation field notes, October 8, 2009). However, a majority of presenters at Schools Days were Occaneechi people with special expertise in a particular area of culture or history. Several Occaneechi women demonstrated a few of the powwow dances and discussed the regalia that they were wearing, inviting students into the powwow circle and joining hands to participate in the dance together (Observation field notes, October 8, 2009). At the village (see Figure 6), another woman in a fringed leather dress demonstrated traditional cooking techniques and discussed indigenous foods. She allowed the children to hold examples of foods and cooking implements, and the children asked her questions, to which she responded matter-of-factly, sometimes humorously. For instance, when one child asked, “What’s that big spoon?” she responded, “That’s my big spoon!” (Observation field notes, October 8, 2009). Another woman in the village area showed the children some dream catchers she had made and told stories to explain the spiritual and cultural role of the dream catcher (Observation field notes, October 8, 2009). She explained that dream catchers are important to many different Indigenous cultures and have come to carry many meanings in people’s contemporary lives. She showed visitors one dream catcher that was adorned with feathers, beads, and other decorative objects that had been given to her as gifts by other Indigenous people, symbolizing this shared significance.



Figure 6. Visitors at School Days stations.

Also in the village, two Occaneechi men focused on traditional lifeways. One man displayed a range of tools, and explained the evolution of tool making from use of sticks and stones to animal claws (Observation field notes, October 8, 2009). He had objects for children to touch as he explained their origins and traditional uses, including animal skulls and furs in addition to the tools. Another man, set up just outside the village, had cordoned off an area where he displayed traditional weapons that he had crafted, including a spear, an atlatl, a dart gun, and a bow and arrow. He demonstrated each weapon in turn. After throwing a spear, he showed the children how much farther he could throw it using an atlatl, and then he shot an arrow from the bow, explaining that the arrow would go even farther and faster. The children gasped with surprise at how much greater each weapon's range was than the one before. Both of these demonstrators spoke of "primitive man" in a general sense (Observation field notes, October 8, 2009), not focusing solely on Occaneechi history, but instead highlighting the grand

development of human society and comparing the technologies of previous eras to those in use today.

The Occaneechi presenters at the farm reconstructions (see Figure 7) also seemed interested in comparing past traditions with features of the children's present-day lifestyles. Two men and one woman stood around outside the cabin, one of the men telling the children animated stories about his childhood growing up in the cabin. When they were children, these demonstrators lived on the farmland that now comprises the Homeland site, so they told the children stories of playing in the stream, waiting for the bus, and most importantly doing their chores before school. The two men demonstrated some of the chores—cutting wood, grinding corn—and allowed the children to try some of the others, such as pumping water from a well. One of the men, now a Baptist minister, explained to the children the differences between his upbringing and theirs in terms of basic needs and luxuries. While some of his stories, such as going to town only once a year and owning only two pairs of shoes, resembled standard tropes among older people, others emphasized the pleasures of rural life rather than its hardships: “Do you like eating off a grill?” he asked the children. “Well I’ll tell you, a wood stove makes grilled food [seem] bad!” (Observation field notes, October 8, 2009). Similarly he explained that he did not know what a loaf of bread was as a child: “I didn’t! If you put one of my mom’s biscuits in your mouth, you wouldn’t want to know what a loaf of bread was either!” The demonstrators at the cabin also suggested some commonalities between rural life in the 1950s and 1960s and some middle class suburban tastes today, claiming that they ate “organic” with home-grown vegetables, fresh eggs, and homemade butter (Observation field notes, October 8, 2009), just as many people living in the suburbs now have the option to purchase organic produce, meats, and other foods at grocery stores and to obtain locally-grown foods at farmers’ markets.



Figure 7. Tribal staff member talking to visitors at the reconstructed smokehouse.

During my visit to the School Days, I noticed that the activities and demonstrations conveyed Occaneechi culture as changing over several centuries. One of my informants later explained that he thought the site provides “a more fascinating trip” than just a reconstructed village alone would convey, and that visitors to the Homeland site journey from the present-day to the 17th century and back again (Interview transcript, January 25, 2010). Not only do the reconstructions illustrate changes in how Occaneechi people lived from the late 1600s up to the 1950s, but the demonstrators also added even more nuance to the historical contexts. For example, the metal pots present in the village cooking pit provided demonstrators with the opportunity to explain the significance of Occaneechi trade relationships with European settlers in the Homeland project’s illustration of some of the traditional Indigenous practices of the Occaneechi (Observation field notes, October 9, 2009). Some of the demonstrators extended time well before the Occaneechi Town reconstruction, encouraging visitors to think about the

historic Occaneechi in relation to even older common ancestors and the tools they used to survive. But any natural history museum could display American Indian cultures alongside artifacts of much older societies; where the Homeland site diverged in its representations was the 19th- and 20th-century portrayals of Occaneechi life. According to the tribal historian, the farm reconstructions were meant to look very much like local area farms that existed through the early 20th century (Interview transcript, December 10, 2009). The point the tribe wishes to convey with these reconstructions is that while Occaneechi people contributed distinct farming practices such as flue-curing tobacco, they shared many of the same agricultural ways of life that their non-Indian neighbors practiced. As the tribal historian explained to me and as I observed during School Days, the message that the reconstructions and the demonstrators tell to visitors is that times change, and so do the Occaneechi (Interview transcript, December 1, 2009).

The presence of contemporary Occaneechi people on the Homeland site during School Days contributed to the illustration for visitors that Occaneechi people have changed over time. Many of the presenters took care to mention how they have been affected by the loss of Occaneechi cultural knowledge, growing up unable to speak of their American Indian heritage and having to recover historical and culture knowledge as adults (Observation field notes, October 8, 2009). Not only could visitors ask direct questions that might not be answered at a traditional museum, but they also encountered contemporary Occaneechi culture during the short period of time at School Days in which their lives overlapped with the lives of their Occaneechi hosts. In many cases, these connections were direct and personal, as when I heard one child exclaim of an Occaneechi elder in the dance circle (see Figure 8), “Me and her were holding hands!” (Observation field notes, October 8, 2009). While traditional museums also speak to visitors through their texts and engage in dialogue with visitors in certain ways, the Homeland

project speaks through individual people who represent the tribe. Unlike curators of traditional museums, who participate in this dialogue through the arrangement of displays and the content of display texts, Occaneechi people dictate what the museum says because, in some ways, they *are* the museum. Occaneechi histories and experiences as told by volunteers are on display just as the historic reconstructions and objects are. While Indigenous people have often been put on display in colonial contexts to symbolize the conquests of colonizing peoples, the Homeland site is a place where Occaneechi people put themselves on display in order to be seen and heard.



Figure 8. Visitors join Occaneechi demonstrators in the dance circle.

Given that Occaneechi people are also the subjects of display, interactions and connections could be complex and fraught with interpersonal tensions. I watched one parent, for example, approach an Occaneechi volunteer to ask if there was a teepee on the site. The volunteer explained that the Occaneechi never lived in teepees, and that Occaneechi *atis* were domed and bark-covered, while teepees were tall and pointed to slough off snow. As she

explained these differences, the visitor impatiently responded, “I know, I’m from Canada,” as if the volunteer had explained to her what snow was, rather than the functions of different forms of Indigenous housing (Observation field notes, October 8, 2009). The woman’s misunderstanding illustrated a common misconception among visitors that all American Indians lived in teepees. A tribal staff member commented that simply having visitors come to the site and *not* see teepees was one step toward breaking down this stereotype (Interview transcript, December 10, 2009). When the children at School Days saw pictures of the excavated Occaneechi village site, the children similarly guessed that the round imprints archeologists had found in the soil were evidence of teepees with fires inside. The teepee was clearly a familiar image for many non-Indian people. I was reminded by these observations that the interactions that visitors had with Occaneechi people on the site were not neutral; instead, they were necessarily informed by the experiences and prior knowledges that both parties brought with them to the situation. Accordingly, visitor-demonstrator interaction required both sides to subject their own knowledge to that of the other from time to time, which might be an uncomfortable act for either.

A final feature of the School Days event that stood out to me was the use of objects, which were positioned to give the visitors more direct contact than they would have in a traditional museum exhibit such as the Occaneechee State Park visitor center or the National Museum of the American Indian. While museums tend to present objects as untouchable relics preserved in glass boxes, the objects displayed during School Days were out in the open on tables or mats, and visitors were encouraged to hold or use them. Some specific examples follow (Observation field notes, October 8, 2009; October 9, 2009). At the smokehouse, a presenter even named the person who had owned each of the objects that he showed to the children. This exercise might have had little meaning for the visitors who did not know the Occaneechi families

that he named, but it accorded personal significance to the objects themselves. The naming of former owners made the point that the tobacco planter and the smokehouse were not artifacts that were dug up or discovered, but rather they were objects used by real Occaneechi people in their everyday lives. Furthermore, Occaneechi tools were not the only objects on display during School Days. In the village, demonstrators also showed metal pots and tools, and the cooking pit even featured a dried up ear of corn grown in recent years, which the demonstrator compared with an ear of Indian corn to show the differences between indigenous and genetically modified crops. Here, an object that could easily have come from the visitor's own kitchen table was displayed side-by-side with an example of the food eaten by the historic Occaneechi. At the language station, the objects on display were not artifacts at all. Instead, the animal furs and skulls were just props for children to use as they acted out a conversation between a muskrat and a deer in the Tutelo-Saponi language (see Figure 9). While all museums provide a physical space for visitors to engage with the information in the exhibits, during School Days the Homeland site provided a more interactive space than most museums. School Days offered a rare level of access, not only for visitors, who could both touch the objects and be touched by personal interactions with their hosts, but also for volunteers, who could be present to personally convey the museum's information and message. This level of access for Occaneechi people can have positive or negative elements, in the case of having visitors either personally thank them or confront them with stereotypical ideas, but was a notable component of the grassroots construction of the Homeland project regardless of the outcome.



Figure 9. Children act out a dialogue in the Tutelo-Saponi language.

American Indian Heritage Celebration

In addition to volunteering at School Days, several Occaneechi people also served as demonstrators at the American Indian Heritage Celebration, another key event described by informants. The American Indian Heritage Celebration is a statewide event hosted each November by the North Carolina Museum of History in Raleigh in conjunction with nationwide American Indian Heritage Month, with 2009 marking the 14th annual event. Representatives from each of the eight state-recognized tribes participate in educational programming (see Appendix J for the state tribes and their locations). The event, like a modern powwow, is both a social gathering and cultural event for American Indian people from the state tribes and a community education event for members of the non-Indian public. I attended the November 2009 event, at which representatives from each state tribe were listed in the event program and recognized; dancers, drum groups, and even a rock band performed; vendors sold jewelry, quilts,

pine needle baskets, food, and music recordings; and demonstrators provided information about a wide range of topics (North Carolina Museum of History [NCMH], 2009). The event website (NCMH, 2009) described the event as a festival commemorating American Indian Heritage Month, and advertised opportunities to see cultural performances, participate in craft-making and games, and learn about state tribes.

Some of the Occaneechi demonstrators illustrated and discussed traditional lifeways, including an Occaneechi food ways table set up on the first floor of the museum and a dugout canoe burning outside on the museum steps (Observation field notes, November 21, 2009). There were live demonstrations of graffiti art (see Figure 10), weaving, and weapons making. A series of children's craft tables were scattered throughout the museum, allowing children to map out a beadwork design using colored stickers, make a jingle cone similar to those adorning some of the dance regalia, make a dream catcher, and write their names in Cherokee. In the plaza outside the museum, a master of ceremonies or emcee, a key figure in American Indian powwows (Gelo, 1999), announced the schedule of events and called dancers to the stage in between performances by drum groups and singers. In the green space across the street from the museum, visitors could play stickball and see an *ati* hut that had been constructed for the event to illustrate the traditional housing structures of the state's Indigenous peoples (see Figure 11).



Figure 10. Graffiti artist painting “Native Life.”



Figure 11. Ati constructed for the American Indian Heritage Celebration.

While the event website described the celebration as “10,000 years in a day,” most of the focus of the event was on the cultures and identities of the contemporary American Indian people who are part of the North Carolina tribes. For example, the emcee explained how present-day North Carolina tribes use powwows to celebrate their heritage and foster Pan-American Indian relationships, and most of the objects representing American Indian culture were either being sold by the artists who made them or replicated as craft projects by visiting children (Observation field notes, November 21, 2009). The tables set up throughout the museum for vendors, children’s crafts, and information about American Indian peoples and cultures, however, were interspersed among the museum’s exhibits (see Figure 12) so that visitors could also read about the state’s American Indian history in the museum displays.



Figure 12. Sign for the “North Carolina Indians Past and Present” exhibit alongside vendors.

The Occaneechi participated in several specific aspects of the November 2009 event; Occaneechi staff and tribal members presented at the informational table about Occaneechi food

ways, but they also discussed other aspects of Occaneechi history and culture with interested visitors. Other tribal members worked on the dugout canoe burning throughout the day, while others sold their crafts at vendor tables. The tribe also played a DVD in the museum auditorium that gave an historic overview of the tribe. In the video, the tribal chairman described the tribe as having a “huge kindred spirit,” while another tribal member in the video highlighted the struggles of contemporary Occaneechi people: “to have your story interpreted by everyone else...leaving home to get a mainstream education,” but also “dancing in defiance and triumph” (The Museum of the Native American Resource Center at UNC-Pembroke & North Carolina Commission of Indian Affairs, 2008). Limited funding was a drawback for Occaneechi participants, however. While School Days brought in a per-child admission charge to the tribe, the American Indian Heritage Celebration asked tribes to send volunteers and provided an honorarium in return, which, as the tribal historian reported at the October 2009 tribal council meeting, was cut by half from 2008 to 2009 (Observation field notes, October 15, 2009). Tribes were also prohibited from selling products at their informational booths, allowing only registered vendors to bring in sales revenue. Although the tribe contemplated not participating in the November 2009 event because of limited human resources and funding cuts, the council ultimately elected to send several representatives because of the educational purpose of the event (Observation field notes, October 15, 2009). As in the case of School Days, this two-day event brought in local area school children with school tours on Friday and the public celebration on Saturday (NCMH, 2009, “Education Day”).

Aside from the fact that Occaneechi people participated in the event, the American Indian Heritage Celebration had some other similarities to the Occaneechi School Days. Like School Days, the American Indian Heritage Celebration relied on the volunteer efforts of tribal

members, although in this case from all eight of the state's tribes rather than just one. Visitors to the event had the opportunity, as did the visitors to School Days, to interact with present-day American Indian people who live in their state. Another similarity to School Days was the organization of the museum space using tables set up as stations, with different stations focused on displaying or demonstrating different topics or themes (NCMH, 2009). The American Indian Heritage Celebration, however, had more of a festival atmosphere. While the Occaneechi offered some items for sale to School Days visitors, the American Indian Heritage Celebration had many more vendors selling products and food, providing visitors to the event many opportunities to purchase souvenirs and craft items from members of the state tribes. At the same time, American Indian people from across the state were also among the visitors, and at the event I saw many dancers, vendors, and visitors socializing (see Figure 13) (Observation field notes, November 21, 2009). Another major divergence from the Occaneechi School Days was the presence of a formal museum. Sponsored by the North Carolina Museum of History, the American Indian Heritage Celebration makes use of the exhibit spaces as well as the demonstrators from state tribes. As the Occaneechi try to do at School Days, the American Indian Heritage Celebration purported to represent the changes in the state's Indigenous peoples over time, but in doing so most of the event demonstrations and displays focused on either traditional or contemporary culture rather than specific transitions or adaptations of the state's American Indian cultures.

Unlike many traditional museums, which include static displays that may remain unchanged for many months or even years, the formal museum space of the North Carolina Museum of History was used for a dynamic event during American Indian Heritage Celebration, which, like School Days, occurs annually but changes in the exact activities that occur and the individual people who contribute to the event. The ability to draw explicit connections with the

present is not limited to grassroots museums controlled by American Indian people, but being present on the site does enable American Indian people to showcase or verbalize those connections themselves if desired. The grassroots nature of both the American Indian Heritage Celebration and the School Days also makes it easier for the museum to make explicit connections with contemporary American Indian people and cultures because in larger-scale formal museums, updating exhibits every year is not as feasible.



Figure 13. Dancers and visitors in the courtyard between performances.

Finally, just as some tensions existed between visitors and demonstrators at School Days, the emcee at the American Indian Heritage Celebration made light of the potential gaps between non-Indian visitors and American Indian visitors, performers, and demonstrators. Introducing the horse-stealing dance, the emcee explained, “Indians and the federal government don’t get along so well.” After a pause, he went on, “That was a joke, you were supposed to laugh” (Observation field notes, November 21, 2009). In the context of the festival, the tensions between White

visitors, represented by the United States government, and American Indian people did not take the form of an overt conflict or disagreement. Instead, the emcee used humor as a mechanism for dealing with these tensions. Both the roles of explaining the history and meaning of events and entertaining the crowd with jokes are essential functions of a powwow emcee (Gelo, 1999); jokes often focus on White authority figures, such as government bureaucrats, police officers, or anthropologists, in order to explore power relationships and portray Whites being fooled by the American Indian trickster (Gelo; Schoen & Armagost, 1992; Tannen, 1986). As Gelo explained of powwow humor, aside from filling time, “constant joking is also a means of broaching Indian identity....To this end the emcee turns his wit on himself and those around him” (p. 50). While the American Indian Heritage Celebration event is meant to bring members of state tribes and the non-Indian public together to celebrate the state’s American Indian heritage and cultures, however, the failure of the emcee’s joke about the tensions between these groups reflects the fact that such tensions persist into the present day.

Occoneechee State Park Visitor Center

I also visited the Occoneechee State Park visitor center located in Clarksville, Virginia, after several informants mentioned the site in their interviews as the formal museum representing Occaneechi history. As the main goal of Occoneechee State Park is to provide the public with outdoor recreation, the park website (Virginia Department of Conservation and Recreation [VDCCR], 2010) includes only a short statement about the visitor center, which asserts that, in addition to camper registration and a gift shop, “the center features Native American history, ‘The Occoneechee Story,’ a living hut and artifacts.” While, particularly in the context of other “living village” events that the Occaneechi have conducted (Interview transcript, March 30, 2010), the term “living hut” could be construed as a location for visitors to see reenactments of

historical Occaneechi cultural practices, in fact the term refers to a building reconstruction. The website also includes several paragraphs of history, which include an overview of the influential position the Occaneechi occupied until Bacon's Rebellion in 1676 (VDCR, 2010). The website also prominently features a picture of a teepee (see Figure 14), which provided one possible explanation for the visitor's insistence at School Days that the Homeland site had a teepee.



Figure 14. Banner on the Occoneechee State Park website showing a teepee.

No teepee existed on the site, however, when I visited in May 2010. Instead, an entire *ati* hut had been constructed to occupy a corner of the museum exhibit (see Figure 15). In the center of the room, Occaneechi regalia were on display in a glass case (see Figure 16). A series of panels (see Figure 17) made up the informational display of Occaneechi history and culture, beginning with the Paleo-Indian period on the left side of the room and ending with the various paths of Occaneechi dispersal from Fort Christanna on the right (Observation field notes, May 16, 2010).



Figure 15. Furs inside the *ati* replica at Occoneechee State Park.



Figure 16. Case with Occaneechi regalia.



Figure 17. Display panel for Occaneechi Town.

As I did at the School Days, I noticed at the Occoneechee State Park visitor center how objects were used within the exhibit space; at the visitor center, replicas and artifacts were displayed together. Many of the informational panels included display boxes with a mixture of artifacts and object replicas from the period described (see Figure 18) (Observation field notes, May 16, 2010). By portraying these two types of objects together, the museum gives the same level of authority to replicas as it does to artifacts recovered from archaeological sites. The mixture of replicas and artifacts might mislead some visitors to believe that *all* of the objects were artifacts. The replicas were clearly labeled as such, however, which suggests that the curators viewed both artifacts and replicas as equally useful for representing historic Occaneechi culture. At the visitor center, however, an object being a replica did not mean that visitors could touch it. Instead, every object, except for those inside the *ati*, was contained inside a glass case. The kinds of objects on display were similar at the visitor center and School Days: weapons, foods, cookware, and trade goods. Yet while volunteers at School Days could demonstrate how all of the objects on display at the Homeland were used, visitors could not see objects in use at the Occoneechee State Park visitor center. On the other hand, at the Homeland site visitors could only see the objects when Occaneechi volunteers brought them to the site for School Days and other events, while they can see any of the objects on display in the visitor center during its daily hours of operation.

Just as several of the demonstrators at School Days emphasized the basic needs and common tools for survival used by many early peoples, the Occoneechee State Park visitor center began its story with the crossing of Beringia in order to include information on the earlier human civilizations from which the Occaneechi descended. The Occoneechee State Park and the village demonstrators at School Days both focused on objects that represented trade commodities

common during the period of European contact with the Occaneechi. The most notable difference between the Occaneechee State Park visitor center and the two earlier critical incidents, however, was that the visitor center did not offer visitors any opportunities for direct personal interactions with American Indian people. Instead, objects and display texts represented contemporary Occaneechi people. For example, the display text on the case with tribal regalia described present-day tribal governance and the significance of the tribe's powwow. The text mentioned the "renewed pride in Indian heritage" that the regalia, made by contemporary tribal members, exemplify (Observation field notes, May 16, 2010). Two banners in the corners of the exhibit contained a prayer and the illustrated portrait of a tribal elder whom I recognized (Observation field notes, May 16, 2010), although most visitors would likely not realize that the portrait was of a present-day Occaneechi tribal member. The use of images of present-day tribal members to represent the historic Occaneechi could also lead visitors to develop misconceptions about both the historic and present-day Occaneechi if they did not read the accompanying text.



Figure 18. Replica trade goods: glass beads, metal jewelry, and mirrors.

Because no other visitors were in the museum exhibit during the several hours on the Sunday afternoon when I conducted my observation, I was unable to observe any visitor interactions with the exhibit. I did, however, hear the impressions of several informants who discussed the Occoneechee State Park visitor center in their interviews. One of my informants in particular voiced the hope that the formal museum planned for the Homeland project would depict the bitter struggle that the Occaneechi people have endured to preserve their culture and heritage and would not de-politicize the history as he felt the Occoneechee State Park visitor center had done (Interview transcript, April 25, 2010). In my observation, however, I noticed that the exhibit text here was actually quite direct in addressing the key political conflict of Bacon's Rebellion. The panel on Bacon's Rebellion described the conflicts between the Occaneechi and Europeans, as well as other tribes. The panel even included negative portrayals of the historic Occaneechi by European settlers, such as a description that they "live as lazy and miserable as any people in the world," although no editorial comment was given (Observation field notes, May 16, 2010). The panel about the migration Southward of the ancestors of the present-day Occaneechi tribal members discussed the cultural loss they experienced as well as the survival of a distinct community, herbal remedies, and basket making (Observation field notes, May 16, 2010). The exhibit also provided direct information about the sources of archaeological knowledge about the historic Occaneechi, and a CD-ROM for sale in the gift shop featured an interactive digital version of the Occaneechi Town dig (Davis, Livingood, Ward, & Steponatis, 2003). The Late Prehistoric panel discussed the middens, or trash heaps, and soil stains from the rotting of wood posts, which showed that the village was occupied permanently (Observation field notes, May 16, 2010).

Although the exhibit contained such evidence of an effort to demystify the knowledge recovery process, my informant's concerns about wanting to create a museum exhibit that was not de-politicized were also understandable. The conflict and controversy discussed in the panels on Bacon's Rebellion and Fort Christanna nevertheless avoided directly blaming colonists for Occaneechi relocation, and the panels created a narrative that jumped from the 18th and 19th centuries to the present day, allowing visitors to overlook the disenfranchisement and discrimination that Occaneechi people experienced after returning to North Carolina. Conflict was mentioned only in the panels addressing events of the colonial past, and the narratives about the present day instead focused on the positive aspects of pride in and celebrations of Occaneechi heritage. While this presentation of Occaneechi survival, which emphasized the strength of the tribe in recovering and preserving their heritage, may have been constructed by the tribal members and staff involved in the exhibit's construction in order to positively portray the present-day tribe, as a consequence of the positive focus, the display risks minimizing for visitors the very real impact of discrimination and identity politics in more recent years. Although the visitor center is controlled by the Virginia Department of Conservation and Recreation rather than the Occaneechi tribal organization, tribal members and staff had significant input into the exhibit and its portrayal of the present-day Occaneechi. The grassroots nature of the Homeland site may include a portrayal similar to the one featured in the visitor center, but additionally allows each volunteer on the Homeland site to complicate the representation of Occaneechi history and culture with his or her own perspectives and experiences.

Several informants had mentioned the visitor center as having a museum exhibit about Occaneechi history, housing the tribe's artifacts, and hosting an annual powwow (Interview transcripts, January 25, 2010; January 29, 2010; March 30, 2010; April 25, 2010), but not all of

these informants questioned the display strategies of the Occoneechee State Park Visitor Center. One informant recalled fond memories of camping at the park during the powwow weekend and having visitors come listen to stories at the campsite she shared with other tribal members (Interview transcript, January 29, 2010). Another informant, while not criticizing the exhibit, described the visitor center as a *temporary* home for the tribe's artifacts, and asserted that the tribal leadership would like to consolidate all of these objects in the formal museum planned for the Homeland project (Interview transcript, January 25, 2010). Yet another informant was involved in the creation of the Occoneechee State Park visitor center; as he recalled, "I was in on it" (Interview transcript, March 30, 2010). A plaque at the exhibit entrance acknowledged this tribal member, along with the tribal historian and another tribal member who helped to put together the exhibit (Observation field notes, May 16, 2010). In a follow-up interview, however, the same informant stressed that the state control exerted on the Occoneechee State Park visitor center was a major factor in how involved he felt. For instance, the informant noted, "I quit putting my stuff in there because I had to go through the state to have a number [assigned to the object]" (Interview transcript, November 15, 2010). He explained that a portion of the money visitors paid for any items that he placed in the gift shop must go to state of Virginia, stating, "Hell, the state didn't make it. I made it" (Interview transcript, November 15, 2010).

Several informants felt that, although the Occoneechee State Park visitor center represents Occaneechi history, the Homeland Preservation Project is a necessary supplement to this museum because the two projects represent two separate stages of the Occaneechi timeline. As one informant explained in a follow-up interview, Occoneechee State Park is located on an earlier home of the Occaneechi than the Homeland site is, and thus depicts "how the Occaneechi *used* to live" (Interview transcript, November 15, 2010). Another informant, also in a follow-up

interview, explained that during the time when the Occaneechi inhabited the area where Occonechee State Park is located, “we were typically living as the...wilder Indians, the uncivilized tribes, essentially”—while the Homeland project depicts later developments in Occaneechi culture as well, with which more present-day Occaneechi tribal members identify (Interview transcript, November 11, 2010). While the state park visitor center provides information about Occaneechi history, informants viewed the museum as a representation of the tribe’s distant past, that pertained mostly to the culture of the Occaneechi during the time that they inhabited that geographic space that became the state park. The Homeland Preservation Project, on the other hand, being located in the same geographic area as most of the present-day tribal members, represents the specific periods of Occaneechi history and present-day Occaneechi culture to which tribal members feel connected. As one informant clarified the distinction in a follow-up interview, “When I do go [to the Homeland], the people around it are my relatives who have been there since the 1700s....We don’t go to Occonechee State Park to grow gardens, and to grow corn, tobacco, and sugar cane” (Interview transcript, November 15, 2010). The Occonechee State Park visitor center focuses on a more distant past because it is located on land that the Occaneechi inhabited in a more historically distant time, but is also geographically distant from present-day tribal members.

The geographical place also influences the needs served by the state park visitor center as opposed to the Homeland site. As one informant explained in a follow-up interview, the museum in the Occonechee State Park visitor center, despite showcasing Occaneechi history, was not created in service to the tribe; instead, “the display is a side product to the camping and all that—the public use” (Interview transcript, November 11, 2010). The Homeland site, on the other hand, another informant described as “*by* the Occaneechi people and *for* the Occaneechi people

first and foremost” (Interview transcript, November 16, 2010). While one informant admitted that the visitor center museum has more financial resources than the Homeland because it is managed by the state of Virginia, he also felt that the Homeland could convey more detailed information than the state park visitor center, about a broader version of Occaneechi history (Interview transcript, November 11, 2010). In addition to the Occoneechee State Park visitor center, which represents Occaneechi people specifically, several informants also mentioned the much larger-scale National Museum of the American Indian when discussing their experiences with and ideas about museum institutions, and this formal museum was the subject of the final observation discussed in this section.

National Museum of the American Indian

The final critical incident in this chapter was my observation of the National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI) in Washington, DC. According to the museum webpage, the mission of the NMAI is to advance “knowledge and understanding of the Native cultures of the Western Hemisphere, past, present, and future, through partnership with Native peoples and others” (NMAI, n.d., “About the NMAI”). Referring to the past, present, and future in this way seems to be more of a rhetorical device than a mission the museum can actually fulfill, since knowledge of future cultures cannot seemingly be represented in exhibits in the way that knowledge of past and present cultures can. Instead, knowledge of future cultures can be addressed only implicitly, through discussion of present cultures and the significant assumption that present cultures will continue to exist in the future. The mission statement goes on to assert that the museum “works to support the continuance of culture, traditional values, and transitions in contemporary Native life” (NMAI).

The curvilinear design of this museum building was meant to mimic natural rock formations shaped by the wind (see Figure 19), and in doing so to reflect the importance of the natural world to the Indigenous cultures and to represent American Indian cultures as living and changing (NMAI, n.d., “Architecture & landscape”). According to the museum’s *General Information* brochure, the space outside the museum building is home to forest, wetlands, meadowlands, and Indigenous crops, as well as 40 Grandfather Rocks dispersed around the grounds (NMAI). Inside the museum building, the atrium houses contemporary American Indian art, with two gift shops on the first and second floors and a café serving Indigenous foods of several regions of the Americas (Observation field notes, June 26, 2010). Two permanent exhibits, *Our Universes* and *Our Peoples*, present information on American Indian beliefs and histories, respectively. The third permanent exhibit, *Our Lives*, presents information about contemporary American Indian ways of life. A gallery space displays temporary exhibits, and during my observation it contained an art exhibit by Brian Jungen entitled “Strange Comfort,” in which the Canadian artist used manufactured materials like Nike shoes, golf bags, hockey jerseys, and trash bins to create Native iconography (see Figure 20) (NMAI, 2009). While the second floor was mainly a gift shop, the hallway included an exhibit called *Return to a Native Place* that highlighted the Indigenous peoples of the local Chesapeake area (Observation field notes, June 26, 2010).



Figure 19. The curved contours of the NMAI.



Figure 20. *The Prince* (baseball mitts).

The brochure and map of the museum available at the information desk guided visitors to begin on the fourth floor (NMAI, n.d.), where a film played at regular intervals to introduce visitors to American Indian peoples as living cultures in the contemporary world (Observation field notes, June 26, 2010). Each of the three permanent exhibits was partitioned into many smaller exhibit areas, separated from one another by short segments of curved wall. Each of these smaller areas housed an exhibit that highlighted a different tribe from the United States, Canada, Latin America, or the Caribbean. While the individual exhibits highlighted different aspects of the tribe's history or culture, each had a panel recognizing the guest curators from that tribe who had contributed to the exhibit creation (see Figure 21).



Figure 21. Guest curators recognized in each tribe's display.

This feature of the museum seems uncommon, if not unique, and reflects the museum's focus on including inputs from a wide range of present-day American Indian people. As a consequence of including photographs and information about the guest curators, the individuals are not only recognized, but also become a part of the exhibited information in the museum in a way that curators typically do not. Putting contemporary people on display in these panels has two effects, granting recognition to the American Indian people who contributed to the exhibit, while also utilizing their connection to the museum to build the museum's credibility in speaking for American Indian people. As Jacki Thompson Rand, a Choctaw historian involved in the planning of the National Museum of the American Indian, suggested, the type of work done on the museum's exhibits by American Indian people was the product of a racialized division of labor, in which at least one Native curator was included on each exhibit team, but a non-Native coordinator had final approval (2007). While the American Indian contributors are pictured in

these exhibits, however, the non-Native curators are not. This creates a symbolic division between American Indian curators, who are also part of the museum display, and non-Native curators, who remain separate from the content of the museum.

The history section of the museum addressed two main narratives: that Indigenous peoples' histories were shaped by colonialism in the Americas, and that American Indians have distinct stories to tell about their own histories. As the introductory text of the exhibit explained, "Native history has long been seen as what happened after Europeans arrived on American shores. Yet for thousands of years, Native people everywhere have told stories and remembered the past" (Observation field notes, June 26, 2010). The text went on to explain that the exhibit "is about how eight communities understand their historical identities. It is also about a larger story, one that tells how powerful forces shaped the lives of all Native people from 1491 to the present." The exhibit text argued that the history of contact between the hemispheres had become a universally shared history: "No matter where you are from, the Native history of this hemisphere is part of who you are and how you live" (Observation field notes, June 26, 2010). In the exhibit, the eight small areas for each of the selected tribes flanked larger displays in the center of the room that examined contact between American Indians and Europeans through the lens of several sets of objects. These central displays focused on the spread of disease through the Americas before and after contact, colonial desire for New World gold, the escalation of conflict in the Americas between colonizers and colonized (see Figure 22), and the imposition and adaptation of Christianity among Indigenous peoples. Several of the individual tribes' exhibits highlighted periods of conflict that had affected their people, such as internment and allotment of lands. An exhibit near the entrance displayed government treaties and some

examples of colonial money that depicted American Indians as in need of White civilization (Observation field notes, June 26, 2010).



Figure 22. Guns representing conflict and resistance in the Americas.

While the history section of the NMAI included some information about the experiences of European explorers and settlers and included the overlapping histories and contradictory interpretations of historical events that may exist in alternative museums (Kratz & Rasool, 2006), in *Our Lives* the Indigenous perspectives took the center stage in educating visitors about the contemporary realities of American Indian cultures and identities. In the entrance to this gallery, all visitors walked by two video screens that showed contemporary American Indian people walking, with a small text that said “Anywhere in the Americas, you could be walking with a 21st-century Native American” (Observation field notes, June 26, 2010). One of the central exhibits focused on the 1970s, Pan-American Indian activism, and revitalization as “Indian Cool,” when fringe and beads became mainstream fashions and American Indian people became

prominent public figures and active participants in their own Indigenous cultures and the broader American culture of the period (Observation field notes, June 26, 2010). The objects in this section of the museum were used to represent what the displays referred to as American Indian “survivance.” As the display text explained, “Survivance means doing what you can to keep your culture alive. Survivance is found in everything made by Native hands, from beadwork to political action” (Observation field notes, June 26, 2010). Another panel in the central display focused on the identity politics of recognition and highlighted the difficulties many tribes and individuals encountered in providing the necessary documentation for recognition from the Bureau of Indian Affairs. These panels about identity displayed government ID cards and rejection letters from the BIA (see Figure 23), and asked the questions, “Is my identity an artifact, frozen in the past?” and “Does my identity come from the government?” (Observation field notes, June 26, 2010). Several of the individual tribes’ exhibits emphasized how their people used modern materials to continue Indigenous traditions, represented by objects like baskets made from camera film or masks made from kitchen utensils (see Figure 24).

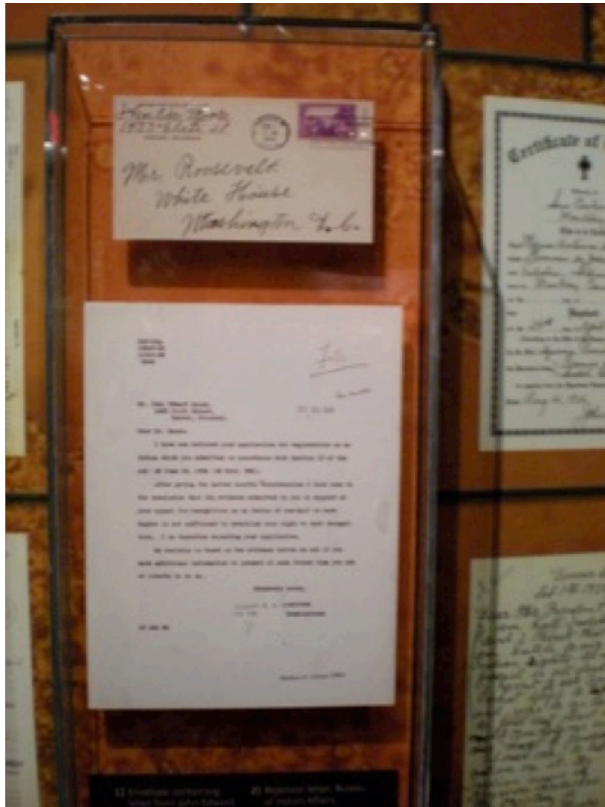


Figure 23. Rejection letter from BIA.



Figure 24. Acorn basket made of film.

I was interested in visiting the National Museum of the American Indian to see its portrayal of American Indian people and histories, both because of the fact that, as a Smithsonian institution, it is a widely-known museum, and because several of my informants specifically mentioned the NMAI when I asked them about museums they had visited. One informant called the NMAI “outstanding,” explaining further, “I’m not saying it was perfect, because nothing is, but I think that they really worked hard to consult with the various tribes across the country to try and make this thing as realistic and as accurate as they possibly could” and acknowledging that the museum “is pretty much run by Indians” (Interview transcript, January 25, 2010). In this comment, the informant judged the museum primarily by its verisimilitude and authenticity in the eyes of American Indian people rather than by its engagement of visitors or its political

position. His approach to assessing the NMAI mirrors the statements that many of my informants made about what they wanted the Homeland to accomplish, which centered around correcting an historical narrative that they saw as factually inaccurate, and which I discuss in depth in Chapter 5. While the Homeland constructs an historical narrative about a small group of American Indian people, however, the NMAI purports to represent all Indigenous peoples in the Western hemisphere, almost ensuring that many Native peoples would feel that their realities are not accurately depicted in the story told by the museum.

For instance, the same informant who initially praised the NMAI explained that, although the museum provides a diverse overview of many different tribes, he would have liked to see more information “about the rest of us,” since federally-recognized tribes are much more strongly represented from the North American continent than tribes without federal status (Interview transcript, January 25, 2010). Even as the museum critiques federal recognition as a defining feature of American Indian recognition, and attempts to portray American Indian identity as independent of racial classification or blood quantum, federal recognition remains the guiding framework for organizing the information about the different tribes included. The problem of questioning the policies of the federal government in a national institution underscores Message’s (2009) assertion that “a tension exists between the NMAI’s remit as a national museum and the sometimes contrary ideas about whether citizenship might be better constructed relative to a local or indeed, cultural authority rather than a federal agency” (p. 52) and Thompson Rand’s (2007) question, “Can we find reconciliation in a state institution?” These tensions problematize the attempts of a national museum to actually transcend the power differentials between the federal government and American Indian peoples that have shaped the histories it represents. These tensions cannot be easily resolved with museum text that reminds

visitors of the contemporary existence of American Indian peoples if the content of the exhibits reflects only a partial portrayal based largely on the recognition practices of the federal government. Another informant praised the breadth of the collections, but also expressed resignation regarding the museum's effort to provide a comprehensive picture of the many Indigenous cultures of the Americas, claiming that "it's impossible for all of it to be complete" (Interview transcript, January 22, 2010). Because of this, the informant explained, "Everything is pretty much the same at the other large Smithsonian museums" (Interview transcript, January 22, 2010). Despite the NMAI's mission of illustrating the present and future of American Indian peoples in addition to their histories, this informant saw the NMAI as just another traditional natural or cultural history museum.

Finally, another informant suggested that the NMAI paints "a pretty picture" of American Indian histories and cultures, without addressing the unpleasant aspects of European colonization of the Americas (Interview transcript, April 25, 2010). Although I observed many displays in the museum that brought historical and contemporary political issues to the forefront and approached colonization and conflict directly, my informant's criticism was of the tone of the displays rather than their content. This tone alternated between mournfully recalling the struggles of American Indians and celebrating their survival. Visitors were invited to accept Indigenous histories as part of their own and to explore the diversity of American Indian cultures, but were not asked to examine their own participation in systems of oppression. The display of beautiful objects in both the individual tribes' exhibits and the central exhibits allowed visitors to ignore the many atrocities mentioned within the display texts. As Thompson Rand (2007) confirmed, "In place of the stories of the Native past, it focuses on arts, culture, and commerce—the stuff of commodification," further suggesting that such a representation comforts both Native and non-

Native people while allowing visitors and the federal government to avoid confronting the persistent problems raised by the colonization of the Americas. While Thompson Rand leveled her criticism at the NMAI in particular, the same could be said of other critical incidents that I observed as well. For instance, the American Indian Heritage Celebration also made the display and sale of beautiful objects created by American Indian people a central component of the event, and the Occaneechi School Days did the same, although to a limited degree, with the dream catchers that one tribal member was displaying, discussing, and also selling to visitors. The Oconeechee State Park, while focused more on displaying tools than intricate artwork, included some replicas for sale in the gift shop, literally commodifying the types of artifacts used to represent the historic Occaneechi.

While the NMAI did not include any information about the Occaneechi people specifically, two of the individual tribes' displays shared similarities with the way the Occaneechi represent their own history and culture at School Days. The NMAI included a display by one Virginia state-recognized tribe, the Pamunkey, whose situation was somewhat similar to that of the Occaneechi. According to the display, the tribe shares much of the same local heritage as their non-Indian neighbors, while also working to maintain a distinct cultural identity and recover information about their heritage. As the display text explained, "we had to adapt to survive" and "some things got lost along the way" (Observation field notes, June 26, 2010). Another display, featuring the Kalingo people in the Caribbean, mentioned that recognition is complicated for the Kalingo, many of whom, like the Occaneechi, resemble their non-Indian neighbors in physical appearance (Observation field notes, June 26, 2010).

Although the NMAI is under Native direction and brought many different tribes into the planning and creation process, the Occaneechi people with whom I spoke were certainly not the

first to critique some aspect of the museum. Lonetree and Cobb (2008) compiled an entire volume of articles, many of which were published in *American Indian Quarterly* in 2005 and 2006 during the museum's first years, debating the structure, philosophy, methodology, and interpretation of the museum. Regardless of criticisms, however, visitors to the National Museum of the American Indian have many opportunities to learn about contemporary American Indian cultures from the permanent and special exhibits, and can interact personally with a host of tour guides, many of whom come from the tribes featured in the museum. The museum is certainly an unprecedented institution that necessarily serves as a reference point for tribes across the country, whether personal reactions to the museum are positive, negative, or fraught with post-colonial complexity and ambivalence.

Imagining a Grassroots Museum by Comparison

I visited the School Days and America Indian Heritage Celebration as educational programs in which Occaneechi people took part as educators, and I found that both made personal interaction between American Indian volunteers and non-Indian visitors a priority in their presentations of knowledge about American Indian histories and cultures. Both invited non-Indian visitors to recognize the features of the traditional heritage and the distinct contemporary situations of the American Indian people in their local area and state. The Occonechee State Park visitor center and NMAI, both of which several informants mentioned as museums that they had visited, each represented a new version of the formal museum. However, they left many of my informants hoping to be able to do more to represent the hidden histories and contemporary realities of Occaneechi people in their own museum. Informants mentioned various possibilities: creating hands-on displays where visitors can touch the replica objects on display, using video archives or audio recordings of elders for visitors to see or hear Occaneechi people when reading

about Occaneechi life in the early 20th century, and directly addressing the complex, racialized identity politics surrounding American Indians in the South and the Occaneechi in Little Texas (Interview transcripts, December 10, 2009; January 25, 2010; April 25, 2010).

Those involved in the Homeland site took steps to remap the museum institution based on their experiences with different types of museums and historical reconstructions. Informants had diverse responses to the Occaneechee State Park visitor center that currently depicts Occaneechi history and the other museums that they had visited. Some recalled feelings of excitement and intense interest when visiting these museums (Interview transcripts, February 4, 2010; March 24, 2010). Other informants, while not completely satisfied with museum representations of American Indian people, expressed feelings of measured acceptance. One tribal member explained that few museums are overtly offensive or inappropriate: “Most of the things that they put out are appropriate because now there’s political correctness and cultural sensitivity” (Interview transcript, January 22, 2010). As one informant stressed, even flawed museum representations are important vehicles for formulating identity, particularly for American Indian people who may not have access to artifacts or archaeological knowledge in other settings: “The museum tells about who you are—who we are, you know” (Interview transcript, January 29, 2010).

Although this informant viewed museums as positive resources for preserving and sharing knowledge, other informants expressed negative emotions about the preservation and educational functions of mainstream museums. One tribal member recalled a pivotal conversation she had had with another Indigenous friend, a woman who had spent some time working at the Smithsonian Institution and had told her, “It was kind of painful. Because it’s the only way I got to see pieces that are important to my people, was at the Smithsonian. Because

they were taken” (Interview transcript, February 19, 2010). In this statement, the tribal member’s friend was referring to the controversial practices many museums used to obtain artifacts before the passage of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act in 1990, which included grave looting and secret or unauthorized excavations. As the tribal member explained, since having that conversation, when looking at American Indian cultural objects in museums, “I always think of how that was acquired” (Interview transcript, February 19, 2010). The history of grave looting and other unethical collection practices among museums negatively tinged this Occaneechi informant’s feelings about present-day museum institutions, as it has many American Indian people’s perceptions (French, 1994; Hirschfelder & Kreipe de Montaña, 1993; Monroe & Echo-Hawk, 2004). With so many different experiences with and reactions to other museums, however, informants’ ideas about how to portray the Occaneechi in their own representations at the Homeland site varied greatly.

While some informants professed their interest in having the tribal museum planned for the Homeland site reflect what Davis Ruffins (2006) called a “negative history,” as does the Holocaust Museum in Washington, DC, tribal members’ reflections on museums also gave examples of several other roles for grassroots museums identified in the scholarly literature. Several informants were interested in having a formal museum on the Homeland site in order to gather all of the Occaneechi artifacts in one location (Interview transcripts, January 22, 2010; January 25, 2010; January 29, 2010; February 4, 2010). Kaeppler (1992) explained this function by claiming that museums can be “historical treasure houses” (p. 473) that help individuals and groups forge identity from material culture. Hendry (2005) and Kaeppler both also noted that grassroots museums, like the plans that informants articulated for the Homeland Preservation Project, are often future-oriented rather than solely focused on preserving the past, and use

community forums, such as the meeting space planned for the multi-purpose building on the Homeland site, to enact this focus. Furthermore, two new museum models in particular seemed to apply to the features and uses that I observed and that informants described for the current or future iterations of the site. The ecomuseum model that Davis (1999) articulated based on the combination of territory, heritage, memory, and population fits the Homeland project's focus on having communally owned land and portraying a local, acculturated American Indian community. At the same time, Occaneechi people's interest in informing the public about "hidden histories" (Loukaitou-Sideris & Grodach, 2004, p. 67), discussed further in Chapter 5, is a common function of ethnic museums.

Informants framed their ideas about museums in relation to a general understanding of how traditional natural history museums display information about American Indians. Several tribal members suggested that mainstream museum representations tended to be based on non-Indian perceptions of histories and cultures, a sentiment confirmed by the scholarly literature addressing how museum exhibits on American Indians have been used to construct White mainstream histories (Cooper, 1997, p. 403; Hirschfelder & Kreipe de Montaña, 1993; Sanchez & Stuckey, 2000). As one tribal member explained, "I think a lot of the museums that depict Indians are done based on...non-Indian people's perception of what was going on" (Interview transcript, January 25, 2010). Non-Indian people tend to have a limited understanding of the diversity of American Indian cultures and Indigenous issues (Sanchez & Stuckey, 2000). When non-Indian people are aware of only a handful of very visible tribes, traditional museums that are dominated by White mainstream ideas may "depict Indians in a way that basically...are not consistent with the way that we live," as one tribal member explained, because "the Western tribes or the Southwest Indian tribes lived totally different from [how] we lived" (Interview

transcript, January 25, 2010). By portraying a localized history in their grassroots initiative, then, my informants reportedly wanted to illustrate a different image of American Indians than they recalled having seen in traditional museums.

Speaking of traditional museums in general, but using the Smithsonian institutions as an example, one tribal member explained her concern that traditional museums fix American Indian cultures in the past and ignore the present-day existence of American Indian people. As she explained, they “have a tendency to...portray or support the notion that the people that this came from are extinct” (Interview transcript, February 19, 2010). The informant went on to explain the personal impact she felt from traditional museums, which rarely allow visitors to interact with people from the source cultures of the objects on display: the implication “that we are antiquated—we’re relics of antiquity” (Interview transcript, February 19, 2010). Another tribal member expressed similar personal feelings about traditional museums when he reflected,

To make something look like it’s just a historical object, that it’s not part of someone’s reality, that’s detrimental, really. Because if you see everything that is American Indian, or used by American Indians, or owned by American Indians behind a glass case, you only see American Indians as being people who you can’t touch, you can’t interact with, you can’t meet American Indian people. You don’t expect to meet Indian people unless you go to somewhere like a museum. (Interview transcript, April 25, 2010)

Many grassroots museums, in fact, react against the images of American Indians as relics that have often appeared in traditional museums (French, 1994; Hirschfelder & Kreipe de Montaña, 1993; Monroe & Echo-Hawk, 2004). The grassroots structure of the Homeland Preservation Project essentially creates visitor interaction with a living culture by necessity. Because of the

tribe's financial limitations, volunteer work by tribal members is necessary to operate the Homeland site, and this volunteer presence in turn creates numerous opportunities for visitor interaction with American Indian people. The structure of many mainstream museums, on the other hand, was perceived by informants to have the opposite effect.

As one tribal member explained, by being present on the site as volunteers, "we do become a part of their [visitors'] contemporary reality" (Interview transcript, April 25, 2010). A staff member suggested that having real Occaneechi people on the site to talk to visitors and answer their questions from their own expertise and experience also makes the site "more interactive and more human," which he believed enhances visitors' learning because "the more you can actually let them participate in, the more likely they are to remember it" (Interview transcript, December 10, 2009). Some informants saw personal interaction and visitors' ability to "touch, feel, and smell what's in there" (Interview transcript, January 25, 2010) as a more valuable educational experience than just going to a museum and seeing an exhibit. As a staff member explained, "We don't want it to just be a day out of school for people. We want them to actually participate in something" (Interview transcript, December 10, 2009). Another tribal member, while not convinced that the children who visited the Homeland site during School Days remembered much of the information conveyed by the demonstrations, suggested instead that a positive impression of the overall experience was a more significant result of visitor interaction with Occaneechi volunteers:

It's very hands on—they want to touch everything on the table, what is this, what is this, what is this. And you know, they may leave and they may not remember a single word, but they remember, you know, what they did. (Interview transcript, April 25, 2010)

Another informant expressed a similar sentiment when she shared that, rather than seeing an exhibit, “It’s more powerful to me when it’s somebody from that culture speaking about it” (Interview transcript, February 19, 2010). Regardless of the reasons why informants valued personal interaction between visitors and Occaneechi volunteers, all of my informants viewed the interaction as positive and based their evaluations on their own experiences in mainstream and alternative museum environments. Informants positioned themselves not only as museum makers, but also as museum visitors. Occaneechi people also served as the subjects of the Homeland project as a museum. The position of my informants, then, included multiple roles that simultaneously informed their actions and reactions. Non-Indian visitors might or might not share the sentiments that my informants expressed about human interaction within the museum. While the children I observed visiting School Days seemed more interested in listening to the demonstrators than reading any of the display texts on the site, they were often hesitant to ask questions. Both children and adult visitors might be particularly hesitant to interact with the Occaneechi people on site if they were already aware of the painful or controversial aspects of American Indian history. While Occaneechi informants were interested in personal interaction at their own and other museums because they valued understanding what cultures mean to actual people, visitors who felt discomfort about historical controversies might be more immediately comfortable seeing cultures as fixed in the past rather than being relevant to present-day people.

Informants also made decisions about how to use objects on the Homeland site based on their impressions of how other museums treated the objects they displayed. Several of the tribal members who worked on the Homeland project expressed concerns that mainstream museums make cultural objects less meaningful by re-contextualizing them in an exhibit. As the tribal historian noted,

The traditional museum, just like the traditional zoo, presented things sort of, like, everything was in a box. And you could get ideas about it, but it's like seeing a bear in a little concrete box. I mean, all right, yeah, that's a bear, but you don't get any sense of how it interacts with the world around it. (Interview transcript, December 10, 2009)

The context of objects was important to informants not only because they thought a "hands on" experience would make for more effective visitor education, but also because those objects have an ongoing cultural relationship with American Indian people today. As one tribal member explained,

Being in museums, for me, are painful, especially when it's just a piece in the museum and then there's no explanation, there's no one there to explain what this piece is and the context of the culture it came from...because in our culture, things were used. They weren't just put up on the wall for decoration. And what some people decide is an artifact to be in a museum...maybe it has broken the circle. (Interview transcript, February 19, 2010)

This informant referred to the American Indian objects on display in many mainstream museums as having intended uses and natural life cycles that were never completed because they were collected and put on display. Kirschenblatt-Gimblett (1991) has echoed this point in her discussions of the "museum effect," although she argued that objects also take on new meanings when they are put on display. When local groups are responsible for creating these new meanings, grassroots representations can also use objects as symbols of ownership and authority to convey a particular historical vision (Crew & Sims, 1991; Luke, 2002). Making the Homeland Preservation Project into a museum institution where visitors can interact with present-day Occaneechi people and where Occaneechi people have the authority to share hands-on access to

cultural objects was an ongoing goal of many informants because of the prevalence in their memories of the image of the typical traditional museum, where “the sum total about Indians is cases of arrowheads” (Interview transcript, December 10, 2009).

Occaneechi tribal and staff members not only used the grassroots organization of the Homeland project to represent their particular views about how museums can make American Indian people part of non-Indian visitors’ contemporary realities, but they also used it to create a platform for celebrating their heritage within a specifically agricultural community. As one tribal member explained, the Homeland project shows “our evolution in the community, but it also shows our contributions to the community” (Interview transcript, February 4, 2010). This informant wanted the Homeland not only to represent the changes in Occaneechi culture over several centuries of adaptation to European-American culture, but also how Occaneechi culture can be seen as representative of the rural, agricultural heritage of the entire local area. Because of the unique status of tribes in the South and the fact that very few can claim federal recognition, North Carolina has become a “community-oriented Indian state” (Interview transcript, January 25, 2010) in which the American Indian tribes have close ties to their local communities of non-Indian people. These ties have inspired the Occaneechi to construct the Homeland project in a way that they see as consistent with the heritage of non-Indian community members as well. As a staff member explained, “The heritage of the community is agricultural, and that’s what we’ve tried to focus on out there” (Interview transcript, December 10, 2009). The staff member went on to comment that, “You know, I see in some communities plans for facilities that...don’t seem to fit in very well with the community” (Interview transcript, December 10, 2009), the implication being that the Occaneechi chose *not* to focus on commercial development and instead to preserve the “quiet rural way of life” in their local area (OBSN, n.d., “Homeland Project”). Grassroots

museum making on the Homeland site has emphasized volunteer expertise, focused on change over time, provided visitor interaction with local Indigenous people, and focused on an agricultural community character. Tribal members' perceptions of museums and diverse reactions to the museums they have visited continue to contribute to the tribe's ongoing plans for a future museum building on the site, which will house exhibits and educational resources.

When I followed up with informants about the comparisons they made between the Homeland project and other museums, several informants stressed the ways in which they felt the Homeland could be improved. As one informant said, "I'm not personally satisfied with how much has been done out there" (Interview transcript, November 11, 2010), asserting that a current lack of funding had kept the tribe from completing all of the development that he and other members of the tribal council were interested in seeing. As another informant explained, "A tribal center with [cultural class] space and a language lab is exactly what we need. The [powwow] is not enough in terms of building the strength of the community" (Interview transcript, November 16, 2010). As a third informant stressed when I asked him why he felt the Homeland project represented Occaneechi people better than the other museums informants had mentioned, "Well, [the Homeland is] not necessarily *that* important—all of it comes together, just like a salad. You can just have lettuce, but when you bring all the rest of the ingredients into the salad, you've got a nice salad" (Interview transcript, November 15, 2010). Thus, while this informant saw the Homeland as significant in its own way, he also felt that all of the museums discussed contribute to a full understanding of Occaneechi history and culture. As this informant explained, the Homeland project was not superior in his mind to the Occonechee State Park visitor center or the National Museum of the American Indian because of the contents of its displays or its interactive potential, but simply because the Homeland site was owned by the tribe

and because he could be regularly active and directly involved in the project. As he explained, “I could stop doing this...but it keeps me busy, and I’m doing something that our people did” (Interview transcript, November 15, 2010).

The four critical incidents that I compared in this chapter illustrated different representations of the Occaneechi or influences on informants’ ideas about how they would like to represent themselves. The two-day School Days event that I observed allowed me to see how a number of Occaneechi and non-Occaneechi demonstrators portrayed various components of Occaneechi history and culture to visitors, using historic reconstructions and objects that spanned several centuries of history and included some contemporary cultural practices. At the American Indian Heritage Celebration, I witnessed the work of several Occaneechi demonstrators and craftspeople in conjunction with representatives from each of the other North Carolina tribes. This event included more celebrations of contemporary culture, with a powwow atmosphere and dance performances, yet also emphasized commodities and the material culture of the state’s American Indian peoples rather than their stories. This material culture could be purchased from numerous vendors, but could also be replicated at a series of children’s activity stations. In addition to these two events in which Occaneechi people represented themselves, I also visited the Oconeechee State Park, which displayed primarily information on the historic tribe, and the National Museum of the American Indian, which strives to represent the Indigenous cultures of North and South America but does not include any specific information on the Occaneechi. I noted the tensions that arose in each of these critical incidents between portrayals of the historic past and the present-day lives of American Indian people, the manner in which objects were put on display, the degree to which objects were presented as commodities, and informants’ perceptions of what museums *could* or *should* accomplish for source cultures and visitors.

In Chapter 5, I explore informants' reactions and aspirations in more detail, as well as others that arose as a part of Occaneechi people's engagement in the process of museum making through their Homeland Preservation Project. As a museum, the Homeland Preservation Project is primarily an historic reconstruction, and so the Occaneechi people involved with the project viewed regional and local history as inseparable from their work as community educators. The Homeland Preservation Project encompasses many types of knowledge, however, which were hardly limited to the archival and archaeological knowledge on which many historic reconstructions rely. In the next chapter, I move from descriptive findings on the events, features, and components of the Homeland project as a grassroots museum and the historical background in which it is rooted to exploring my interpretive findings on the many facets of Occaneechi personal experience that constituted my case study of the Homeland Preservation Project.

CHAPTER 5

OCCANEECHI MUSEUM-MAKING IN THE HOMELAND CASE: THEMATIC FINDINGS

The previous chapter provided an historical overview of the Occaneechi Band of the Saponi Nation and the Homeland Preservation Project as the foundation for findings related to my research questions that focused on how the Occaneechi people experienced their work constructing preservation and education initiatives. I have compared the School Days held on the Homeland site with three other museum programs and exhibits that my informants mentioned during my in-depth interviews and that I observed as a visitor, in order to illustrate where the Homeland Preservation Project fits into the many possible forms for a museum institution. In investigating the histories that Occaneechi people have worked to recover and preserve, and the distinct features of the Homeland project, I obtained data and generated thematic insights for the findings with which to construct my case study. In this chapter, I address the remaining research questions and elaborate on the following specific themes that emerged in the data: the relationship between education, identity formulation, and representation; the use of history to construct contemporary lives; the construction of Indigenous Knowledge through discourse and experience; social interaction and performance; community participation through education and identity; and experiential and textual knowledge as empowerment. My responses to each of the remaining research questions and an overall discussion of these six themes, augmented by the foundation for the case in Chapter 4, constitutes the superstructure of my case. Table 3 includes a summary of all the major findings discussed in Chapters 4 and 5.

Research Question	Major Findings
What are the general features of Occaneechi education and preservation initiatives and the Homeland Preservation Project, including physical and temporal boundaries?	The Homeland Preservation Project emphasized how the area's Indigenous culture interacted with the local agricultural way of life, using open-air reconstructions to stage demonstrations of an assortment of Indigenous lifeways.
How are Educational outreach and heritage preservation initiatives combined to encourage visitors to develop new understandings about this community?	The Homeland Preservation Project took an approach to American Indian history that emphasized change over time, combining Occaneechi people's distinct culture and sense of belonging in a particular geographic place.
What meanings do the Homeland Preservation Project and related educational programs have for tribal members, particularly relating to their personal and group identity and the representation of that identity to others?	Museum making was linked to identity and visibility for a hidden population, and Occaneechi people were motivated to learn and to take on volunteer educator roles because of their personal experiences not knowing or not being allowed to share certain aspects of identity.
How have the grassroots approach and site-based model of the Homeland Preservation Project influenced the structure, representation, and execution of the project's educational components?	Occaneechi people's experiences with other museums that depicted the Occaneechi or American Indian people in general inspired a diverse range of ideas about how to best construct self-representations.
How do tribal members balance the interests and needs of tribal members and visitors in the representation of cultural heritage and identity in this project?	Museum makers felt that visitor and museum-maker needs, which included some overlapping interests such as understanding diversity, could be met simultaneously through interactive portrayals.
What types of knowledge and power are constructed, exercised, and transferred in the Homeland Preservation Project and how do they differ for tribal members and visitors?	Museum makers wielded symbols of power such as objects and institutions to contest or correct the dominant narrative about American Indians; museum makers felt empowered by learning about their culture and history and educating others.
Emergent Theme	Major Findings
Education, Identity Formation, and Representation Construction	The Homeland Preservation Project served as a staging ground for the heritage recovery process, which became a cycle of teaching and learning for Occaneechi people.
Using History to Construct Contemporary Lives	The Homeland Preservation Project, in showcasing Occaneechi culture at many points in time, established the message that contemporary American Indian cultures remain vibrant and dynamic.
Constructing Indigenous Knowledge from Discourse and Experience	Occaneechi people drew from their own family histories and personal experiences to create their own form of Indigenous Knowledge that validated their struggles.
Use of Social Interaction and Performance	The Homeland Preservation Project provided a space in which Occaneechi people could strength their American Indian identities and attempt change the perceptions of their non-Occaneechi neighbors.
Community Participation through Education	Occaneechi people saw the Homeland Preservation Project as a way for them to contribute as active participants locally, among other state-recognized tribes, and in a global community of Indigenous peoples.
Experiential and Textual Knowledge as Empowerment	Occaneechi people drew from and leveraged Western forms of knowledge such as archaeological digs, archives, and legal records, while also raising the status of their own experiential knowledge and oral histories.

Figure 25. Summary of major findings related to research questions and emergent themes.

Making an Indigenous Community Visible

The second question that I asked about the Occaneechi Homeland Preservation Project was how the tribe used preservation and education to encourage visitors to develop new understandings about their local community. In addressing this topic, informants often used language related to visibility or invisibility to describe the tribe's work on the Homeland project. While the Occaneechi were officially recognized by the state very recently, recognition required that the tribe prove that a cohesive Occaneechi community existed in the same local area for 200 years. Thus, visibility forms a particularly important dimension of this research question because informants saw their tribal community as having been hidden or made invisible, but not erased, over those two centuries. Occaneechi informants acknowledged the difficulty of living in a social and political environment in which they were only legally recognized as American Indians by North Carolina since 2002, and remain unrecognized by the United States government. The recognition process was difficult for the tribe; when the North Carolina Commission on Indian Affairs (NCCIA) denied the tribe's petition based on challenging criteria for recognition given the adaptive strategies many small tribes in the South used to survive and resist relocation, the North Carolina Supreme Court eventually refused to hear the case and mandated Occaneechi recognition by court order. The Occaneechi have approached the task of gaining recognition in their local community by using preservation and education initiatives to expose the complexities hidden by racial categories, to make visible the hidden history and contemporary existence of Occaneechi people, and to develop relationships with other American Indian tribes to bolster Indigenous identity.

Correcting racial misclassification was a major goal of Occaneechi reorganization (OBSN, n.d.). Because American Indian people in the South were often labeled as *colored*

following the Indian Removal period, regardless of whether or not they had any African American ancestry, many of the present-day Occaneechi people grew up being identified as Black. The tribe began tracing the ancestry of individual families using archival evidence to confirm their American Indian background and using this information to correct members' driver licenses and birth certificates to reflect American Indian rather than African American race. Having these legal documents stating American Indian racial categorization has thus been a central goal of the tribe since reorganization. Tribal members wanted others in the community to understand the problems they experienced with racial constructions in relation to the surrounding community. As one tribal member explained, the reason for this focus on racial reclassification was that "many people had grown up and sort of managed to fit in to, for the most part, the Black race, the South being essentially a biracial society" (Interview transcript, January 25, 2010). As he summarized the experiences of many tribal members growing up, "Either you're White, or you're a person of color...we were sort of thrown in there and said you were this when you knew you really weren't." This tribal member echoed the idea of segregated histories explored by Davis Ruffins (2006), who asserted that in segregated societies such as the American South, ideas about history and heritage also fall along the same racial lines. Occaneechi people, then, whose heritage was not fully contained in a biracial historical narrative, experienced confusion and frustration when trying to understand their own heritage in the local community. As he summarized this experience, "It is a real struggle growing up in a two-race society" (Interview transcript, January 25, 2010).

Years of trying to fit into a biracial society meant that the Occaneechi came to share many customs and practices with their rural neighbors. As a result, present-day Occaneechi people tend to experience what one tribal member described as "non-resemblance" of how other

people might expect American Indians to look (Interview transcript, January 25, 2010). They encounter confusion from others who see them, as one tribal member described, as “too light to be Black, too dark to be White” (Interview transcript, January 29, 2010). Another tribal member listed the possible explanations, none of which acknowledged the possibility of Indigenous status: “you weren’t Indian—you were mulatto, you were colored, you were an issue, you were yellow, you were red—everything but Indigenous” (Interview transcript, March 30, 2010). Looking different from their neighbors had consequences for the Occaneechi, and several tribal members explained that breaking out of a Black and White racial construct and having their American Indian ancestry recognized and respected by others are essential for building a vibrant community in the wake of racial discrimination. As one tribal member put it,

There’s a lot of healing that needs to be done in a community whose race was reassigned, a community that was a target. To be a target of racism, called all kinds of terms that Black people were not called in the area, you know. A whole list of terms, and so many of the people in the tribe would identify as Black to get away from this Indian label, and that speaks really powerfully in a state like North Carolina that’s in the South. (Interview transcript, April 25, 2010)

As this tribal member explained, and as the literature confirms (McKee Evans, 1979; Nealy, 2008; Neely, 1979), the fact that American Indian people in the South identified as Black in order to *escape* discrimination is a testament to the level of disenfranchisement that American Indians faced both before and after the removal of federally-recognized tribes.

Informants saw visitor education as a means to accomplish some of the healing process that this tribal member suggested was necessary. One informant hoped that having visitors to the Homeland site learn “a little about what it was like growing up as Indian people in what was

essentially a biracial society in the South,” would help the Occaneechi people be recognized and accepted in their broader communities (Interview transcript, December 10, 2009). Although none of the components of the Homeland site explicitly address race, one demonstrator mentioned the “red, white, and black story” of the local area and the fact that discussing the racial history was taboo until very recently (Observation field notes, October 8, 2009), and the tribal historian expressed a desire to “get into a little more of that kind of cultural and social limbo that Indian people were in in places like Alamance County” through exhibits in the museum that is planned for the site (Interview transcript, December 10, 2009). As another tribal member explained his vision for the museum,

I want it to talk about racism in Little Texas. I want it to talk about the Occaneechi Massacre of 1676 with Nathaniel Bacon. I want it to talk about the contemporary struggles with identity, schooling, textbooks...I want it to have an emphasis on tribal recognition and the struggle, you know, the 10-year fight to get recognition. Because I don't want it to paint a picture that isn't accurate. People need to know that there's pain associated with the community there. (Interview transcript, April 25, 2010).

As this tribal member emphasized, he wants local visitors to the Homeland site to gain a more complicated understanding of their community by learning about the struggles that some community members have experienced. Furthermore, as this informant exemplified, the visibility of a painful history also allows Occaneechi people to see themselves as heirs to their ancestors' struggles, and to see those struggles as a central part of their heritage. As another tribal member explained about the importance of community members learning about the complex racial history of the area, “There are many bloods running through our veins. That's part of the education that's not in the books. That's what people have to know so we can live together”

(Interview transcript, March 30, 2010). This tribal member focused on racial constructs more than on historical events; he believed that changing visitors' beliefs about diversity and how race is used to classify individuals should be central to preservation and education on the Homeland site in order to contribute to this healing process.

Occaneechi people attempted to fit into Black or White racial categories in the first place because being identified as American Indian was a dangerous undertaking for many years, and tribal members also described their desire to have visitors understand this aspect of their ancestors' experiences. One tribal member described her grandfather's experience, saying, "the fear that was there is real—the fear that my 97-year-old grandfather had is real—why he didn't tell us. Because it was illegal, it was unsafe, to admit [that he was Indian] when he was a little boy" (Interview transcript, February 19, 2010). As one of the Occoneechee State Park visitor center panels informed visitors, Occaneechi people "struggled to maintain their Indian identity in the face of racial discrimination throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries" (Observation field notes, May 16, 2010). During this period of time, Occaneechi people hid and were denied their American Indian ancestry, traditions, and identity by being legally categorized within Black or White racial groups.

Years later, the present-day Occaneechi have worked to recover this hidden history and to share it with other members of the community to help them understand the complexities of their shared local past. Archival and archaeological research uncovered some of this hidden history through colonial documents and travel accounts, court cases, military registration, and other public records. This recovery process was not easy. As one tribal member explained, "it's very, very tough to get a cohesive picture of what happened in the Carolinas," given that few colonial records of the Indigenous inhabitants exist (Interview transcript, January 22, 2010). In using the

rhetoric of museums as a “picture” of the historical past, this informant described history as a reality that can be known and understood. While this informant felt that a portrait of history, like a portrait of a person, *could* be put on display in a museum as a way to make history legible to visitors, he did not feel that schools, textbooks, or other museums had yet accomplished such a task. Informants were interested in having such a portrait of Occaneechi history on display for visitors because of its ability to make visible the parts of their heritage that had been invisible.

Several tribal members noted the problem of having to rely on historical documents to recover knowledge about the Occaneechi, since these depictions are “non-Indian people’s perception of what was going on” (Interview transcript, January 25, 2010). As one tribal member explained, “A lot of that stuff is not written, you see. History is spelled h-i-s-t-o-r-y. It’s missing an s, h-i-s s-t-o-r-y, that’s *his* story. A lot of the stuff that’s written right now is written in the eyes of other people” (Interview transcript, March 30, 2010). This informant also used vision-related rhetoric to describe how he wanted Occaneechi history to be portrayed, emphasizing his idea that how visitors see the Occaneechi should be consistent with how the Occaneechi see themselves, even if this disagrees with mainstream ideas about history. As Dubin (1999) similarly acknowledged, museums can use their displays to revise visitors’ ideas about the past and, as Caygill (2004) noted, to “rub history against the grain” (p. 73). Through their heritage recovery process and educational initiatives, tribal members wanted to correct an historical record they saw as inaccurate or incomplete. As informants noted, “There might be a little blurb in the North Carolina history book, but not much,” and thus school children “don’t necessarily get an accurate picture, and when they hear about this area they basically only hear about Indian removal and the Trail of Tears” (Interview transcripts, February 4, 2010; April 25, 2010). Tribal members perceived formal education in their community as inaccurate in its portrayal of the

local area's history, and therefore wanted to supplement or rewrite this historical narrative using their own nonformal education initiatives. Informants saw the nonformal education that they provided for visitors to the Homeland site as capable of supplementing or competing with the formal education students received in local schools.

Through preservation and education initiatives, tribal members hoped to teach visitors that "there's more to history than what's taught in the history books," and that "what man puts in the books" may be missing hidden histories like that of the Occaneechi people (Interview transcript, January 29, 2010). Those informants who believed strongly that the history taught in schools and textbooks was inaccurate described books as being authored by individual people whose knowledge was inevitably limited to their own perspectives. As one informant explained further in a follow-up interview,

We got a drawing from [George] Catlin of how the people were, but that's one eye. If I draw you, your hair might be a little bit longer...your eyes might be a little bit darker. Your hair might be a little bit darker and a little bit longer. You might be a little bit shorter. You might be a little taller, we don't know. That's [how] it was, Catlin's drawing. (Interview transcript, November 15, 2010)

In identifying the limits that they perceived in the historical narratives accepted by the mainstream, several informants explored the idea that history is a social construction. Yet, informants simultaneously discussed history as constructed and having absolute reality when they argued that mainstream historical narratives were incorrect or incomplete. Arguing for the fallibility of accepted histories allowed Occaneechi people to insert their own stories into the historical narrative as part of the project of showcasing the existence of their tribe in the local

community. While acknowledging the existence of multiple versions of history, tribal members also suggested that the dominance of one narrative in schools left factual gaps in local children's learning.

In their focus on the inadequacies they perceived in school learning, tribal members viewed Occaneechi history as important not just to Occaneechi people; as one tribal member explained, "we feel that it's real important for kids...all kids....to understand what the real history was" (Interview transcript, January 25, 2010). Supplementing school learning, too, was part of a community education agenda that informants believed could contribute to healing a contentious past by educating people about local Indigenous history. As one informant explained his concern about the limited view of American Indians in school textbooks,

There's really no talk about colonization, there's no talk about racism, there's no talk about policies that were directly aimed at Indian people. And if there are, it's like a blurb...there's no talk about the responsibility there. Who did this, why did they do this, what was the impact of this. (Interview transcript, April 25, 2010)

As this tribal member explained, the entire background of how present-day Occaneechi people lost and then needed to recover a hidden history was itself a part of that history. As I observed during School Days, other tribal members also attempted to educate others about the recovery process. As one tribal member explained of her goals for School Days, she wanted visitors to understand "the process, know what happened, know what's going on, and how it got there" (Interview transcript, January 29, 2010). Several informants focused on their belief that educational initiatives could be used to showcase and explain the historical recovery process and why recovery was necessary. As one tribal member explained, educational programs provided

the tribe an opportunity to tell visitors “the history as far as where we originated from, coming up, and how it was stripped from us,” and to help visitors understand that “the whole history of how we got to where we are has been really difficult” (Interview transcript, January 29, 2010).

The demonstrators at educational programs did not simply provide visitors with historical information, but also attempted to include an account of the historical recovery process.

Teaching visitors that much of the knowledge about the historical Occaneechi had to be recovered was an integral part of how informants felt they should educate the community about the Occaneechi experience. While the recovered *material* is part of Occaneechi history, the recovery *process* is a part of present-day tribal members’ personal histories, and thus another element of their identities that they want to make visible within the local community.

Tribal members were also interested in volunteering on the Homeland site in order to interact with visitors, hoping to help them understand not only the history of the area’s Indigenous people, but also the fact that American Indians continued to exist in their community. Participants saw providing visitors with knowledge about the hidden history of the Occaneechi as necessary in order for them to understand that American Indian people continued to inhabit the local area. One tribal member commented that he was specifically interested in having nonformal education on the Homeland site contradict the idea that all American Indians were removed to the West. “Talking about [community] education, you know, that’s what I want people to know. I want people to know that we’re still here, we ain’t gone nowhere. And it ain’t what Andrew Jackson said—we’re still here” (Interview transcript, March 30, 2010). Recovering Occaneechi history for the benefit of tribal members was not enough in the opinion of many informants involved in educating visitors. As another tribal member noted, “education is awareness—and preservation—for our culture and our people, but also awareness and education

for the community at large...to make them aware that we're still here and we've always been here" (Interview transcript, February 19, 2010). As others explained, "We show the history to a lot of people that wouldn't know about us," and "We're still here. We're just not hidden anymore" (Interview transcripts, February 4, 2010; January 29, 2010). As informants explained their interest in educating the local community, they highlighted the connections they made between having a hidden history and remaining culturally invisible even in the present day.

In working to recover their American Indian heritage, Occaneechi people have become involved in a number of Pan-American Indian organizations and events. These affiliations provide small tribes with a larger shared identity, and enabled Occaneechi people to establish new traditions that convey American Indian identity in addition to the historical knowledge they were able to recover through research. When discussing their involvement with the tribe, several informants specifically mentioned Pan-American Indian organizations like the NCCIA and the North Carolina Indian Economic Development Initiative (NCIEDI), having served as officers and representatives of these organizations and participated in outreach programs that involved tribes throughout the state (Interview transcripts, January 22, 2010; January 25, 2010; February 4, 2010). In addition to participating in the statewide American Indian Heritage Celebration that I observed in November 2009, Occaneechi tribal members also reported having travelled around the state to join other tribes at their annual powwows and to help create other historic reconstructions in addition to the Homeland site (Interview transcripts, January 29, 2010; March 30, 2010). Just as several informants felt that Occaneechi people had been largely ignored in historical accounts and formal education, one informant even broadened his assertion to include all American Indian people, saying, "American Indian people in general have been written out of U.S. history in so many ways" (Interview transcript, April 25, 2010). Viewing themselves as

American Indian rather than just Occaneechi allowed informants to use Pan-American Indian resources for showcasing identity, like powwows, rather than having to rely exclusively on the arduous task of historical research in order to assert their Indigenous identities.

Powwows in particular are common Pan-American Indian events, both in the South and internationally, and powwows that incorporate traditions from other tribes are an important vehicle for reclaiming American Indian identity. (Hirschfelder & Kreipe de Montaña, 1993; Hudson, 1979; Kratz & Karp, 2006; Rountree, 1979; Williams, 1979). The Occaneechi powwow fosters American Indian identity among tribal members and educates community members about the continued presence of American Indian people in Alamance County. Powwows are one vehicle for American Indian people to contend with cultural loss by adapting traditions from other tribes and taking on traditions that were not originally practiced by their specific tribes. Rather than educating about Occaneechi history, then, the powwow held on the Homeland site is meant to educate about present-day Occaneechi culture and identity, which embraces many Pan-American Indian traditions. As the tribal historian explained, “a lot of the songs and dances you see there are not indigenous to the Carolinas, but it does help to educate people at least in terms of there still being Indian people in this area” (Interview transcript, December 10, 2009). I saw and heard this role for the powwow explained time and again: in a display at the Occonechee State Park visitor center, by demonstrators at the School Days event, and by the emcee and in the event program at the American Indian Heritage Celebration (Observation field notes, October 8, 2009; November 21, 2009; May 16, 2010). As with explaining the process of historical recovery to School Days visitors, Occaneechi tribal members explained what happens at a powwow and why it is an important event for the tribe. Both tasks—creating an accurate picture of the historical Occaneechi and participating in Pan-American Indian powwows that embrace cultural

elements that were not a part of Occaneechi history—contributed to the goal of making the tribe visible within the local community, but embraced different ideas about authenticity. As Homi Bhabha (1994) suggested, both are also a part of “cultural authority” (p. 195). According to Bhabha, post-colonial people assert their identities by adopting familiar norms to create group cohesion, but also retain authority as translators of unfamiliar aspects of their cultures.

Beneath their efforts to encourage visitors to develop new understandings of their community, informants were motivated by the belief that American Indian people continue to be subjected to stereotypes. As one tribal member suggested of visitors to the Homeland site, “They’ve maybe heard about Indians, or seen them on TV, but they didn’t really know that this person that may be sitting beside them in class, they could be Native American, and they don’t really know” (Interview transcript, February 4, 2010). Breaking down the stereotypes that confine American Indians to a specific historical period, geographic location, or style of dress and behavior was an outcome that many informants hoped to achieve. Informants focused on conveying a portrait of the Occaneechi as a specific American Indian group that defied stereotypes as a means of combating them. The Homeland site was the staging ground for this community education strategy, which required that Occaneechi history and culture be visible in order to change visitors’ conceptions about American Indian ways of life, styles of dress, and present-day existence. When I asked informants about what their involvement in the tribe’s preservation and education activities, such as the School Days event, meant to them personally, the possibility of changing public perceptions of American Indians in general was one of the ways that many informants felt that the Homeland project was meaningful to them. These meanings, the focus of my third research question, provided motivations for tribal members to

learn about Occaneechi heritage and to take on teaching roles within the tribe and the community.

Tribal members and staff considered the Homeland Preservation Project to be a vehicle for them to make the tribe visible to non-Indian people in their local community. The site serves as a central location for the tribe to conduct nonformal education for tribal members to recover knowledge of their own culture and for visitors to learn about the historic and present-day Occaneechi. While the tribe hosts tours and demonstrations on the Homeland site to teach many different groups about the local Indigenous people, the largest recurring educational event occurs during School Days with the synchronized school field trips from the surrounding districts. Informants also explained that the Homeland site, rather than being simply a setting for nonformal education, was also a representation of all the work that the tribe had done to recover information about Occaneechi history and culture. Informants also highlighted ways in which they saw their work on the Homeland Preservation Project as connected with broader American Indian communities. In teaching about Occaneechi history and culture, informants expressed their desires to inform and sensitize visitors about all American Indian people, and the tribe used the site to host members of other Indigenous groups as well as non-Indian visitors.

Motivations for Teaching and Learning

In my third research question, I asked what meanings the Homeland Preservation Project had for tribal members, particularly in formulating and representing their personal and group identities. In their responses, informants discussed their involvement in preservation and educational activities related to the Homeland project such as School Days and scheduled group visits to the Homeland site, which are intended to inform non-Indian community members about

Occaneechi history and culture, as well as initiatives such as the youth group, health circle, and language lessons, which are intended to strengthen the cultural knowledge of tribal members. Informants indicated that the project had a two-fold importance in the way that it informed their collective identity as American Indian people, with the preservation and education initiatives important for serving both ancestors and future generations. Tribal members also viewed the Homeland Preservation Project as an opportunity to build tribal members' self-efficacy and strengthen their identity, eventually contributing to a more active and mobilized membership base for representing Occaneechi identity to others. Finally, tribal members saw the ability to counteract stereotypes about American Indians as a key meaning of the Homeland Preservation Project and the ways that they used it to represent their personal and group identities to visitors. The meanings that informants described, therefore, were both constructive and disruptive; informants described the Homeland project as an opportunity to create knowledge about the tribe and local community while also dismantling certain ideas that visitors brought to the site.

Serving family members and ancestors emerged as a central meaning of the Homeland Preservation Project for the tribal members and staff with whom I spoke. The tribal constitution (OBSN, n.d.) asserted honoring ancestors as the purpose of tribal reorganization. The *Native Cooking* (2007) cookbook, a fundraiser for the Occaneechi Scholarship Committee, also included the honoring of ancestors and elders as a central pursuit; the cookbook includes a dedication to the tribal elders, who it states "have paid the price of the past to pave the way for our future." One tribal member voiced a similar sentiment in commenting that educating the tribe and the community about the tribe's history honored the ancestors "by giving voice to their sacrifices" (Interview transcript, February 19, 2010). Through preserving culture and educating other tribal members and visitors, Occaneechi people came to see themselves as providing a

service and a justice to earlier Occaneechi people that had been long overdue. Several informants explained how identifying as an Occaneechi person today meant allowing generations of Occaneechi people who came before to finally have their identities and histories recognized as well. As one tribal member explained,

I'm doing this for my people, my ancestors, because they're a part of me now. And for my mother because she wasn't able to, and my grandparents because they weren't able to—and they kept it all hush-hush inside their doors. (Interview transcript, January 29, 2010)

In addition to serving those who were never able to actually see and experience the Homeland project, several informants felt that the project also provided practical meaning for the tribal members and elders alive today. Tribal members described their parents receiving their tribal cards and corrected birth certificates as poignant moments in their families' lives (Interview transcripts, January 29, 2010; February 19, 2010; March 30, 2010). As one tribal member described his father looking at the tribal recognition letter for the first time, "He looked up at me and his eyes...tears were coming down...I get teary-eyed when I talk about it" (Interview transcript, March 30, 2010). On the Homeland site, adult tribal members who volunteered as demonstrators reported that they were engaged in a "learning process" just like the visitors who came to the site (Interview transcript, January 29, 2010; Observation field notes, October 8, 2009). As one tribal member described, being able to see "something that shows our history" was a service to the adult tribal members who had struggled to understand how their own heritage fit into a racialized social structure that had no place for them (Interview transcript, February 4, 2010). While at the time of my study most of the Homeland project's contributions to tribal members were cultural, multiple informants held out hope that the site would eventually

become a vital economic resource where tribal members could be employed (Interview transcripts, December 10, 2009; January 25, 2010; January 29, 2010; March 24, 2010). The site already contributed some fundraising dollars to initiatives that served the elders, like Christmas gift baskets, but tribal members hoped to see it do more, with the soup kitchen and emergency shelter on the short list. While some informants prioritized concrete services like these for the Homeland project, others stressed that the less tangible service of representing Occaneechi people to the public was the primary role of the project.

Honoring elders and ancestors was only meaningful, however, if tribal members could ensure that they would continue to be honored in the future. As one tribal member explained, “It’s about honoring who came before us, as well as who’s coming seven generations into the future. So it’s thinking outside of just who’s walking on the earth who we can see physically right now” (Interview transcript, February 19, 2010). To this end, tribal members not only viewed themselves as service providers for elders and ancestors, but also as the people responsible for passing down cultural resources to their children and future generations. The tribal constitution mentioned these future generations explicitly as well, noting that the tribal leadership’s role should be to improve the “life of the Tribe” (OBSN, n.d.), meaning both the livelihood of current members and the continuity of the tribal community. The tribe created many opportunities to serve the children, including a youth group and opportunities to learn drumming, powwow dances, Tutelo-Saponi language, traditional crafts, and money management skills (Interview transcripts, February 4, 2010; March 30, 2010; April 25, 2010). As their main service to the youth, however, tribal members simply wanted to instill in them a sense of pride in being Occaneechi, which they hoped to accomplish by ensuring that participation in the tribe was enjoyable to the children. As one staff member asserted, she tries to have conversations with all

of the tribal youth who come through the office with their parents to show them that she cares about them and make them feel welcome in the tribal office (Interview transcript, March 24, 2010). As one informant involved with the youth group also explained, in order for involvement in the tribe to compete with other after-school activities for children's interest, "You've got to make it fun...and you've got to feed them!" (Interview transcript, February 4, 2010).

As one tribal member explained the relationship between serving his ancestors and involving his children in the tribal community,

One of the things that has been very, very rewarding to me is my grandfather and my grandmother and mother and father pretty much had to hide the fact that they were Indian—or not speak of it...And I think that they would be very happy and very proud that their children and their children's children can pretty much walk with their head up and be proud of what they really are...And it's even more rewarding for my kids to be able to say with confidence and with pride that we are what we are. (Interview transcript, January 25, 2010)

This pride, then, also related to the tribal members' painful history of having to hide their ancestry and not publicly identify as American Indians. One tribal member commented that she wanted the tribe's youth to have a strong enough sense of self to not give in to the peer pressure that still existed to fit themselves into Black or White racial categories (Interview transcript, January 29, 2010). As another informant commented about the tribe's youth, "I want them to always know who they are, for my grandchildren and great-grandchildren to have a place in history" (Interview transcript, March 24, 2010). Just as informants found recovering the hidden histories of the Occaneechi people meaningful because they believed that it restored to ancestors

their history and identity, informants also believed that heritage recovery promised these things for the tribe's future generations. This emphasis on educating children was evident not only for tribal youth, but also at the School Days. The School Days event was the single largest educational initiative on the Homeland site, drawing the bulk of annual visitors in any given year, and was focused almost entirely on educating children in Grades K-12. While adults came to the site as School Days chaperones and during visits scheduled by various local organizations, the tribe focused on inviting schools to send local area children as a means of ensuring that the existence of Occaneechi history and culture would be recognized in the future.

In balancing the practical demands of managing the Homeland project and the tribe's daily operations, several tribal members mentioned the need for people to see that they were engaged in these educational efforts "for the right reasons," as opposed to financial gain. When I asked what the "right reasons" were specifically, one tribal member explained,

For future generations—just so that they will know who they are, where they came from, so that they don't have to carry the pain. It's about healing our community—healing, and healing the pain of our ancestors as well. (Interview transcript, February 19, 2010)

For this tribal member, the most important reason to recover Occaneechi history and culture was to provide their descendants with tools of historical and cultural knowledge to help them identify as Indigenous people. Going about preservation and education "for the right reasons" took on another role in relation to future generations as well—several tribal members felt that because they were engaged in these activities "for the right reasons," others would see their work as altruistic, give it their support, and ensure that the projects persist in the future (Interview transcripts, February 19, 2010; April 25, 2010). As one tribal member explained her position,

“because we’re doing this in the right way for the right reasons...it will flourish and it will be there for future generations” (Interview transcript, February 19, 2010). When I followed up with another informant about the “right way” and “right reasons” for constructing the Homeland project, he also emphasized the continuity of Occaneechi culture, stating, “I don’t know what is the right way, but the right reason is so this will live on” (Interview transcript, November 15, 2010). Tribal members hoped to perpetuate their culture by teaching tribal youth and by recruiting youth involvement in the tribe, but recognized the difficulty of passing down cultural knowledge when tribal youth may be busy with other activities or uninterested in their Occaneechi heritage. For this informant, then, the continuance of the tribe was not the outcome of carrying out preservation and education in the “right way,” but instead was the “right reason” for being involved in the tribe. As he reflected further,

I don’t know whether there is a right way, but I know there is a right reason. It’s for us to be able to maintain this. I don’t know but one other person in our tribe that does what I do [with preservation]...Is it the right way? Who knows. After I’m dead, it may go away. I hope not. It takes one nut to keep it going. If that nut falls from the tree, it may grow again. (Interview transcript, November 15, 2010)

Additionally, then, while the tribe has had to expend a great deal of resources to acquire the land, create the site, and keep it maintained, some tribal members saw focusing on restoring Occaneechi identity rather than making money as “the right way” of going about the Homeland project. As one tribal member commented on the importance of the site, explaining that what could feasibly be built on the site was less meaningful to her than its symbolic significance, “It’s not just the structure, it’s the meaning of keeping our heritage alive” (Interview transcript, February 4, 2010). Another informant emphasized in a follow-up interview that the goal of

creating a cohesive tribal community was central to his conception of the “right reasons” for creating the Homeland project: “There is a difference between the right and wrong reasons. Creating a tourist enterprise is the wrong reason. Everything we do must be with the goal of creating community cohesion, pride, and re-education” (Interview transcript, November 16, 2010). In considering further the “right way” of constructing preservation and education initiatives and reflecting on his own experience learning traditional crafts and weapons-making, creating historic reconstructions, and hosting visitors on the Homeland site, another informant expressed his belief that individuals taking action could ensure the tribe’s success. As he explained, “The right way is to get out there and do it. When you stumble you fall, and you get up and keep going. If you’re traveling a path that ends, go back. Regroup...that’s what we’re doing” (Interview transcript, November 15, 2010). Thus, while many tribal members and staff hoped for the Homeland project to generate financial returns, a strong contingent of informants explicitly placed strengthening identity above and in opposition to making money when discussing how the project was meaningful to them.

While any museum or heritage project must have some form of income or financial backing in order to operate, the issue of financing was central to some ideological differences within my group of informants. While several informants, who were either staff members or tribal leadership, prioritized opportunities for financial gain and several additional informants stressed financial self-sufficiency as an ultimate goal for the tribe, others were wary of efforts by the tribal organization that seemed too focused on making money. One tribal member, after describing the balance between making money and strengthening tribal members’ identities as a pendulum, ultimately sided with shifting the focus to the tribal community rather than tourism. “For me, when you do things for the right reason, and the right reason being making sure that the

community continues to exist and has good health—emotional, mental, physical, spiritual health—money will follow” (Interview transcript, April 25, 2010). This informant’s conclusion emphasized the moral force of identity revitalization in prioritizing it completely in the faith that it would generate financial success or stability. As Hendry (2005) confirmed, the goal of many new museums is to recognize first the identity issues of the people creating it, and then to look only secondarily to community education and tourism opportunities. The priorities of the Homeland project in terms of the meaning it has for Occaneechi people, then, are ambiguous and a cause for disagreement between informants’ ideological positions. These meanings may also be in flux for individual tribal members, as with the informant above who wavered between identity revitalization and economic success before prioritizing the former. As Oakley (2005) asserted, “Defining identity is a continual process, and Indians in eastern North Carolina have continuously reshaped and redefined their identity in the twentieth century in response to changes around them” (p. 12).

The tribal members who shaped preservation and education initiatives also participated in the identity revitalization process that they valued for their ancestors and future generations as they learned from documents or other tribal members about the tribe’s history, the Homeland site reconstructions, and traditional crafts and ways of life. Those who participated in heritage recovery infused this process with social and psychological meaning by coming to view themselves and their lives through a different lens. By learning about their cultural heritage and ancestral history, informants reported having developed new understandings of themselves and opportunities for personal growth as a result. For informants who recalled knowing as children that they were different from their Black or White friends but not being allowed to talk about those differences, official verification like state recognition and license or birth certificate

corrections were particularly significant (Interview transcripts, January 29, 2010; February 19, 2010; March 30, 2010). Official recognition of an American Indian identity allowed tribal members an alternative to trying to fit into imposed Black and White categories. As one tribal member explained, “We were sort of thrown in there and said you were this when you knew you really weren’t” (Interview transcript, January 25, 2010). With these memories, tribal members predicated knowing “who they are” on knowing “where they came from,” since their Occaneechi ancestry provided an explanation for the confusion they felt as children (Interview transcript, January 29, 2010).

Just as not understanding their ancestry caused confusion and uncertainty for many Occaneechi people, multiple informants believed that knowing their heritage and building an Occaneechi identity provided them and other tribal members with a source of strength. As one tribal member described, “walking around on this earth knowing not where you came from, or knowing not who you are” makes a person feel uncertain, but knowing these things “gives [tribal members] a huge boost of confidence” (Interview transcript, January 25, 2010). The Homeland Preservation Project facilitated this confidence with tangible reminders of Occaneechi identity. Tribal members could feel a sense ownership of the Homeland project because the land and the buildings on it were, in fact, communally owned by the tribe, and were made possible by the volunteer efforts of tribal members. As one tribal member explained of the Homeland site, “Having this land and putting these things on there that are positive to our culture, I think, tends to bring people a sense of pride and ownership in coming back...to their roots” (Interview transcript, January 25, 2010). One tribal member said of her feelings about the land that she was proud, because “my little bits and pieces are in it” (Interview transcript, January 29, 2010). Another informant, when asked why he felt that the Homeland project represented him,

exclaimed, “I’ve done a lot of work up there!” As he went on to assert, “I feel a great accomplishment has been made by our people” (Interview transcript, November 15, 2010). Even the tribal historian, who was not an Occaneechi tribal member, referred to the Homeland project as part of his “life’s work” with the tribe (Interview transcript, December 10, 2009).

Identifying strongly as an Occaneechi person and feeling ownership of the tribe’s work allowed some informants to progress toward additional goals. As one tribal member explained of the significance of the Homeland project to her, “Once I learned my history and I know my history, that gives me a firmer foundation to stand on” (Interview transcript, February 19, 2010). As she said of the significance of preservation and education for other tribal members,

It’s about knowing where you come from and who you are so you can maneuver this world. I always say that before I knew and embraced who I was and where I came from, I was like a tree without roots—just floating in the air. But now I know who I am, I can’t be moved. (Interview transcript, February 19, 2010)

This informant used the metaphor of a tree to describe her feeling of purpose in life, which was also tied to her feeling of belonging in a specific geographic place as an Indigenous person. Such a metaphor illustrates the appeal of an Indigenous identity, recognized by the state government, that asserts a prior claim of belonging for Occaneechi people who were previously marginalized in mainstream culture. While forms of discrimination like having to attend segregated schools sent the message to Occaneechi people that they did not belong, identifying as an Indigenous person allowed this informant to claim a sense of belonging in a particular place as central to her identity. Informants believed that recovering the hidden histories of their ancestral roots, then, took on metaphorical significance for tribal members who went from uncertainty about their own

identities to confidence in who they were. Having the Homeland site gave Occaneechi people a tangible stake in their own heritage and identity as American Indian people. Yet tangible reminders like birth certificates, tribal membership cards, and the Homeland site were not just important for the personal comfort they gave to tribal members. They were also the currency that informants felt they must use to constantly negotiate recognition of their American Indian identities. While the legal documents were not necessarily visible to those outside the tribe, informants felt that simply having a piece of land and a sign with their name on it went a long way to make the Occaneechi visible in their rural community.

The issue of blood ties was central to both Occaneechi identity and the larger issue of American Indian recognition in general. While informants criticized the racial categories of Black and White, they also acknowledged that the recognition process for American Indians perpetuates racial, rather than cultural, boundaries for American Indian identity. The Occaneechi, like other American Indian people, must provide proof of blood relation to known ancestral families. At the same time, one informant directly questioned these racial boundaries for American Indian identity and asserted that American Indian identity is not related to a person's apparent racial category. As he explained, "When somebody comes in pale, blonde hair, blue eyes, and says, 'I'm an Indian,' I can't say you're not. I can't say you're not an Indian...there's been so much mixing" (Interview transcript, November 15, 2010). He then demonstrated the meaninglessness of skin color as a determiner of identity by pulling back his watchband and exposing skin much lighter than the rest of his arm. Yet even while this informant directly questioned the use of blood quantum for determining American Indian identity, the Occaneechi and other tribes continue to be legally recognized on racial rather than cultural terms.

Although the legal boundaries that made it unsafe for people in the South to identify as American Indians no longer exist, some social effects remain. Tribal members have needed a strong sense of collective identity to mobilize and gain the support and recognition of others. Because American Indians who do not fit preconceived notions of American Indian appearance or behavior receive little face recognition from non-Indians, one tribal member explained, “we have to bear that burden too, of non-resemblance” (Interview transcript, January 25, 2010). Because the Occaneechi people spent so many years attempting to fit in to Black and White racial constructs, most non-Indian people who meet them in their everyday lives do not know that they are American Indian and even resist their American Indian identities. As one tribal member summarized, “We’re not viewed as who we say we are,” and as another verified, “Getting the full respect of our communities...has been a tough exercise for us all” (Interview transcripts, February 19, 2010; January 22, 2010). Another tribal member explained how this challenge manifested itself for Occaneechi children in public schools, where students might or might not learn about the local area’s Indigenous cultures:

It’s really difficult for some of the Occaneechi people who are in the school system to go and stand up in class and say, “I’m American Indian.” There’s sometimes even backlash from the teachers. Their fundamental nature, like their identity, is cracked inside their person. (Interview transcript, April 25, 2010)

While this informant explained identity as “fundamental” to who a person is, he also acknowledged that identity can be damaged when its legitimacy is questioned or challenged. Bhabha (1994) asserted a similar claim about post-colonial identity in his discussion of the “doubling” of colonized people’s identities (p. 107). As he explained, the colonizer’s “disavowal of [Indigenous] difference” and attempt to entirely assimilate Indigenous people “threatens to

split the soul and the whole” of the Indigenous person by denying that his or her culture was legitimate.

In their attempts to confront these challenges to their American Indian identities, Occaneechi people have used the Homeland Preservation Project to amass evidence of the tribe’s heritage and establish trusting relationships with others in the community. For instance, one informant believed that tribal members could “earn a reputation in the community” and “regain some of that respect that was taken” if they provided a quality educational service to the community (Interview transcript, April 25, 2010). Several informants also felt that the historical recovery work that tribal members and staff had done would help support American Indian identity claims by providing visitors with evidence of Occaneechi culture. As one tribal member commented about teaching Homeland visitors about the Tutelo-Saponi language, “language also gives people legitimacy and makes them real” (Interview transcript, April 25, 2010). As a staff member noted, based on the public records, Occaneechi people “were always recognized as Indians and Native Americans by [the county]. They were actually allowed to vote, because they *were* Indians and Indigenous people” (Interview transcript, March 24, 2010). One workshop in a seminar series for tribal members to learn about Occaneechi history focused on ten court cases from North Carolina as well as Ohio and Illinois, where other branches of the tribe relocated in the 18th century, that “helped prove our Indianness,” a tribal staff member explained (Interview transcript, March 30, 2010). This type of evidence of Occaneechi people being recognized as American Indians helped the Occaneechi receive official state recognition, which has also helped to bolster tribal members’ sense of identity. As the tribal historian explained, “the sense that the state was verifying claims to Indian status” that came with recognition “gave some weight to what people were saying about themselves” (Interview transcript, December 1, 2009).

While recognition gave the tribe's adult members and elders the reassurance that they could safely identify as American Indian people, it came with its own emotional baggage. Occaneechi tribal members could not overlook the fact that the NCCIA, made up of representatives from the other state-recognized tribes, refused to grant their petition for recognition. Instead of coming from American Indian peers, Occaneechi recognition came from the court order of a White judge. As one informant quoted his father as having said when the tribe was recognized, "It took a White woman to tell me I could be an Indian" (Interview transcript, March 30, 2010). He also questioned the NCCIA's gate keeping function by asserting that the organization's legitimacy, like that of the Occaneechi, was ultimately granted by White people. In explaining that six of the state tribes were grandfathered in to the NCCIA when it was formed, this informant asked, "Well who grandfathered them in?" He went on to answer, "Wasn't no Indians on the legislature. All white people, right?" (Interview transcript, March 30, 2010). While few informants were willing to make overtly negative statements of the NCCIA, which now represents the Occaneechi along with the other state tribes, other informants also accepted recognition as a gate keeping process (Interview transcripts, December 1, 2009; January 25, 2010). While the criteria for state recognition are meant to keep out people who are not "real Indians," this exclusiveness results in a marginal space for American Indian identity. As one tribal member noted, questioning the role of the state in granting identity,

I have to have a piece of paper to prove I'm an Indian. Nobody else in this country has to have—do you have a card saying you're White? No. Nobody. We're the only people...now it's written in Raleigh, we can be an Indian. (Interview transcript, March 30, 2010)

I observed similar sentiments related to federal recognition in the display about the Bureau of Indian Affairs in the National Museum of the American Indian (Observation field notes, June 26, 2010), and Gelo (1999) explained that the identity politics of federal recognition have become a source of humor at some powwows. As he observed at a Pawnee powwow, the emcee called on a man whose tribal identification card had been found, “‘cause you can’t be an Indian without one” (p. 53). Thus, while state recognition provided a necessary verification of Occaneechi identity, it also brought with it the paradox that American Indian people can only officially identify as such when mainstream culture allows.

Several informants also saw the Homeland Preservation Project as a resource for dealing with mainstream images of American Indian people and correcting stereotypes. As one tribal member explained, “I think it breaks down those stigmas and those ignorant barriers, as I like to call them. Because once people are aware of what they’re *not* aware of, I think they can form a more educated opinion about it” (Interview transcript, January 25, 2010). Stereotypes about American Indian people were prevalent among visitors to the Homeland site and other American Indian educational events across the state—the program for the statewide American Indian Heritage Celebration in which the Occaneechi participated even discussed the issue of stereotyped images of Native American people, such as sports mascots, in a section of frequently asked questions (NCMH, 2009). What one tribal member characterized as “ignorant questions” were frequently asked on the Homeland site, and volunteers used them as opportunities to discuss stereotypes, hoping to correct them (Interview transcript, January 25, 2010).

One pervasive stereotype is the perception that American Indian cultures are cultures of the past. As a tribal staff member explained, “people think of Indianness being wrapped up in the non-European tradition,” and he hoped that the different historic reconstructions would show that

American Indians and their ways of life changed over time (Interview transcript, December 10, 2009). I heard one student visitor ask an American Indian storyteller to explain what life was like “when there really were Indians,” despite the fact that he had been interacting with American Indian people all day (Observation field notes, October 9, 2009). The perception of American Indian people as members of historical cultures is persistent and difficult to change. In its most harmful iteration, this stereotype became an accusation that present-day American Indian people do not belong in contemporary America and cannot be “real Indians.” One tribal member explained his frustration with the belief he had encountered “that all Indians are deceased, our culture’s dead,” while another voiced her disappointment and hurt when the occasional student visitor claims, “You’re not supposed to be here. You’re all dead. They killed you off” (Interview transcripts, January 22, 2010; January 29, 2010). While they continued to encounter stereotypes, informants hoped that the Homeland site, by providing them with a space in which to educate hundreds of area school children each year, would gradually help to change these notions and others. Informants felt that each person they encountered presented an opportunity to correct misconceptions and undo negative stereotypes; as one tribal member explained, “Even though I’m still walking and living in this system [of racism and oppression], I’m working to constantly dismantle it” (Interview transcript, February 19, 2010). This tribal member, who also worked as a diversity trainer, saw all of her social interactions, whether on the Homeland site or elsewhere, as opportunities to make other people aware of inequality and oppression and, in doing so, to mobilize others to eliminate them.

Informants who were interested in using the Homeland project to break down stereotypes also focused on some other common myths about American Indians. For instance, informants noted that the Homeland could help visitors see that there were other tribes in North Carolina

besides the Cherokee, and that visitors could compare what they see on the Homeland site with their perceptions and learn that “not all Native people are the same” when it comes to language, dress, and customs (Interview transcript, April 25, 2010). The site also showed that the Occaneechi people shared the agricultural heritage of the wider community, which the tribal historian hoped would help visitors understand that American Indian cultures can change over time (Interview transcript, December 10, 2009). But tribal members also hoped that the site would show visitors that Occaneechi people did not benefit from state or federal subsidies, casinos, a reservation, or other resources that non-Indian people might perceive American Indians to have. When visitors come to the site and see that the tribe’s land contains only historic reconstructions built and staffed by tribal members—rather than profitable enterprises like a casino—they may realize that the tribe relies on the volunteer efforts of tribal members in order to function. As one tribal member explained,

There’s this misconception out there that because we’re Indians, that we get all these subsidies from the state or from the fed, and that’s not true...there’s a real misconception out there that just because you’re an Indian, you’ve got it made. And it’s to the contrary. (Interview transcript, January 25, 2010)

Frustrated with people who ask, “You’re an Indian, you getting a casino?”, one tribal member explained, “People see money, money, money. That’s not it. It’s what you have in your heart, and what you do for your family” (Interview transcript, March 30, 2010). As this informant explained his perspective, being recognized as an American Indian was not meaningful economically, because in his experience, it did not include any financial benefit and he had to work like anyone else to provide for his own family. Tribal members wanted visitors to understand that they worked and paid bills just like their non-Indian neighbors (Interview

transcripts, January 25, 2010; January 29, 2010; February 4, 2010), and that they were not in a position to receive any special benefits based on their status as American Indians. Without a traditional museum exhibit explaining these facts, tribal members can only accomplish these goals in the way they introduce themselves to visitors and the topics they choose to discuss on the Homeland site. This paradox of Occaneechi people being both different from and the same as non-Indian community members was central to informants' identities and they saw the Homeland project as a way to reconcile these two aspects of Occaneechi identity by representing both the similarities and the differences. This paradox is also central to the notion of hybrid identities described by Bhabha (1994). Hybridity, according to Bhabha, is neither "the nostalgic dream of tradition" nor the "Utopian dream of modern progress," but rather "translation as survival" and "the act of living on borderlines" between two cultures (p. 324). Representing the ways in which they are both similar to and different from their non-Indian neighbors allows the Occaneechi to translate their culture for others and thus contribute to its survival.

According to informants, one of the reasons that the Homeland site was so important to the tribe was precisely because it provided a central location to educate school children and other community visitors, which was more efficient for the tribe than the alternative of sending tribal members into area schools to give presentations. When a staff member explained that he got calls from teachers every year asking, "Can you come out to our school and dance and sing for the kids?", he observed that most teachers did not understand the burden that their request placed on the tribe and its members. In order to accommodate a request like this one, either a staff member had to be away from the office and the regular operating duties for the tribe or a tribal member had to take off work to volunteer. By bringing visitors to the Homeland site instead, informants hoped to present an image of themselves as American Indians who also lived everyday lives

alongside non-Indian people. By interacting with visitors on the Homeland site rather than in a classroom, tribal members can do much more than perform superficial or stereotypical cultural elements. Instead, they can host visitors and explain the significance of tribally-owned land, demonstrate Indigenous survival technologies, illustrate the rural Occaneechi way of life using historic reconstructions and farming implements, and present visitors with the opportunity to meet and interact with more than just a token Occaneechi person. As one tribal member put it,

I certainly hope that [the Homeland] breaks down barriers and misconceptions about what Indians get or don't get, or what we have or can't have, and our relationship with the rest of the world. I certainly hope that it breaks those barriers down. (Interview transcript, January 25, 2010)

The context in which demonstrators educated children was important because of the symbolic meaning it communicated to children and teachers. Travelling to schools free of charge would communicate that the Occaneechi had resources to spare and that they were willing to offer unpaid the same service—education—that teachers provided professionally. Instead, informants wanted to send a different message to teachers and children: the message that tribal members' time was valuable. Informants mainly viewed their "relationship with the rest of the world" as integrated—they wanted visitors to understand that they shared their world with contemporary Occaneechi people.

Informants expressed the stereotypes of how American Indian people behaved in a number of ways, hoping that the Homeland could undo the alienating effects that Occaneechi people felt from the images of American Indian people that mainstream culture perpetuated. As one tribal member noted, when visitors come to the Homeland,

They realize Indian folks walks among them in the region and they necessarily don't all have to wear feathers to be recognized as an Indian. And that we're normal. We're not—we're not all witch doctors, we're not medicine men, you know, we're just normal human beings trying to do the right thing for us and for the people who touch our lives.

(Interview transcript, January 25, 2010)

Another tribal member noted that she wanted visitors to see that

We are here. We are in numbers. And we're people. And we hurt, we bleed, just like they do. Just the culture is different. And don't mock mine, 'cause I don't mock yours...And just be mindful who you're standing next to. (Interview transcript, January 29, 2010)

As one tribal member explained, "I just want them to know that there are Indian folks that are just like everybody else" (Interview transcript, February 4, 2010). As Kirschenblatt-Gimblett (2006a) explained, the images that museum makers fashion of themselves often work against received images from the mainstream in this way. Bodinger de Uriarte (2007) referred to such efforts as a "performance of belonging" (p. 11), indicating that Indigenous people often have to demonstrate through their actions and interactions with non-Indigenous people that they have a legitimate claim to a specific history, culture, and geographic homeland. These claims must be *performed* rather than simply *stated* because they often threaten competing claims and ideas from the mainstream culture about those who belong and those who are "other," and such statements might be met with defensive reactions.

The struggle of many contemporary American Indians to be recognized as both "real Indians" and "real Americans" (Neely, 1979, p. 170) was one that Occaneechi people also experienced. Occaneechi tribal members had to strike a fine balance between being recognized as American Indians with a distinct culture and history and being harmfully characterized as

“other” by non-Indian visitors. As one tribal member explained of mainstream perceptions, “it’s just they think that we’re *that* different, you know. And no, we don’t scalp, and we don’t want to cut your heads off, you know” (Interview transcript, January 29, 2010). Although surprising, tribal members learned through participation in community education that the belief among non-Indians that American Indian people were savage “others” was alive and well, like American Indian cultures themselves. Yet the Homeland provided a space for broader possibilities for American Indian identity than mainstream definitions allowed. Informants contended that if they could use historic reconstructions, demonstrations, and conversations with visitors to teach community members that the images of historical and contemporary American Indians on the Homeland site were legitimate versions of American Indian identity, then they could also counteract some of the negative perceptions that non-Indian community members brought to the site. Whether legitimizing their ancestors’ American Indian identities or ensuring that their culture was passed down to their children, learning about who they were or confronting other people’s stereotypes about who they should be, Occaneechi informants experienced the meaning of the Homeland site as a space for defining their own identity as individuals and as a group.

While informants expressed many different feelings about how the project was meaningful to them, issues of identity were central to tribal members’ motivations for getting involved with the tribe’s preservation and education initiatives. Tribal members’ concerns about strengthening and expressing their own identities as American Indian people extended to include the identities that their ancestors carefully managed in different historical times and those that they hoped would inspire feelings of acceptance and confidence in their children. An important part of strengthening Occaneechi identity was also the ability to express that identity and have it recognized by others. Disrupting stereotypes about American Indian people was a motivator for

many informants who had directly experienced them, and several tribal members and staff maintained the position that new knowledge about historic and present-day Occaneechi people could replace visitors' negative perceptions by correcting their misconceptions.

Balancing Stakeholder Interests

In my fifth research question, I asked how those involved in planning the Homeland Preservation Project balanced the needs and interests of tribal members and those of visitors. The choices that informants described making about representing cultural heritage and identity reflected the pressing need to balance multiple stakeholders and navigate diverse purposes when engaging in grassroots museum making. Informants described both inward- and outward-looking goals for the Homeland project. For tribal members, the purposes of the Homeland project were to gain recognition as Indigenous people, to become re-educated about their own local Indigenous history and culture, and to supplement the formal education received at school. In addition to these interests, which were already discussed in addressing my third research question, tribal members also had financial and logistical needs that those involved with the Homeland project hoped to fulfill. In constructing community education initiatives, informants also identified several other needs that they imagined visitors to have. With the Homeland project, informants hoped to increase visitors' tolerance of ethnic and cultural diversity, provide visitors with information about local history and local cultures, and supplement the formal education visitors received at school. In addition to these goals, my informants also worked to provide an interesting and engaging atmosphere for visitors at the Homeland site. While many of the needs and interests that informants identified were in conflict or competition with one another, others intersected and provided an opportunity for meaningful overlap of stakeholder groups.

Like many local museum models, the Homeland Preservation Project has carved out some specific ways to meet tribal member needs independently of the services rendered for visitors. For instance, the Homeland project provided a platform for tribal members to participate in the heritage recovery process, and was a site where tribal members, like visitors, could also attend educational workshops, trainings, and powwows to re-learn and re-establish identities as contemporary Occaneechi people. While many of my informants described learning about one's heritage as essential to developing a strong Occaneechi identity, these two activities within the tribe must be balanced. As a staff member explained of the youth activities, for example, the tribe wants to "involve them and educate them in the different aspects of the history and culture," but at the same time, "not deny the fact that they are living in a today's world" (Interview transcript, March 24, 2010). Because the tribe is also involved in Pan-American Indian events and activities, contemporary Occaneechi identity also includes a Pan-American Indian component that tribal members must learn. Another informant described how recent educational programming for tribal members also targeted teaching "the history and context of what it means to be an Indigenous person in the United States" (Interview transcript, February 19, 2010). As she explained, "A lot of people don't understand the significance of the drum or...what the specific dances are, what the specific regalia is" (Interview transcript, February 19, 2010). While these elements of the powwow are based on historical traditions among other tribes, they are not a part of Occaneechi history and illustrate another example of the tribe balancing the need to teach tribal members about the heritage with their interest in promoting a strong sense of American Indian identity, rather than an exclusively Occaneechi identity, within the contemporary tribe.

Many of the tribe's needs and interests compete with one another given the limited number of activities that the tribe can conduct each year and the pressing need for finances to operate the tribal office and the Homeland site. Financial gain was a stakeholder interest that was not only difficult to fulfill, but that conflicted with other interests within the tribe, according to some informants. While the tribe continued to struggle with the costs of purchasing the land and building on the property, one staff member suggested that "it already has started bringing funding in through the powwow and School Days and other visitors...so it is off to a modest start" (Interview transcript, December 1, 2009). Attracting tourism is a controversial goal for tribal museums like the Homeland project. Witz (2006) suggested that tourism simply commodifies culture and continues colonial relationships between members of the dominant culture and Indigenous peoples who put themselves on display; Rectanus (2002), on the other hand, claimed that taking advantage of opportunities for financial gain through tourism is a form of post-colonial hybridity that takes place in new museums. The term *hybridity*, originating with post-colonial scholar Homi Bhabha, refers to the way in which the cultures of colonized peoples can adapt to imposed forces and leverage cultural change to exercise agency within oppressive structures. While some informants shared the fear that allowing the Homeland site to become too touristic would diminish its cultural value for the tribe and for visitors, others viewed touristic potential as a tool for spreading knowledge about the historic and contemporary Occaneechi.

Supplementing the education that children received in local schools was one need that informants believed tribal youth and non-Indian children shared. While one tribal member commented that "traditionally no other tribes in the state [besides the federally-recognized Cherokee] were mentioned in the textbooks or in the school curriculum," he felt that the tribe had been "fortunate enough in partnerships to get that corrected in the school systems"

(Interview transcript, January 22, 2010). Tribal members asserted that, like Occaneechi children, non-Indian children had educational needs that were not met by the public education system. Several tribal members mentioned the possibility of providing tutoring in core subjects such as math and English for Occaneechi children at the Homeland site once the office and museum building were installed. One tribal staff member had the idea of using her own social networks to match Occaneechi children with teenagers or adults who could tutor them in the subjects in which they were struggling (Interview transcript, March 24, 2010). Another tribal member suggested funding free tutoring programs at the schools tribal youth attended, “not only to our tribal members but also for the whole school,” also to assist children in core subject areas (Interview transcript, January 22, 2010). All of the local school children, not just the tribal youth, had limited opportunities to learn about local Indigenous cultures in schools during fourth-grade American history and eighth-grade North Carolina history, and informants believed that many continued to be unaware that a local Indigenous population existed. As one tribal member explained, “the history and knowledge of our tribe” was important for all community members—not just Occaneechi—to learn because it was part of a shared local experience (Interview transcript, February 4, 2010).

While framed as a visitor need by informants, educating non-Indian children also benefitted tribal members by increasing the likelihood that Occaneechi history and culture would be recognized in the future. Another informant commented that in order to fill the perceived gaps in local curriculum, tribal members must “insert ourselves into the class, and the best way to do that is by the friendships that we have” (Interview transcript, April 25, 2010). Close interaction with non-Indian visitors, then, helped the Occaneechi to work toward their interest in

supplementing local public education for tribal youth and all children, but it also allowed tribal members to exercise influence over school learning.

The tribe's interest in being involved in the local schools was also related to another need that informants imagined for visitors, which was to become more invested in their local communities. This need that informants suggested visitors had, like the need to learn about Occaneechi history, also spoke to tribal members' need to be recognized as a legitimate part of the local community. Not only did informants feel that the children in local schools needed more knowledge of local Indigenous cultures, but they also explained that schools could save money by knowing what local educational resources were available to them. For instance, several tribal members commented that schools spent a lot of money to take long field trips to Cherokee to visit a museum about American Indians, not realizing that they could learn about a local tribe (Interview transcripts, December 10, 2009; January 22, 2010; February 4, 2010). Furthermore, tribal members saw their work as a type of community improvement that other community members could enjoy being a part of. As one tribal member commented, he wanted "to bring the rest of the community involvement to what we're trying to accomplish and make them aware...of the things that are going on in their backyard that they may not be aware of" (Interview transcript, January 25, 2010).

The historical racial politics of the local area created an environment in which non-Indian community members might be wary of Occaneechi people's claims to American Indian identity, but tribal members explained that getting involved in the local community could give non-Indian community members a sense of ownership and help to dispel those negative reactions. As one staff member explained, "We've tried to develop [the Homeland site] in such a way that it would not only be a source of pride to the Indian people in the community, but to everybody in the

surrounding area” (Interview transcript, December 10, 2009). Another tribal member explained the inclusive attitude of many Occaneechi people toward non-Indian community members:

Because in my mind, if you live in the surrounding counties, we were interacting with these folks for hundreds of years, and even though certain folks may not be of Indian descent, they are still our brothers and sisters within that community, so I certainly hope that it brings a certain pride of ownership to the community and the surrounding areas.

(Interview transcript, January 25, 2010)

While informants reported this interest, which they believed was mutual for the tribe and visitors, to have the entire community invested in the Homeland site, some also acknowledged the ambivalence that they felt about having non-Indian visitors over-identify with an American Indian culture. One informant expressed her hurt and resentment toward people who appropriate American Indian knowledges, customs, or styles of dress, saying that “somebody else is always trying to take on our culture, when it’s ours and not theirs” (Interview transcript, January 29, 2010). As another informant explained, “I would say eight out of ten people I meet basically truly believe that their grandmother has some Indian descent. And I’m like, ‘Wow, I mean, how did we ever lose this country?’” (Interview transcript, January 25, 2010). While this informant suggested that many non-Indian people are interested in claiming American Indian heritage, he felt that this interest was ultimately beneficial for both non-Indian people, who found being involved with an American Indian community “comforting,” and for the Occaneechi, who could promote their culture in the local area (Interview transcript, January 25, 2010). While certain aspects of Occaneechi identity, such as a rural agricultural heritage, could be safely shared with non-Indian people, several informants broached the idea that over-identification with Occaneechi

culture could undermine tribal members' ability to claim a cultural identity distinct from that of their non-Indian community members.

In order to fulfill visitors' imagined needs of becoming more interested in and knowledgeable about local Indigenous culture and history, informants also developed strategies that they used to make the Homeland site more engaging and interactive for visitors. Explaining these strategies, informants referred to many of the phenomena I discussed in the critical incidents in Chapter 4. Interacting with visitors, allowing visitors to handle objects, and providing opportunities for visitors to participate in cultural activities were all ways that tribal members tried to meet this need, as other new museums have done, by capitalizing on new, participatory educational models (Skramstad, 2004; Weil 1990/2004). As one staff member noted, from a customer service perspective the site needs to "entertain" visitors, although he did not view entertainment as a superficial goal. Several informants believed that by creating visitor engagement with the site, tribal members involved in the Homeland project could also accomplish pedagogical goals (Interview transcripts, December 10, 2009; January 25, 2010; February 19, 2010; April 25, 2010). Tribal members involved in the School Days repeatedly mentioned their desire for the event to be "not just a day out of school" for the visitors (Interview transcript, December 10, 2009), and they worked to create an engaging site as a way to make the field trip meaningful.

Finally, the visitor interaction that took place on the Homeland site was also a strategy that several informants thought could help them accomplish a final shared stakeholder need: educating visitors about diversity. Tribal members suggested that by meeting present-day Occaneechi people and understanding the history of their community's Indigenous population, visitors could become more aware of diversity in general. As one tribal member commented, in

the 19th and 20th centuries “it became a two-sided culture instead of a multi-faceted, multi-ethnic culture. So now we’re trying to bring that back and to let folks know that it’s not just a two-ethnicity culture...everything is not always just black and white” (Interview transcript, January 22, 2010). While increasing the community’s knowledge of diversity benefits the Occaneechi by increasing their acceptance by non-Indian community members, one tribal member noted that the Homeland project was “enriching for the whole community because it just adds to the diversity that exists already,” suggesting that experiences with diversity are inherently enriching (Interview transcript, February 19, 2010). Participants suggested that educating the community about Occaneechi history and culture contributed to visitors’ understanding of diversity and acceptance of cultures and identities different from their own, and hinged on positive interactions between Occaneechi and non-Indian community members.

While many of the needs and interests of tribal members and visitors were unique to the Occaneechi, others—such as the needs for recognition, respect, and tolerance—intersected and revealed the role that tribal members saw for the Homeland project in healing the entire local community’s heritage of racialized divisions and inequalities. To this end, an overarching need for all stakeholders was to be equipped with the knowledge to counteract racism and racialized prejudice and discrimination. For tribal members, the Homeland project provided the historical, cultural, and social knowledge to create strong Indigenous identities. For visitors, the Homeland project promoted personal interaction with Indigenous people and an awareness of previously hidden forms of local diversity. As one tribal member explained, the welcoming and inclusive attitude that tribal members tried to use to educate visitors on the Homeland site could fulfill the need for visitors to overcome the guilt they might have when they learned about the painful pasts of Indigenous people, noting that “We’re not wanting people to have guilt” (Interview transcript,

April 25, 2010). Tribal members included visitors' needs in their consideration of so many of their own needs because this overarching task of healing racialized divisions among people relied on building connections between tribal members and visitors.

Tribal members balanced these many competing and overlapping needs and interests by closely regulating how they portrayed themselves to visitors. While demonstrations of dances, cooking, and weapons are one form of performance, tribal members also performed their Occaneechi identities in all of their interactions with visitors to the site. Kirschenblatt-Gimblett (1998) and Heumann Gurian (1991) both emphasized that *all* museums are performers for the public, who closely regulate their public image in order to accomplish their goals and to balance the perceptions of audiences with the assertions of the curators. As Stanton (2007) added, the ways that museums perform their knowledge for the public are also informed by post-colonial hybridity. Post-colonial cultures themselves also have to be constantly negotiated and enacted, so museums that represent these realities are also caught up in an ongoing performance of identity. Just as all museum displays regulate what visitors can see (Alpers, 1991), informants described having a particular image of the Occaneechi that they wanted to convey to visitors in order to manage the interests of the tribe and the needs they imagined visitors to have. As one tribal member explained, "We want to make sure that people understand us for who we really are in a very, very positive way" (Interview transcript, January 25, 2010), and a staff member echoed her interest in having visitors to the Homeland "see the Occaneechis in a good way" (Interview transcript, March 24, 2010). While these informants focused on a positive portrayal of the Occaneechi, another informant simply stressed the need to be concerned with "what image we're portraying" so that the tribe's efforts would be focused on strengthening Occaneechi identity rather than merely raising money (Interview transcript, April 25, 2010). As this informant

suggested, even well-intentioned representations of the Occaneechi people may result in visitors gaining only a superficial understanding, interacting with a token few tribal members, or reacting negatively to the tribe's present-day work, if these representations do not actively portray an image that challenges persistent stereotypes.

The latter informant acknowledged the same situation that Wallis (1994) emphasized in claiming that even self-fashioning of museum representations can objectify people and cultures. For instance, in responding the fact that visitors may not believe people are American Indians unless they dress in regalia (Rountree, 1979), tribal museums may appeal to visitors' interests in seeing an "authentic" cultural performance, but risk pandering to visitors and perpetuating mainstream misconceptions. Other scholars, however, acknowledged that in many tribal museums, competing interests can coexist precisely because they represent a post-colonial reality in which even an individual person's identity may contain competing interests and contradictory elements. Kratz and Karp (2006) emphasized that new museums can serve as "engines of economic renewal and revenue generation" at the same time that they are "settings for cultural interchange" and "places of empowerment and recognition" (p. 1), all of which informants reported as interests or needs for the tribe to fulfill through the Homeland project. While Kotler and Kotler (2004) questioned the notion that museums can actually serve a wide range of communities simultaneously, they also noted that targeting community change is a goal of many museums. As informants discussed changes that they hoped the Homeland project could make in the community, they were able envision many of the stakeholder interests of visitors and tribal members as overlapping. They imagined that non-Indian community members *should* or *would* value many of the same things that tribal members did once they were more knowledgeable about or interested in the tribe. Thus, by performing a closely regulated image of Occaneechi

people as welcoming of visitors and giving back to their local community, informants hoped to fulfill the tribe's needs and interests by appealing to visitors to share them. Informants' efforts to balance their own needs with the needs they imagined visitors to have created overlapping tasks for the Homeland project: portraying authentic Occaneechi lifeways, gaining acceptance for Occaneechi people as American Indians in the local community, and reserving Occaneechi cultural identity for tribal members rather than surrendering Occaneechi culture entirely to the ownership of the local community.

The task of operating an institution with goals of simultaneously serving tribal members and visitors includes many tensions that informants discussed having to navigate, and tensions also existed between the types of strategies that different informants used or envisioned. Many of the goals that informants wanted to accomplish with the site necessitated a delicate balance. Non-Indian people who identify with Occaneechi history and culture are open-minded about the information presented on the site, but over-identification to the point of appropriating elements of Occaneechi culture was seen by most informants as harmful. Providing visitors with a positive experience on the site might help promote the tribe's work, but pandering to visitors' interests and preconceptions might give visitors only a superficial representation of Occaneechi culture, encourage visitors to interact with only token Occaneechi people, or spark negative reactions among visitors. In trying to achieve this balance, informants considered both visitor needs—such as the need for the site to be interesting, to showcase diversity, and to increase non-Indian visitors' involvement in their local community—and the needs of the tribe—such as to sustain itself financially and logistically, to have the ethnicity and heritage of tribal members recognized, and to educate tribal members about their own culture. Informants often saw these needs as overlapping, believing that a positive educational experience in the eyes of visitors would also

likely increase awareness and recognition of Occaneechi history and present-day Occaneechi people, and furthermore that work to strengthen Occaneechi peoples' culture and identity would also have positive effects on the broader non-Indian community.

Knowledge and Power in the Homeland Preservation Project

In discussing my final research question, I examine my previous findings for evidence of power/knowledge relationships in the work that the Occaneechi people have done with the Homeland Preservation Project. As Butler (1997) argued of cultural performances, performance is a way to reappropriate traditions and practices, and thus to exercise power. For instance, at Southern powwows, American Indian people apply Pan-American Indian knowledge of songs, regalia, and dances in order to reclaim well-known images of American Indian people through performance. My final research question asked what types of knowledge and power were constructed, exercised, and transferred in the Homeland Preservation Project, as well as how they might differ for tribal members and visitors. While a museum would be expected to display both historical and cultural knowledge, informants also used these knowledges to form a basis for acquiring and applying political, sociological, and self-knowledge. Informants also understood these types of knowledge as closely tied to distinct forms of power, including self-efficacy and advocacy, achievement potential, anti-racism, and activism.

The historical and cultural knowledge on display at the Homeland site was compiled from a range of sources. Archaeological digging at the Occaneechi village site in Hillsborough, North Carolina revealed information about how the village was organized and built, what the Occaneechi ate and how they prepared food, as well as other information about Occaneechi ways of life. Historical documents, such as John Lawson's notes on Occaneechi Town around the turn

of the 18th century in *A New Voyage to Carolina*, also added to historical knowledge of the Occaneechi and contributed to present-day Occaneechi people's understandings of their ancestors' culture, how they interacted with other Native and non-Native peoples, and what outside forces impacted their society. Some cultural knowledge and skills, like the use of the Tutelo-Saponi language, were lost over many generations of acculturation and required complete re-learning. Other types of cultural knowledge were passed down from one generation to the next, such as tobacco farming and curing practices and knowledge of natural remedies and medicinal herbs. The Homeland site either presents or includes plans to present all of these types of historical and cultural knowledge, helping to disseminate knowledge to visitors and to tribal members who were not directly involved in the recovery process.

While any museum draws on the ideologies of the group who runs it (Lavine & Karp, 1991), Hoxie and Nelson (2007) suggested that tribal museums in particular provide colonized groups with opportunities to directly contest the ideas presented in dominant institutions like schools and mainstream museums. Occaneechi people, like many other American Indian groups, have approached preservation and education with enthusiasm, but “not without ambivalence” given the problematic colonial legacy of museum institutions (Cooper, 1997, p. 403). Occaneechi presenters whose parents or grandparents lived in fear of being exposed as American Indian people brought a complex set of emotions and motivations to the project of cultural recovery and education, and while many informants expressed distrust of mainstream knowledge sources, such as historical records written by White settlers, these knowledge sources were also necessary for the tribe to engage in heritage recovery. At the same time, however, in constructing the Homeland project, tribal members were also eager to contribute knowledge and traditions that had been passed down in their families. Indigenous Knowledge, which includes the types of

experiential knowledge displayed on or planned for the Homeland site, brings power struggles to center of knowledge creation (Villegas, Neugebauer, & Venegas, p. 1). Simply by including experiential knowledge on the Homeland site, tribal members may legitimize those knowledges in the eyes of visitors and thus exercise a form of power.

The use of objects on the Homeland site to represent historical and cultural knowledge also constitutes a form of power. As Foucault (1975/1995) explained, knowledge and power together establish what can be called “truth” and thereby normalize certain ideas and behaviors; Foucault frames power as a form of abstract control rather than a direct force. In the museum, objects serve as symbols of knowledge and power (Kirschenblatt-Gimblett, 1991; Luke, 2002); museum makers have the ability to make statements about the objects that visitors generally believe. While some natural history museums treat objects as knowledge sources, Crew and Sims (1991) argued that the knowledge archaeologists can gain from objects is not the source of the objects’ authority. Instead, museum makers gain authority through the objects’ functions as symbols of ownership and tools for resurrecting a particular version of the past. On the Homeland site, most of the objects on display are replicas, created by contemporary tribal members, rather than artifacts. For the Occaneechi, then, these objects do not necessarily provide new historical and cultural knowledge, but they are used as tools for teaching historical and cultural knowledge to visitors and tribal members. Tribal members’ ability to create these replicas is its own form of recovered cultural knowledge, which in turn lends authority to Occaneechi craftspeople. As one tribal member explained of the type of arrow that he crafts, it is “now known as the Occaneechi arrow, because an Occaneechi made it” (Interview transcript, March 30, 2010). The Homeland site was a place where tribal members who had learned specific skills could reinforce the legitimacy of their work by displaying it as representative of

Occaneechi cultural and historical knowledge. Becoming knowledgeable about Occaneechi culture, then, provided tribal members with power in the form of authority and legitimacy.

The Homeland project, however, was not just a place to put objects on display. Informants described using the knowledge that they gained from archival and archaeological research, as well as their own participation in cultural events and performances, to give meaning to the identity struggles that they and their ancestors experienced and therefore reclaim some power. Self-knowledge in turn empowered tribal members to develop new, decolonized identities. According to one informant, educational programs for tribal members in the spring of 2010 targeted “re-informing identity and giving people a strong sense of collective identity, and empowering people’s identity” (Interview transcript, February 19, 2010). Several informants involved in this educational programming viewed education about contemporary identity as inherently empowering. As one informant stated, learning about Occaneechi history and culture “validates their identity. It validates that which they didn’t have the words to talk about before” and begins to counteract the “pain that’s involved with colonization...being told who you are, and who you can’t be, and who you should be, all these things” (Interview transcript, April 25, 2010). By giving tribal members the resources to develop their own self-knowledge, the tribe’s educational programming decolonized the identities of Occaneechi people who were previously placed in narrow racial and cultural categories by non-Indigenous people. As one informant explained, the knowledge Occaneechi people used to develop Indigenous identities could then be used to transform a painful past:

Especially learning about the history, when they have struggles, they were called this and they were called that—they have so many conflicts of identity—when they learn about

the history, it validates their experience. For them, the struggles that they went through then become a source of liberation. (Interview transcript, April 25, 2010)

Developing self-knowledge through Occaneechi identity, then, was another form of power that informants described resulting from their preservation and education initiatives. As one member stated, “When you’re aware of where you come from and who you are, I think it does promote a certain air of confidence,” and another went on to explain, “The more people that we have who know where they come from, I believe the more they’re willing to stand up and fight, and work, and advocate” (Interview transcripts, January 25, 2010; February 19, 2010). Thus, the tribe’s educational programming for tribal members specifically sought to give them knowledge that they could use to promote their own Indigenous identities and advocate for their own rights and the rights of other Indigenous people. As one tribal member involved in educational programming explained,

Before you can be an advocate for yourself, you’ve got to know who you are. You’ve got to know where you come from. So this is what we’re teaching—it’s about community empowerment, it’s about individual empowerment. It’s about teaching our people how to be advocates for themselves, and why that’s important and why that’s okay. (Interview transcript, February 19, 2010)

This informant suggested that empowerment derives from self-knowledge, and that tribal members could gain self-knowledge through participation in the tribal community. As this informant explained, Occaneechi educational initiatives must deliberately provide tribal members with the knowledge that advocating for one’s own rights as an Indigenous person was an acceptable pursuit. As one tribal member explained of the contemporary existence of

American Indian people, “I’m not the only one, you know. I’m not the only one—there’s a whole lot more. We’re still here. We’re just not hidden anymore” (Interview transcript, January 29, 2010). For this tribal member, the knowledge that others shared her heritage, culture, and goal of advocating for Indigenous rights bolstered her confidence in her ability to publically advocate an Indigenous identity.

Furthermore, knowledge of their own history and identity constituted another form of power for Occaneechi tribal members who used this knowledge to take social action or to resist oppressive stereotypes. Promoting historical and cultural knowledge through the Homeland site empowered Occaneechi people given the fact that they contested the mainstream histories, museums, and school curricula that left out their experiences. One informant recalled how one of the tribal youth had told him, “I stood up in history class and I told the teacher that was wrong. She said all the Indians were removed out of here except for the Cherokee, and I told her that was wrong” (Interview transcript, April 25, 2010). Through his knowledge of Occaneechi history, the youth felt empowered to contest the knowledge presented through mainstream historical accounts in schools. As another informant explained, knowledge empowers Indigenous people to create their own historical accounts, which in turn empower other Indigenous people: “[Our history]’s written now. It’s written by Indian people. A lot of books are written by Indian people now. And telling the truth of the things that happened. Our Trail of Tears was back in 1676 [with Bacon’s Rebellion]” (Interview transcript, March 30, 2010). The accounts of history written by other American Indian people empowered Occaneechi informants to share previously hidden knowledge with others, who might be familiar with the Cherokee Trail of Tears but not with the struggles of smaller Indigenous communities in the South like the Occaneechi.

The political position of the tribe and its members illustrates another step in the unfolding of the relationship between knowledge and power within my case study. The Homeland site, as a symbol of Occaneechi historical and cultural knowledge, also embodied the political applications of the historical knowledge that the Occaneechi leveraged in order to gain recognition. As one informant explained in a follow-up interview, “We never could have done the Homeland project if we hadn’t been recognized” (Interview transcript, November 15, 2010). Some of the same historical information that is on display at the Homeland site was first used as evidence that the Occaneechi had satisfied the criteria for state recognition when the tribe appealed the NCCIA decision. Despite being a body composed of representatives from the existing North Carolina tribes, one informant noted that the NCCIA criteria for recognition “were administered by people who were not necessarily knowledgeable in history or anthropology or sociology or anything like that” (Interview transcript, December 1, 2009). Therefore, although the tribe had compiled archaeological and archival evidence of the tribe’s historical and present-day existence, it was their ability to maneuver political processes that eventually allowed the tribe to achieve state recognition through a court order.

As with political processes, informants demonstrated still another step in the unfolding of knowledge and power in the Homeland Preservation Project in their understanding of sociology and discussion of the social structures in which they operated. The Homeland site embodied sociological knowledge in its representations by illustrating to visitors that Indigenous peoples could adapt to sociopolitical forces. Demonstrators used objects representing trade goods, such as metal pots, to explain to visitors not just that Occaneechi ways of life changed over time, but also that the Occaneechi were a strong economic power during the contact period who lost their advantageous position as a result of Bacon’s rebellion. Although the School Days primarily

conveyed historical and cultural knowledge through the reconstructions and information booths, demonstrators' emphasis on the recovery process was a statement about the racialized social structures that had shaped Occaneechi history. The tribal historian also referred to disseminating sociological information in the community when he expressed his interest in having the future museum building explicitly address the political persecution and "social limbo" that Occaneechi people experienced from Bacon's Rebellion and relocation to Fort Christanna up to the Jim Crow era and present-day (Interview transcript, December 10, 2009).

Several informants reported feeling directly empowered by applying such sociological knowledge to their own lives. As one tribal member explained, political and sociological knowledge "finally gave me words to describe everything I had been carrying and feeling my whole life" (Interview transcript, February 19, 2010). For this informant, the ability to discuss sociological forces lent legitimacy to her personal experiences. As she went on to explain, sociological knowledge can reveal the structural causes behind personal events: "understanding that there was a system that was created before I was born, before any of us was born, that exists today...it explained so much that empowered me" (Interview transcript, February 19, 2010). Another informant described how he felt tribal youth had been empowered through educational programs that allowed them to learn "about the old people and how much worse it was for them" (Interview transcript, April 25, 2010). He explained that "they become empowered by that and they want to change. It makes them angry that their grandfather, you know, had to go through Indian school, or whatever it is" (Interview transcript, April 25, 2010). According to this informant, learning about how the sociopolitical position of their ancestors was unjust or unequal motivated tribal youth to be more politically involved and active in changing their own social situation by increasing the visibility of Indigenous people. This informant also explained that

knowing the political and sociological forces that historically impacted Occaneechi people has helped him to understand when some people—even his family members—resist or refuse to acknowledge Occaneechi people’s identity claims (Interview transcript, April 25, 2010).

In yet another step in the unfolding relationship between knowledge and power, several informants claimed that knowledge of their own Indigenous identities and the power to advocate for their rights as Indigenous people in turn allowed them to envision other pursuits besides heritage reclamation. Many tribal members viewed providing opportunities for the tribe’s youth as one of the primary goals of preservation and education, and one informant explained his belief that simply knowing about one’s heritage could open up opportunities for other pursuits rather than recovering historical and cultural knowledge. As he explained,

Lots of people have spent lifetimes seeking that information. And if we can give you that information or help promote that information to you without you having to work that hard to get it, then you can focus on other things. And you can become a much better person for it. (Interview transcript, January 25, 2010)

This informant and others (Interview transcripts, February 19, 2010; March 24, 2010) wanted to provide tribal youth with the knowledge of their heritage and ancestry so that the youth would not have to be involved in the arduous process of archival research to recover such knowledge. Instead, they wanted to give the youth that knowledge and in turn the opportunity and power to devote their energy to other pursuits, such as academic success. Another informant pointed out his conviction that adults also became empowered in their future opportunities as a result of gaining knowledge of their heritage: “For people who I know that may not have even come to a strong sense of identity until their 30s or maybe their 40s, they look on the rest of their life with

purpose rather than spite, you know” (Interview transcript, April 25, 2010). While some adult tribal members might previously have felt alienated and confused about their heritage and identity, this informant believed that the knowledge that enabled them to embrace an Occaneechi identity also allowed them to seek out new opportunities as advocates and active participants in an Indigenous community.

Because my study focused on Occaneechi informants’ experiences and I did not collect any data from visitors’ perspectives, I was not in a position to effectively respond to the portion of this research question that contrasted Occaneechi museum makers’ knowledge and power with the knowledge and power that visitors exercised on the site. My informants, however, did have their own views about visitor knowledge, and believed that sharing knowledge about the sociopolitical positions of the historic Occaneechi people and awareness of present-day Occaneechi identity would cultivate in visitors an understanding of diversity. If visitors *did* gain a broader understanding of their community’s cultural diversity and increased acceptance of minority identities, this type of knowledge creation would also empower tribal members through the removal of social barriers. As one informant stressed his position, “I can help educate people, I can help eliminate racism” through involvement on the Homeland site and interaction with visitors (Interview transcript, April 25, 2010). In explaining the painful past of their Occaneechi ancestors and the loss of cultural knowledge that necessitated heritage recovery, Occaneechi people presented their history and culture as the consequence of a particular configuration of power, while also providing a setting in which visitors could have positive social interaction with the contemporary Indigenous people in their community.

Impacts of the Homeland Preservation Project

The actual impact of the Homeland project was limited by practical considerations like the resources available to keep the site open for visitors, the ability of the site to attract visitors, and the willingness of visitors to hear demonstrators' messages about their heritage and identity. Even visitors who do listen and accept Occaneechi demonstrators' assertions about the historic and present-day Occaneechi must then independently apply these lessons in their own lives in order to really change their attitudes toward diversity. While Occaneechi people can only ensure that visitors recognize the presence of Indigenous people in their community for a day or two when they actually have direct contact on the Homeland site, the fact that several of the teachers who bring school groups to School Days return to the event year after year (Interview transcript, March 24, 2010; Observation field notes, October 8, 2009) indicates that these teachers' experiences, at least, have been positive and effective. The concerns regarding commodification of cultures, superficiality of display messages, tokenism in representations, and the fleeting impact on visitors were present in my study and acknowledged by informants in discussing the Homeland project. These significant issues constitute their own focused study, as other scholars have demonstrated. Much of the literature on new museums questions their use of knowledge and power; Janes (2004) wondered if the existence of too many small, local museums had spread the power that they lend to marginalized groups too thin, and if the type of authority that museums offer is only minimally useful to marginalized groups, who see themselves as misrepresented by mainstream museum institutions. Yet other museum scholars have emphasized that marginalized groups can mobilize the symbolic capital that museums contain, and that by embracing and adapting the model of the mainstream museum, they can succeed in creating cross-cultural understanding (Bennett, 1995; Bennett, 2006; Buntix & Karp, 2006).

Emergent Themes

In addition to formulating responses to my research questions, I also developed several thematic memos based on patterns in the data as I completed my analysis. These emergent themes each bridged multiple research questions in their scope, and synthesized how the research questions I posed prior to entering the field related to the experiences that informants described in an interrelated manner. The first emergent theme was the education, identity formation, and representation construction: a process by which tribal members engaged in interrelated preservation and education activities. Through the Homeland Preservation Project and related programs, Occaneechi informants related to me how they participated in a cycle of acquiring and using knowledge, describing interactions between the processes of education, identity formulation, and representation. As volunteer demonstrators for educational programming, tribal members learned about the historical Occaneechi and their Indigenous ways of life. Tribal members combined this recovered knowledge with their own life experiences to reformulate their identities as Occaneechi people. In turn, demonstrators could then share both their recovered knowledge and a sense of their Occaneechi identity with visitors to the site during events such as School Days. The processes of historical education, identity formulation, and representation were interrelated: a central component of Occaneechi identity was the participation in what Loukaitou-Sideris and Grodach (2004) referred to as *hidden histories* that persisted for several generations among Occaneechi people as a private knowledge of American Indian heritage, but that they only recently began to discuss publicly. A central component of representation that informants discussed was raising awareness of this hidden history among Occaneechi families and outside community members so that the tribal organization could fill gaps in historical and cultural knowledge through the heritage recovery process. This network of

the processes of learning, experiencing, and showing Occaneechi heritage organized the diverse types of knowledge that defined both Occaneechi identities and the Homeland project as an educational institution.

The Homeland site provided an educational space in which Occaneechi people used knowledge of their heritage and culture to inform their identities as American Indian people, and in turn to transmit knowledge about their identities to visitors. With a complex local history of racialized identity politics, identity came to form the center of the education that tribal members sought for themselves and provided for others. Thus, recovery of Occaneechi history and culture redefined how Occaneechi people viewed themselves while also informing their educational goals. The questions of what aspects of Occaneechi culture and history to include and how to craft these representations were also issues of identity, translated into visitor education to form a network of knowledge constructions.

The next emergent theme was how Occaneechi people used history to construct their contemporary lives. Occaneechi demonstrators at the Homeland Preservation Project shared historical information about the Occaneechi and their ways of life from several different time periods in an effort to illustrate the ways that Occaneechi people and lives changed over time. By illustrating Occaneechi life around 1700, 1930, and 1950, the site resisted the sense that many mainstream museum displays create that Indian people are themselves antiquated. Scholars such as Hirschfelder and Kreipe de Montaña (1993) and Monroe and Echo-Hawk (2004) noted that traditional museums tend to depict colonized Indigenous peoples as members of a dying race, and non-Indian people held a similar view of the Occaneechi prior to recognition. As such, using history to construct contemporary lives was a way for the present-day Occaneechi to assert the continuity of their culture over time. Many of the demonstrators at School Days also used the

historical information they shared to contrast past ways of life, whether specific to the Occaneechi or more general to early human societies, with modern conveniences and encourage visitors to think about their own contemporary lives in relation to the past. As Stephen Greenblatt (1991) argued, museum exhibits appeal to visitors using *resonance* and *wonder*, meaning that objects on display resonate with visitors by illustrating some familiar aspect of human existence to which visitors can relate, while they simultaneously strike visitors with by appealing to visitors' sense of beauty or curiosity. The *resonance* of the Homeland site displays, then, comes from Occaneechi people's ability to illustrate a dynamic culture adapting over time; demonstrators accomplish this by drawing direct comparisons between Occaneechi culture and the lives of modern American children. At the same time the *wonder* of the site comes from the sense that history is different from the present day; demonstrators accomplish this by showing traditional weapons, tools, and ways of life that are *unfamiliar* to most visitors. Tribal members used both of these qualities of resonance and wonder to try to change visitor perceptions of local history and American Indian people, viewing the site as an act of service to both the ancestors and future generations of Occaneechi people. Showing the similarities between the lives of American Indians and early European-Americans may dispel the sense of otherness that non-Indian visitors apply to American Indian culture and history. Instead of depicting Occaneechi history as completely different from the histories of non-Indian visitors, the Homeland site illustrated that Occaneechi history was both culturally distinct and a part of a broader historical past that included non-Indian visitors as well.

Another theme that emerged was how Occaneechi people constructed their own forms of Indigenous Knowledge through discourse and experience. The Homeland Preservation Project presented recovered history and Indigenous ways of life that were lost and hidden for many

years. Occaneechi presenters were forthcoming with visitors about the recovery process, sharing the fact that recovering knowledge about their ancestors' culture and history has been a defining struggle in the contemporary Occaneechi experience. The *rereading* of colonial histories that Indigenous scholar Tuhiwai Smith (1999) saw as a productive exercise in critically examining a shared past is not only a task for post-colonial scholars, but also for tribal organizations like the Occaneechi who engage in critical re-telling of local histories. Like scholars of Indigenous Knowledge, many of the Occaneechi tribal members with whom I spoke expressed interest in "[making] central issues of power, place, and relationships" (Villegas, Neugebauer, & Venegas, 2008, p. 1). The hidden and explicit discourses of Occaneechi culture and history interacted to create a source of contemporary Indigenous Knowledge for tribal members to draw from as educators on the Homeland site. Overall, informants suggested that the Indigenous Knowledges that they had constructed from a combination of reinterpreted historical discourses and inherited or recalled experiences made different types of learning possible for visitors. One tribal member expressed an apt definition for Indigenous Knowledge in his explanation of education: "Education is learning. Learning. Not necessarily learning from books" (Interview transcript, March 30, 2010). Because books and other knowledge sources traditionally found in schools reflect largely mainstream understandings of history, using the Indigenous Knowledge they constructed from family histories and personal experiences allowed the Occaneechi to restore access to those hidden histories and knowledges that were previously unspoken.

The next emergent theme that I explored was the use of social interaction and performance on the Homeland site. Occaneechi demonstrators used performative elements to embody their Indigenous identities and showcase them to others. Wearing traditional clothing and ceremonial regalia, learning and participating in cultural performances, speaking an

Indigenous language, and otherwise interacting with tribal members and outside community members as American Indian people all informed the ways that Occaneechi people viewed themselves as knowledgeable and credible educators. Performative elements, whether public performances like the annual powwow or aspects of one's personal appearance that are visible to others, provided Occaneechi tribal members necessary opportunities to strengthen and assert their American Indian identities even as those identities continued to be called into question. Occaneechi presenters also used performative elements to instruct visitors to the Homeland site about Indigenous lifeways through both demonstration and visitor participation. Phillips (2004) confirmed that such a performative context is often necessary for visitors to understand the meaning of non-Western objects. Occaneechi presenters demonstrated lifeways using objects that visitors were invited to handle; presenters demonstrated cultural performances and invited visitors to also participate in the performance. Occaneechi presenters prioritized visitor interaction in their own teaching methods, and saw visits to the site as opportunities for outside community members to interact with contemporary American Indian people. Occaneechi people used social interaction with visitors to accomplish the major goal of increasing their own visibility in the community to make outside community members aware of their contemporary existence.

The touristic potential of the site also contributed to informants' interest in performance and interaction, because the more interesting and engaging the site was, the more entertaining they felt it would be to visitors. As the tribal historian explained of entertaining and educating visitors, "Now the question then becomes, how can you combine the two so that they remember what they've seen, they enjoy it, it's not boring?" (Interview transcript, December 10, 2009). The tribal historian felt that performance and interaction provided demonstrators on the Homeland

site with tools for promoting an educational message while maintaining visitor interest. While no data were collected that could confirm or explore further how visitors actually perceived the performances, the office manager, who has coordinated the School Days event for several years, felt that students were at least polite in receiving the information and that teachers valued the information presented and followed up on the visit, for instance by testing students on the material covered at School Days (Interview transcript, March 24, 2010). Involving visitors in the cultural performances through interaction was one strategy that demonstrators used to balance the educational and entertaining aspects of their performances and to illustrate Occaneechi identity without appearing to put on a show for visitors. As one informant explained, this type of interaction could help non-Indian people “view life through a different lens and understand that the way you see and experience the world is not the way that everybody sees and experiences the world,” a phenomenon she described as “cultural humility” for visitors (Interview transcript, February 19, 2010).

The performance of Occaneechi identity and the involvement of visitors in that performance through social interaction on the site both provided spaces for Occaneechi people to exert power over others’ perceptions of them. Butler (1997) called performance the “*modus vivendi* of power” (p. 353), an arrangement that allows conflicting interests to coexist, because of the way that audiences and performers simultaneously control what happens. Occaneechi demonstrators used performance and interaction to serve the perceived needs and interests of visitors, while also dictating what needs and interests to serve through the message and mode of delivery they selected. Loukaitou-Sideris and Grodach (2004) confirmed that ethnic museums in particular serve as cultural mediators, and tribal members used the Homeland project to mediate not only between present-day Occaneechi people and non-Indian visitors, but also between a

variety of past and present ways of life that each represented a different aspect of Occaneechi culture and heritage.

Community participation through education and shared levels of identity was the next emergent theme. Occaneechi presenters saw the Homeland Preservation Project as a form of participation in the local community. Tribal members viewed the project as beneficial to the local community as a whole, and even anticipated using the site to provide direct services to non-Occaneechi community members. Tribal members also viewed Occaneechi people as closely tied to non-Indian community members through shared history and social interactions, and continued to see themselves as vital members of the community. Occaneechi presenters at the Homeland Preservation Project viewed the site as significant, furthermore, within the state and region. Tribal members saw their efforts to create and promote the site as contributing to a broader understanding of Indigenous peoples in North Carolina and the South, and highlighted the site as an opportunity for visitors to view a reconstruction of the less-visible Indigenous lifeways of this region. Since reorganization, Occaneechi presenters have been active in statewide organizations and initiatives for American Indian people, such as the North Carolina Commission on Indian Affairs, the North Carolina Indian Economic Development Initiative, the Guilford Native American Association, the American Indian Heritage Celebration, and powwows hosted by other tribes across the state, and informants viewed their own story as significant in understanding the shared history of the region. Occaneechi tribal members viewed themselves as members of a global Indigenous community and considered it their responsibility to increase the visibility of contemporary Indigenous people worldwide. Tribal members have begun working on partnerships with backyard gardening organizations, heirloom farms, and a local apiary, among other organizations. Being a part of current efforts to promote the local community's agricultural

heritage was important to informants, who shared this heritage with their non-Indian neighbors and celebrated the evolution of Occaneechi agricultural lifeways on the Homeland site.

Because Occaneechi people were present and involved in local and state communities that had a non-Indian mainstream culture, they saw themselves as messengers who could raise awareness of contemporary American Indian existence among the mainstream population. Occaneechi people had also positioned themselves as educators about worldwide Indigenous cultures, and Clifford (1991) confirmed that many tribal and local museums aspire to national or global participation. For example, in discussing Native foods of the Americas at School Days, one presenter explained that he showed “the contributions from American Indians in the United States and Mexico and South America,” highlighting how contemporary culture had been shaped by an international Indigenous heritage (Interview transcript, January 25, 2010). A staff member described a recent community education event focused specifically on international Indigenous peoples.

We emphasized the native heritage of a lot of the Central American immigrants to North Carolina, especially the Maya of Guatemala, and just gave not only our own people but the public a chance to realize that a lot of the newcomers have a Native heritage as well. (Interview transcript, December 10, 2009)

Showcasing diverse types of Indigenous heritage placed Occaneechi tribal members within an international community of Indigenous peoples who shared many of the same concerns.

The Homeland site played an integral role in creating the image of openness and cooperation that the tribe tried to convey to both Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities. It also provided a resource for helping Occaneechi people to feel connected to those communities and for strengthening their sense of place. This sense of place, while local, strengthened tribal

members' identities and allowed them to contribute to inter-tribal communities. One tribal member explained the importance of the land in the spiritual lives of Occaneechi people and their broader communities.

If one of us is hurting, then we're all hurting, so we're all strengthened and our entire community is in balance. And then once *our* community is in balance, it reverberates out like ripples in a pond to Mebane, North Carolina, the U.S., and the world. So bringing us into balance will help bring the larger community in balance. (Interview transcript, February 19, 2010)

This idea of “balance” described the healing process that informants envisioned for their local community to recover from a history of racial discrimination, but also applied to the racialized oppression that happened in the South through segregation and in the United States and in the world through colonization. One informant described her work toward this healing process as “working to dismantle a system that is oppressive and damaging to all of us—a dichotomous system of have and have-nots and oppressor and oppressed” (Interview transcript, February 19, 2010).

The work of sensitizing all people, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous, to the historical, political, and social forces that created such a system placed tribal members within local, regional, national, and international communities simultaneously as they worked for “a world that is equitable for all” (Interview transcript, February 19, 2010). As another informant explained, this work impacted not only people, such as the Occaneechi, whose histories and cultures had been hidden within mainstream narratives, but also members of the mainstream population who wanted to change an unequal status quo:

Especially for folks who care about deconstructing racism, for people who care about having a positive role in the community, who care about history, maybe they feel bad about what happened in the U.S...to be able to come out and see a community with open arms, that, you know, that's huge. (Interview transcript, April 25, 2010)

Occaneechi people viewed their participation in national and international levels of community, then, as action that could also inspire non-Indigenous people to become more aware of the continued presence of Indigenous people in their own lives, develop a positive relationship with Indigenous peoples and cultures, and ultimately cooperate with Indigenous communities. As Monroe and Echo-Hawk (2004) argued, such participation by Indigenous people in broader levels of community has resulted in mainstream consideration of issues of concern to Indigenous people, as with the passing of NAGPRA in 1990 after decades of American Indian activism on a national scale. Villegas, Neugebauer, and Venegas (2008) furthermore articulated that the actions taken by Indigenous people on a local level can be diverse while still contributing to the global exercise of Indigenous Knowledges.

The final emergent theme was that of Occaneechi people using both textual knowledge, or the knowledge that they gained from archival and historical research, and experiential knowledge, or the knowledge that they gained from personal experience or was passed down to them from parents and grandparents, as empowerment. This theme corresponded closely to my final research question. The knowledge represented by the Homeland Preservation Project provided a source of empowerment for Occaneechi people through strengthening identity, responding to stereotypes, revising the museum, and serving ancestors and future generations. Most significantly, Occaneechi people have access to self-representations through the Homeland, as opposed to being represented by some other authority at a site not governed by the tribe.

Informants believed that the Homeland project simultaneously empowered visitors by spreading awareness of the diversity of their local area and contemporary American Indian people, exposing visitors to ideas that could help them change their own perspectives on their community. The many forms of empowerment that Occaneechi informants described came from different sources of knowledge, some of which were mainstream avenues for historical research such as archaeological research, historical documents, and public records, and others of which fell into the category of Indigenous Knowledge, such as family histories, traditional practices passed down over several generations, and Pan-American Indian cultural expressions constructed and shared in recent decades.

In elaborating on themes related to identity construction, historical recovery, Indigenous Knowledge, interaction and performance, community participation, and empowerment, I was able to learn about many different aspects of the significance that the Homeland Preservation Project held for Occaneechi people in the overlapping worlds that they inhabit. In Chapter 6, I use these angles of understanding to draw several conclusions about grassroots museums as sites of self-representation, interaction, and empowerment through community education. I was able to address each of my original research questions through analysis of the data I collected, which focused heavily on what Occaneechi tribal members reported about the issues. However, I was only able to address those aspects of my research questions that dealt with the visitor experience—such as my question about how preservation and education initiatives encouraged visitors to develop new understandings of their community and how the knowledge and power constructed on the site differ for tribal members and visitors—through my own observations and through my informants' views about the Homeland Preservation Project from the planning perspective. I address additional directions for research that I could use to explore visitor-related

questions in the final section of Chapter 6. In Chapter 6 I also consider the implications of my findings in my case, I comment on the value of my design and study features in retrospect, and reflect on the intended and unintended outcomes.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS

In my case study of the Occaneechi Homeland Preservation Project, I learned that their endeavors to create preservation and education initiatives held a number of interrelated meanings for tribal members and staff, some of which showed the significance of the museum-making process independent of visitor experiences on the site. These experiences and meanings, which I organized into emergent themes, have several implications for the study of grassroots museum education. As Levin (2007) asserted, “local museums offer us glimpses at the contradictions and dilemmas evident in any effort to present or represent culture” (p. 25), and I highlighted the Homeland Preservation Project to examine one Indigenous group’s experience with such contradictions and dilemmas. While the Homeland site was a local project with strong ties to a Southern, agricultural community heritage, many of the issues relating to identity politics, diversity and anti-racist education, and the reconstruction of Indigenous Knowledges might be transferable to a variety of contexts. Specifically, considering Occaneechi educational initiatives as power/knowledge constructions offers insights into the significance of the act of educating from a marginalized position and the potential of nonformal education to be transformative for both visitors and museum makers.

Significance of Organizing and Constructing Self-Representations

In constructing this case study, I began with an interest in examining the experiences of the people involved with the planning and execution of an Indigenous community museum project. After examining the data and discussing the thematic findings, then, I wanted to revisit the significance of these experiences within the museum-making process. How Occaneechi

people constructed representations about themselves was central to my research, and I found that the participants in my study were highly attentive to others' perceptions of them and the need for an organized approach to putting together representations of themselves and of the tribe. For Occaneechi tribal members, attentiveness to others' perceptions was an understandable result of many generations of racialized identity politics, in which the way others viewed and categorized Occaneechi people had high stakes outcomes. This attentiveness, however, was also the product of goal setting by the Occaneechi leadership and the desire to have the tribe operate as a successful nonprofit organization. The tribe depended upon community partnerships, promotions, and funding from grant awards to make operations feasible, both in terms of large-scale educational projects like the Homeland site and the everyday business of the tribal office.

While financial independence was certainly a goal of the tribe, museum making had other intrinsic meanings for the Occaneechi people involved in the process. Correcting what they perceived to be an inaccurate local history, for instance, was a major goal for the Homeland site regardless of its success as a tourism draw. Whatever the historical and practical necessities that have influenced Occaneechi peoples' attentiveness to constructing the representations visitors see on the Homeland site, I learned that the process of crafting self-representations was primarily an exercise in formulating and strengthening identity among tribal members. By constructing a museum project that reframed how Indigenous cultures and histories were presented, Occaneechi tribal members also reframed how they viewed themselves and their participation in multiple levels of community. Within the tribe's relationship to these different communities, several dimensions emerged related to the tribe's needs and visitors' needs, including the overlap between tribal members' desire to be recognized by others as American Indians, the tribal organization's desire to sustain itself financially, and the desire to participate in an engaging

educational environment that informants assumed visitors to have. The role of the Homeland as a site for organizing Occaneechi experiences and making them available for visitors to understand is what Buntix and Karp (2006) described as “a war of position” (p. 207) that museums wage. Success attracting tourism is important to museums like the Homeland, which actively contest mainstream ideas about history and culture, only in so far as it helps disseminate the particular message that the tribe wishes to convey.

While the Homeland site may not attract a large number of visitors from outside the Southeast, it nevertheless had implications for how tribal members understood their roles within national and international communities of Indigenous people. As Tuhiwai Smith (1999) asserted, reexamining colonial histories using a post-colonial lens fundamentally changes the meanings one sees in them, and Occaneechi people similarly reported viewing their own lives differently after reconstructing their identities. The Occaneechi had a distinct history and contemporary culture, and the Homeland site itself depicted a specific local heritage that highlighted the Occaneechi experience in Alamance County. At the same time, however, the representations on the site had broader implications that other grassroots museum projects might share. My review of other case studies of tribal and neighborhood museums suggested that regardless of the specific geographic location or historical context, Indigenous peoples and other marginalized groups often have an interest in presenting alternative narratives of their own culture and history. For Indigenous peoples in particular, mainstream representations have often failed to connect historical artifacts with the present-day lives of source communities, so the Homeland site’s representation of change over time could be a useful model for other grassroots efforts to represent a hidden or alternative history. I reviewed literature that explored many approaches to redressing the ways that museums and their knowledge have been inaccessible to and

exploitative of source communities, including attempts to include Indigenous peoples in collaborative archaeology (Colwell-Chanthaphonh & Ferguson, 2008) and to maintain the sovereignty of Indigenous communities throughout the processes of knowledge creation and display (Villegas, Neugebauer, & Venegas, 2008). My review of literature in both museum studies and Indigenous Knowledge, in combining these multiple perspectives, indicated that tribal museums and other grassroots efforts like the Homeland Project, while benefiting from collaboration with archaeologists and universities, may devote more attention to fostering direct Indigenous control over the portrayals and representations in museums.

I was interested in learning more about the planning and construction of the Homeland Preservation Project from the perspectives of those involved in the museum-making process because the Indigenous Knowledge literature suggested that direct control over representations would be significant to my participants. Indeed, I learned that the Homeland project was significant to the Occaneechi people involved in it for many specific reasons. While some of these reasons were related to how informants thought they might be able to promote a successful tourist destination or nonformal educational institution, many were entirely separate from visitors' perceptions of the site. I believed that museum case studies that primarily look at the display rhetoric and visitor experiences could not adequately explore the many reasons for museum making that informed underrepresented groups' self-representations, and my findings confirmed that the process of constructing self-representations was significant to Occaneechi participants in changing the ways that they viewed themselves, the ways in which they participated in their communities, and the types of power they felt they could exercise in their own lives. Because of the many meanings that my participants explained for the museum-making process, I believe that examining the planning perspective is a productive exercise in the study of

local or alternative museums to understand the influence of these institutions outside of the often minimal impact that such grassroots projects have in the number of visitors they are able to attract.

Interaction as Integral to Knowledge Recovery and Diversity Education

Although the financial and practical challenges of running a grassroots museum project were many, I learned that these challenges engendered the need for creative responses by Occaneechi people in putting together the Homeland project, which in turn became what my participants viewed as the particular strengths of the site. One such strategy that I discussed in my findings was the interaction between volunteers, visitors, and objects on the site. Many of the Occaneechi people I talked to discussed their belief that the interactive nature of the site was a key component of its success in delivering material to visitors. While participants' belief that an interactive site or a living museum is inherently more interesting and engaging than a traditional exhibit provided one argument for the significance of social interaction on the site, I believe that the use of social interaction and participation in cultural performances on the Homeland site has several deeper implications for other groups and organizations interested in heritage recovery or diversity education.

In speaking with informants and in observing major educational events such as the School Days and American Indian Heritage Celebration, I noticed the way that Occaneechi people spoke about the relationship between social interaction and learning about diversity. It seemed to me that informants described social interactions as integral to visitors being able to learn new information or perspectives that were contrary to their preconceptions. People with one impression about where or how American Indian people lived, for instance, could more easily change their initial impressions when they witnessed actual people performing different

activities in a different setting. The information was even more accessible when visitors could participate alongside Occaneechi people, as in doing a powwow dance or speaking an Indigenous language, for example. Informants felt that participating with Occaneechi people allowed visitors to step into an Indigenous person's reality, and hoped that this would allow visitors to also consider the validity of a lifestyle or perspective different from that which they brought to the site. This relationship between social interaction and perspective shift was not only true of visitors, but also of Occaneechi people themselves. Even in recovering Occaneechi cultural practices and historical knowledge, tribal members felt more confident in re-learning Indigenous identities because they could participate in cultural performances and interact with a community of Occaneechi people. Without further study that includes data from the visitor perspective about prior conceptions and on-site learning, I cannot discuss these links in great depth, but I believe this could be a fruitful area for further study. I would argue that the process of grassroots museum making provides a forum for social interaction within a community that could not only help museum makers to recover and strengthen heritage and culture, but that could also spread understanding of diversity to visitors.

Occaneechi volunteers on the Homeland site were eager to talk with visitors about the experience of heritage recovery, and I believe this type of sharing constitutes an additional interpretation of "democratization of heritage" (Leask & Fyall, 2006, p. 53) for new museums. The Homeland site and the Occaneechee State Park visitor center both provided visitors with insider knowledge about the sources of historical and cultural information, and in doing so distinguished themselves from mainstream museums whose curatorial processes are generally hidden from visitors. Grassroots museum projects like the Homeland site have the opportunity not only to fulfill their typical goal of sharing an alternative historical narrative and

representation of culture with visitors, but also to give visitors insight into how the knowledge itself was constructed. While all museums use specific representations to convey information to visitors, rarely do museums choose to share information about *where* the information came from and *how* or *why* they convey the information that they do. Making the knowledge construction, or reconstruction, process more transparent for visitors could help museums move toward democratizing historical knowledge and encouraging visitors to think critically about the knowledges presented to them in other settings.

Although a grassroots creation, the interactive environment in which visitors could participate at the Homeland site has a place within the larger history of thought within American museums that I explored in my literature review. Conn (1998), in his discussion of museums and American knowledge systems in the 19th and 20th centuries, introduced the idea of the object-based epistemology to describe how museums create knowledge centered around the objects they display. While Conn argued that this object-based epistemology became outdated in a 20th-century intellectual environment that favored theoretical and empirical knowledge, I believe that the Homeland project also had its own distinct epistemology that was neither object-based nor theoretical. The Homeland project used an interaction-based epistemology in relying almost exclusively on in-person demonstrations as the means of conveying information to visitors. For example, by having visitors interact with present-day tribal members who demonstrate traditional ways of life, such as cooking and weaponry, and contemporary cultural practices, such as powwow dances, the site embodied the message that visitors inhabited a social world that included Indigenous people, and the medium by which visitors received this message was social interaction and performance. This interaction-based epistemology shows how Occaneechi people used creative strategies for teaching to try to accomplish their goals for the Homeland site, and

could provide a relevant and useful framework for teaching and learning in other settings about diversity and social issues. The Homeland project, as a nonformal education initiative, enables types of information delivery not possible in a formal education setting, such as physically placing students within large-scale replicas to learn about the traditional ways of life, agricultural adaptation, and contemporary cultural celebrations of a local Indigenous group.

Grassroots Museums as Sites of Experiential and Textual Knowledge

Because an interaction-based epistemology positions museum makers' personal experiences as legitimate knowledge sources, a grassroots museum that makes interactivity central to its representations can raise Indigenous Knowledge to the same status that museums have traditionally held as authoritative knowledge sources in Western societies. The interaction-based epistemology used on the Homeland site created and communicated knowledge that tribal members and staff had recovered and reconstructed from a combination of experiential sources, such as family histories and personal experiences, and textual sources, such as historical documents and public records. Because Occaneechi people have been involved in historical and cultural recovery processes, tribal members and staff have conducted extensive research in archives, historical documents, public records, and archaeological evidence to create a strong basis of textual knowledge about the historic Occaneechi. These sources provided the tribe with the information necessary to reconstruct the Occaneechi village and to demonstrate the cooking practices, clothing, tools, weapons, and language of the historic Occaneechi. This knowledge has been supplemented and substantiated, however, by the family traditions, oral histories, and personal experiences of Occaneechi people today and their immediate ancestors, which were used to create the Homeland site's farm reconstructions and to demonstrate the tobacco farming practices and other agricultural ways of life to which the Occaneechi adapted beginning in the

18th century. The blending of textual and experiential knowledge used to create the Homeland site and related educational programs created a hybrid type of Indigenous Knowledge, which moved beyond the sets of boundaries typical for both Western knowledge and Indigenous Knowledge. The base of textual knowledge was created in order to strengthen Occaneechi identity and gain mainstream recognition of Occaneechi culture after many generations of marginalization and cultural loss. Thus, the need for recovery of historical and cultural knowledge was central to this type of Indigenous Knowledge. Demonstrators at School Days discussed some of the specific sources of the information presented on the Homeland site, such as the Occaneechi Town archeological dig, but focused mainly on conveying the fact that such sources were needed in order for present-day tribal members to be recognized as American Indians and to relearn the cultural practices of their ancestors. By sharing the pain of cultural loss as part of the knowledge presented on the Homeland site through an interaction-based epistemology, Occaneechi presenters could communicate socially- and politically-charged messages and at the same time portray a welcoming attitude to alleviate any feelings of blame or guilt that visitors might experience as a result.

In explaining his understanding of his own role within the tribe's educational initiatives, one informant told me a story about the Lakota word for "translator."

They were Lakota but they spoke both [English and Lakota], and they were the translators for the community. The word was *iyeska*, and I was told this by one of my elders. And the *iyeskas*...they were the people who would, you know, be the mediators. But *iyeska* became a derogatory term that meant half-breed, half-blood—a mixed person. But if you look at the original word, it's the translator. I think the mixed-blood people

have become a translator, a mediator between both [ethnic groups]. (Interview transcript, April 25, 2010)

Just as this informant described people with mixed cultural heritage, the Indigenous Knowledge in place among Occaneechi people today could mediate between groups. This Indigenous Knowledge was a blend of the type of knowledge traditionally represented in museums and a type of knowledge rarely afforded the same status; by using these two types of knowledge together, the Homeland site could create a shared understanding between Occaneechi people who wished to see their heritage accurately portrayed and visitors who brought their own criteria for judging the authority of the site. The site used both textual and experiential knowledge together, pieced together in the heritage recovery process but blended seamlessly in presentation and display, to show that for the Occaneechi, these knowledges formed a single knowledge base that informed contemporary identity. While demonstrators on the Homeland site sometimes provided visitors with additional information about *how* the tribe obtained the knowledge presented on the site, both textual sources and experiential sources are treated as valid sources for the type of historical and cultural information on display in the Homeland project.

As the informant mentioned in discussing the term *iyeska*, people with mixed cultural heritage have often been subjects of controversy; blending different types of knowledge with different statuses in mainstream Western society was also bound to engender some conflict and confusion. Experiences like being denied recognition by the NCCIA or being confronted by site visitors with negative stereotypes were examples of this conflict. Including these experiences in the knowledge addressed on the Homeland site simply added to efforts to gain recognition of Occaneechi experiences and spread an understanding of diversity. The space in which knowledges collide and combine can be confusing and contentious, but the alternative is a barrier

between different systems of knowledge that never overlap. As post-colonial scholarship has clarified, such a view of knowledge construction fails to accurately describe the knowledge that anyone in a post-colonial society uses on a daily basis; overlap of peoples, their cultures, and their knowledges is a global reality. As Paulo Freire (1970/2000) suggested in formulating his critical pedagogy, understanding how knowledge is created helps people to develop a critical consciousness of the world, particularly in societies where strong divisions between haves and have-nots exist. When people can recognize the overlaps, however, they can see the common elements that cross over their perceived barriers, of which the racism that Occaneechi people described is only one. In combining sources of knowledge with differing levels of mainstream status and in discussing the knowledge construction process openly with visitors, tribal members and staff took necessary steps toward making critical consciousness possible for themselves and for visitors to the Homeland site.

Educating Others as Social and Political Empowerment

Finally, Occaneechi people have experienced empowerment through their roles as educators. Here, I benefited especially from the museum studies literature I reviewed that focused on performativity, as well as other performance studies that linked performance to empowerment, such as Augusto Boal's *Theater of the Oppressed* (1979/2000). While Boal and those following his poetics of the oppressed focus on grassroots theater enterprises, Boal based his assertion that theater is fundamentally political on the assumption that every human action is political; in this respect, museum making and the performative elements of grassroots projects like the Homeland project are also fundamentally political. Involvement in such projects gives communities the opportunity to become involved in the politics that affect their lives. While Boal's exploration of the transformative potential of theater provided a strong argument for

performance as a grassroots strategy for engaging in political action, his model also illuminated the potential of multiple types of performance in addition to theater. The Occaneechi volunteers at the Homeland project took part in multiple levels of performance, from cultural demonstrations to informal conversations, all of which contributed to the transformation of their identities and relationships within several levels of community. These performances are not a fictionalization or a pretense in the same way that theatrical performances are; *performance* is not somehow opposed to *reality*. Instead, the performative aspects of the Homeland project were how Occaneechi people *enacted* the realities they wished to convey and through which they sought to educate. Occaneechi informants' identities in many cases depended upon the opportunities available to showcase those identities to others. While both the content of the Homeland site and its delivery contribute to the educating impact of the site on visitors, it was the Homeland's function as a stage for performance that allowed the museum makers to feel empowered by the project.

All of the Occaneechi people who participated in educational initiatives on the Homeland site or elsewhere were volunteers; none of the volunteers were professional educators at the time, and yet they did the work of teaching because they believed the information they had to share should no longer be overlooked or forgotten. While not necessarily indicative of the profession of teaching, people who are motivated to volunteer their time, energy, and expertise to teach about their own heritage and experiences occupy a social position worth examining. For the Occaneechi people with whom I spoke, teaching was an important social process that they were driven to engage in because of the compelling messages they wanted to communicate. While not all studies of museum making would have included a group of people so directly involved in the process of teaching and learning, the practical necessity of volunteer work on the Homeland site

made an examination of volunteer teachers possible in this nonformal settings, which would likely also apply to other grassroots initiatives that rely on volunteer contributions.

Because of the fact that those who taught about Occaneechi culture and history were not paid for their work and volunteered their efforts out of a deep desire to spread alternative understandings of history and society, cases like the Homeland project provide settings for examining a distinct iteration of the teaching and learning process in nonformal education. While many members of the American public take for granted that the act of teaching is deeply significant and meaningful for those who do it, public perception also tends to view teaching as primarily an act of service to students. For the Occaneechi volunteers I spoke with, however, teaching was not just a service to visitors as well as their own ancestors and children; teaching was a form of empowerment. Before teaching about Occaneechi history and culture to others, tribal members had to learn new information and skills that strengthened their identities as Indigenous people. Teaching about Occaneechi history and culture presented Occaneechi volunteers as authoritative knowledge sources, and provided them with a platform for actively opposing, if they wished, the mainstream histories taught in schools and textbooks. Nonformal community education initiatives like the Homeland project, then, can offer some distinct insights into how the act of teaching can empower those who do it through the autonomy and authority it provides.

Additional Implications and Issues

My study contained a number of implications and issues beyond the findings directly related to my research questions. While I planned the study with an understanding of many of the controversies common in museum studies, specifically the tensions related to both mainstream and Native-directed representations of Indigenous peoples and the ambivalence that many

Indigenous people feel about operating their own museums. Yet, the literature on museum studies did not fully prepare me to address such controversies, tensions, and ambiguities in my own study. As I relied on informants with varied and sometimes conflicting perspectives, synthesizing differing points of view while not overlooking crucial points of contention emerged as a challenge in my study. Because many of my informants work closely together or are related to one another, I was initially hesitant to make these tensions explicit in my findings because I did not want to appear insensitive to my informants or to overemphasize conflict within the tribe. My informants, who were very generous in sharing their personal experiences with me, were themselves direct in addressing sensitive topics, and I ultimately had to overcome my hesitancy in order to fully explore my findings. I had to accept the challenge of portraying such issues in a value-neutral way that demonstrated my respect for the tribe and my informants.

While I anticipated that informants would share only a certain version of their experiences, I also learned during my study that accurately representing someone else's ideas and gaining a sense of the shared reality of multiple people involved in project is a delicate task. Informants had many different positions on museum work and interpretations of their role in the tribe, and were also understandably interested in presenting a specific positive image of the tribe in their interactions with me. While neither of these facts presented a barrier to research, I did need to be attentive to them in my data collection and analysis. The design of my study helped me to accomplish this task by returning to the field during the writing and revision stage. During my earliest interviews, I was able to understand very little about the Homeland project's meaning or impact because I needed to learn so much about what the project included and how it was defined by the tribe. While my study design included an interview with the tribal historian for the sole purpose of acquiring background information, I continued to develop this background

understanding throughout my study. As my understanding of the Homeland project grew, I was able to probe informants to gain a more precise idea of their participation in the tribe's education and preservation initiatives, but I learned during the process of revising my findings chapters that I had missed such opportunities in my early interviews. I benefited from the opportunity in my study design to return to the field and conduct several follow-up interviews, as well as to reexamine my previous data with new considerations in mind. The eclectic theoretical perspectives that I used in my study also helped me to examine my data from a number of angles. When addressing the conflicts and tensions in my informants' perspectives, I could use previous scholarship as a model for thinking about such issues as inherent in museum work. Over the course of my study, I came to appreciate the impact that constructions of race in the society had had on Occaneechi people, and so I acknowledge that the use of critical race theory or other similar theoretical lenses might produce very different insights from this study. While I was primarily focused on the issue of indigeneity rather than race, other scholars interested might be interested in how such theoretical frameworks can generate new understandings of how the Occaneechi and members of other tribes in the South have navigated racialized social structures.

I encountered some challenges in fully exploring museum makers' perspectives without a clear indication of how effective the Homeland project was for visitors. Even though my study design focused on the planning perspective, I included some references to visitors that had to be set aside because they could not be addressed using my data types. If a study like this one is to include museum makers' ideas about the visitor experience, it might be more effective if paired with a prior study of visitor experiences and measured learning outcomes. I learned, furthermore, that the potential of qualitative research to generate highly nuanced findings is also one of its most daunting challenges. While I feel strongly that I benefited from each phase of collecting

data, coding transcripts, writing and revising multiple drafts, or even just considering and reconsidering ideas in between tasks, these necessary steps were long and sometimes taxing. Perhaps the strengths of qualitative research are precisely the result of such a process, but as I learned from my advisor's cautions, nuanced findings are not the *necessary* result of a qualitative design. It is easy to become lost in qualitative data, but because I feel that such challenges reap worthwhile rewards, I remain interested in further exploration of the potential of qualitative methodologies and work with the Occaneechi people.

Directions for Future Research

To expand upon my dissertation findings and to account for some of the major limitations within the research project, I plan to continue related research with the Occaneechi people and the Homeland Preservation Project. I envision five sets of possibilities, as follows. I intend to follow up with the Occaneechi tribal office periodically over several years following completion of my dissertation in order to track changes to the project and set up interviews with tribal leadership and volunteers in order to collect the data necessary to develop a longitudinal dimension of my dissertation research. Through longitudinal study, I would like to learn how Occaneechi participants' goals for museum making and perceptions of the project's significance change over time, as well as how the representations of Occaneechi culture and history might change as well. To facilitate longitudinal study, I plan to continue the same type of reciprocal work that I planned and completed for my dissertation project, volunteering at events as needed, and to approach some tribal members about the possibility of collaborating on the research. Another option for future research that I may pursue would be a multiple-case study in which I could compare the Homeland Preservation Project to other similar institutions. I could draw from several other Indigenous museums in North Carolina and the Southeast in my comparison, as

well as other grassroots heritage projects and reconstructions. Additionally, having established a local basis for studying heritage preservation and education in my home region of the United States, I could expand my research to include other international case studies of preservation issues and grassroots heritage projects. A final possibility for future research that I would like to explore is to compare planning and visitor experiences; to do this research, I will need to interview a selection of visitors to the Homeland site about the messages that they take away from the reconstructions and demonstrations. Alternatively, another option for exploring visitor experiences and perspectives on teaching and learning would be to focus on the perspectives of the teachers who bring their classes to the Homeland site for school field trips during School Days; this research would allow me to compare the goals and anticipated learning outcomes of teachers with the educational planning of Occaneechi leadership and volunteers.

Evaluating effectiveness, however, was not the intended focus of this study. Small, local museums like the Homeland Preservation Project come and go, their messages witnessed by only a handful of visitors in comparison to those drawn to larger national institutions. Yet small, local museums are the forums in which, every day, ordinary people become curators and interpreters. My informants made every effort to ensure that the Homeland Preservation Project would remain central to the tribal organization's work, but these efforts were limited by economic forces that had severe consequences for small non-profit organizations. My future directions for research depend on the success of the tribe and the Homeland project, but many local museums do not succeed in sustaining themselves long-term. In between the creation and disappearance of a local museum, however, these institutions may have many layers of significance for the people who construct them. Regardless of the impact they have on visitors, people's lives are changed when they become museum makers.

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APPENDIX A

Interview Protocols

Interview Protocol 1 (Background)

Introduction

My name is Lesley Graybeal, and I am working on my dissertation in Social Foundations of Education at the University of Georgia, focused on the planning and execution experience of Homeland Preservation Project preservation and education initiatives. I'm meeting with you today to ask you some background questions about the Homeland Preservation Project. I have asked you to fill out the consent form to document your agreement, but would like to remind you that you may stop answering the questions at any time for any reason, or may refuse to answer any individual question. Please feel free to interrupt me if you have any questions or concerns, or need me to clarify anything that I ask. I will be taking some notes, as well as audio recording with your permission, but all of your personal information will be kept confidential and a pseudonym will be assigned.

Participant Information

- Name (to be removed from data):
- Category (circle all that apply): tribal non-member, tribal member, tribal council member, tribal staff
- Gender:
- Number of years involved with the tribe:
- Currently involved (circle): yes/no

Project Background

1. Could you describe for me the history of how the modern-day tribe was reorganized?
2. What challenges did you face in reorganizing after many years of being considered "extinct"?
3. What are some of the central functions of the tribal organization currently?
4. What factors influenced the decision to seek state recognition?
5. What challenges did you face in becoming state recognized?
6. Could you describe for me the history of the Homeland Preservation Project as a specific initiative of the tribal organization?
7. What types of activities and events has the Homeland Preservation Project been used for so far?
8. How are decisions made about what types of educational programs to have?
9. What types of visitor feedback do you receive, if any?
10. If possible, can you offer an estimate of how many visitors have participated in educational programs?
11. Where do you hope to see the Homeland Preservation Project in 10 years?

12. What challenges have you faced in getting the Homeland Preservation Project off the ground?
13. How do you view the tribal organization's role in relation to the larger community?
14. How do you view the tribal organization's role in relation to the tribal members?

Follow-up

- [Ask any additional questions that have arisen out of informant responses]
- Do you have any additional background information on the tribal organization or the Homeland Preservation Project you would like to share with me at this time?

Interview Protocol 2 (Structured)

Introduction

My name is Lesley Graybeal, and I am working on my dissertation in Social Foundations of Education at the University of Georgia, focused on the planning and execution experience of Homeland Preservation Project preservation and education initiatives. I'm meeting with you today to ask you some questions about the Homeland Preservation Project. I have asked you to fill out the consent form to document your agreement, but would like to remind you that you may stop answering the questions at any time for any reason, or may refuse to answer any individual question. Please feel free to interrupt me if you have any questions or concerns, or need me to clarify anything that I ask. I will be taking some notes, as well as audio recording with your permission, but all of your personal information will be kept confidential and a pseudonym will be assigned.

Participant Information

- Name (to be removed from data):
- Category (circle all that apply): tribal non-member, tribal member, tribal council member, tribal staff
- Gender:
- Number of years involved with the tribe:
- Currently involved (circle): yes/no

Informational background

1. What is your role in the tribal organization?
2. What are the goals or mission of the tribe's preservation and educational activities, in your understanding?
3. What are some of the preservation- or education-related activities that you have participated in?
4. If there are other activities you are aware of but have not participated in, can you describe them?
5. Can you describe a typical visit to the Homeland site?

Participation and design

1. Who do you hope to see participate in site visits and activities?

2. What do you hope that visitors take away from the site?
3. How do you see the Homeland project fitting in to the heritage of the community as whole?
4. In what ways do you think that the project is important to tribal members?
5. What is the Homeland project's significance to you, personally?

Control, authority, and evaluation

1. What has been your experience visiting museums or historical reconstructions?
2. If you have ever been to a museum representing Native American people and history, what was your impression of those exhibits?
3. How did you become involved in the Homeland project?
4. What challenges have you experienced or witnessed in planning and carrying out preservation and/or education projects?
5. If resources were limitless, what would you do with the Homeland project or for the tribe overall?

Role of educational programs

1. How do you see educational programs and activities contributing to the importance of the site?
2. How do you see educational programs contributing to the life experiences of visitors/audiences?
3. What types of people do you want to benefit from the Homeland project?
4. How do you think visitors benefit from coming to the site?
5. Where do you hope to see the Homeland project go in the future?

Follow-up

- [Ask any additional questions that have arisen out of informant responses]
- Do you have any additional information about your experience with the Homeland Preservation Project and the tribe's preservation and education initiatives that you would like to share with me at this time?

Interview Protocol 3 (Follow-up)

1. What do you value most about the Homeland project?
2. What about the current Homeland site makes you feel that you, personally, are represented by it?
3. What do you think the Homeland site could be used for that would make you feel that you, personally, were more represented by it?
4. In what ways do you feel that the Homeland site is a better representation of your identity as an American Indian person than other museums you have visited?
5. What do you see as the "right way" of preserving Occaneechi history and culture, and the "right reasons" for creating the Homeland site?
6. What do you see as your main role or responsibility related to the Homeland site?

APPENDIX B

Observation Protocol

Setting

1. Where is the educational program or activity conducted?
2. Do visitors stay in one location for the duration?
3. Are visitors brought to a specific area?
4. How is the site organized?
5. Is it inviting?
6. Describe the details and sketch the setting:

Visitors

1. How many people are involved in the activity or program?
2. How many educators and volunteers are involved in conducting the program?
3. How many adults?
4. How many children?
5. How were visitors selected to participate?
6. How are visitors arranged?

Interactions

1. How do the educators interact with the visitors?
2. How do the visitors interact with educators or volunteers? With one another?
3. Are interactions guided?
4. Is question-asking involved?
 - a. How often are questions asked?
 - b. How many questions are asked?

Instruments

1. Are tools or instruments used to convey information?
2. How are visitors encouraged to interact with the site?

Response and attitudes

1. How long do visitors spend on an educational program or activity?
2. Do visitors seem engaged? Bored?
3. Do visitors seem eager to leave?
4. Where do visitors appear to go afterwards?
5. Do visitors appear interested in the materials presented?
6. Do educators or volunteers seem engaged for the duration of the program?
7. How do educators or volunteers behave at the start of a program and arrival of visitors?
8. How do educators or volunteers respond to the conclusion of a program and departure of visitors?

APPENDIX C

Sample Triangulation Matrix

Theme	Perspective (Data Source)		
	<i>Planning (Interview)</i>	<i>Planning (Documents)</i>	<i>Visiting (Observation)</i>
<i>Social Interactions and Performance as Education</i>	“We bring literally hundreds of area school kids out to the property and they get a glimpse of what it would have been like to live in that village in 1680, they learn about dance and music, storytelling, primitive weapons, flint knapping, all the way up to what it was like to live on the farm in the 1930s. They get a chance to use a cross-cut saw and shell corn, pump water out of the well, and just a variety of things.” “And then hopefully we can also show people the sacredness of some of the tribal traditions in a way that’s going to be meaningful and that can touch their heart.” “Enriching their lives, and understanding that—hopefully adding to the fact, or getting them to view life through a different lens and understand that the way you see and experience the world is not the ways that everybody sees and experiences the world.” “It’s very hands on—they want to touch everything on the table, what is this, what is this, what is this. And you know, they may leave and they may not remember a single word, but they remember, you know, what they did.”	March Newsletter: lists upcoming workshops open to the public Village Brochures: welcome visitors to site and invite to powwow Village Brochures: list interactive/performative site components (displays, demonstrations, hands-on activities, films, storytelling)	School Days: demonstrator holds the tools in his hands when he talks about them—he mimics the motion of digging out a canoe with one tool, and he runs his fingers along the blade of the steel and stone axes when he compares them School Days: demonstrator pounding corn with a large pestle of log—“You think I have it upside down, don’t you—but that’s the weight.” School Days: the demonstrator led the kids in a skit where one was a deer (skull) and the other a muskrat (fur)—they had to say “Hello,” “How are you?” and “Fine.” School Days: demonstrator explains welcoming the children in to the circle and the sacredness of that act, and offering these dances and this knowledge to visitors with an open heart.

APPENDIX D

Interview Transcript Sample with Coding

Well, the, um, a lot of folks just thought it was a joke to start with. Many people had grown up and sort of managed to, um, fit in to, for the most part, the black race, the south being essentially a biracial society. And a lot of folks, say my age, really sort of resented, you know, the efforts of some of the people to reorganize, because they said, "Well, look," you know, "we've essentially spent our whole lives trying to fit in as black people and so why do you want to rock the boat now?" Um, you know, so...and there was some resentment from people who were not part of the community, who just felt like the folks that were advocating an Indian status were trying to, I don't know, say that they were better than, than other people. But I think that after 25 years, I think that that has, in large part, turned around, I think because unlike some other tribal groups when they reorganize, we did not exclude people of mixed heritage. We recognized that it was a fact of life and we just concentrated on, you know, the, "All right, your mother may have been non-Indian, but your father was Indian," and so we, you know, those people were eligible to be enrolled. And, um, I think we made a conscious effort to be inclusive, and to be, um, just as kind and gentle as we could be while still advocated for the rights of the community. You know, so we have people enrolled now that, you know, 15 to 20 years ago would have been dead set against the whole thing. A lot of that I think was just because we really made a lot of effort to educate the community.

So, what are some of the central functions of the tribal organization today?

Well, there's the tribal council, and that's really the administration, I mean they oversee any projects that the tribe has going, everything from Christmas baskets for the elderly to the youth project and the Homeland Project and the powwow, and basically anything we do has to run through the tribal council. You know, there're some kinds of things that, as I say, are ongoing, or are regular projects like the, you know, the other weekend we participated in the North Carolina Museum of History's American Indian Heritage Festival, and we've done that for about 5, no 6, years now. But, you know, we're a small group and we don't, we're not like, say, the Navajo that have tens of thousands of people and a tribal government with, uh, hundreds of people in it. We're small enough that all the activities are overseen basically by the same small group of people.

So what factors influenced the desire to seek state recognition? You mentioned that it's the best way to kind of represent the people...

Well, state recognition, we knew did not bring with it a lot of money. A lot of people think that's the case but it's not. What it did do was sort of legitimize—legitimacize [laughs]—legitimize, yes—I don't want to create new words for you [laughs]—it gave some weight to what people were saying about themselves, and it did allow folks to compete for, say, scholarships set aside for American Indians. It has allowed us to participate in programs like the Museum of History program—[sneezes] feel free to edit the sneeze out—but, um, you know, it—quite frankly, a lot of the funding we've gotten we could have gotten without state recognition. Even the ANA funding—the Administration for Native Americans grants—we got those for several years before we ever got state recognition. Z. Smith Reynolds, again, that's not an issue with them. But I think that the biggest thing was probably just the sense of that the state was verifying the claims to Indian status.

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Lesley Graybeal 8/1/10 4:55 PM

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Comment: ID

Lesley Graybeal 8/1/10 4:55 PM

Comment: H

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Comment: Svc

Lesley Graybeal 8/1/10 4:55 PM

Comment: Com

Lesley Graybeal 8/1/10 4:55 PM

Comment: F

Lesley Graybeal 8/1/10 4:55 PM

Comment: Rec, ID

Lesley Graybeal 8/1/10 4:55 PM

Comment: Com

Lesley Graybeal 8/1/10 4:55 PM

Comment: F, Rec

Lesley Graybeal 8/1/10 4:55 PM

Comment: Rec

APPENDIX E

Code List

Initial/*In Vivo* Codes

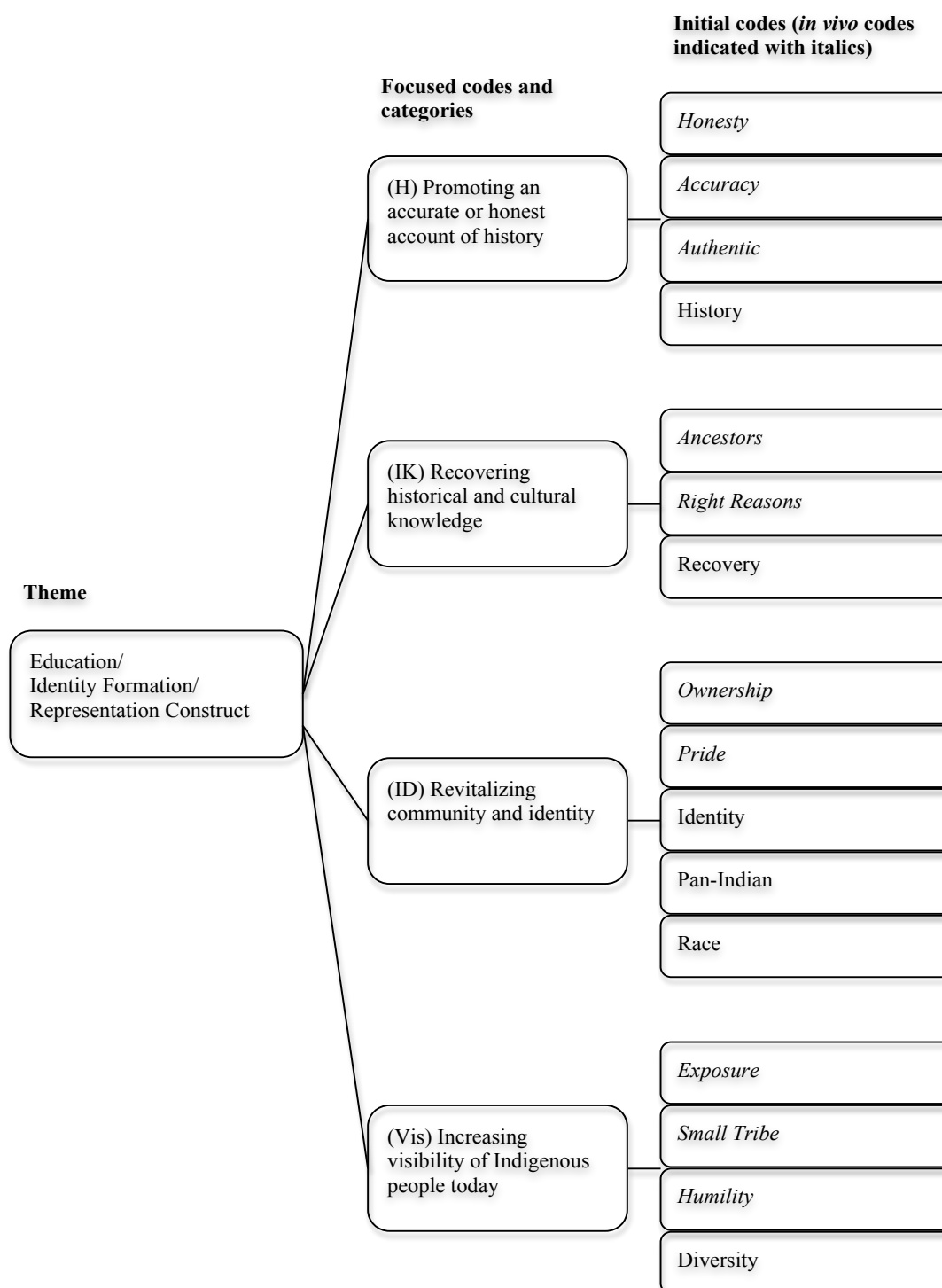
Accuracy	Identity	Progressive
Agriculture	Inclusive	Race
Ancestors	Interactive	Recognition
Authentic	International	Recovery
Box/Case	Local	Regional
Commodity	Location	Relocation
Community	Museum	Revitalization
Diversity	Objects	Right reasons
Empower	Outsider	Segregation
Exposure	Ownership	Self-Sustaining
Financial	Pan-Indian	Serving members
Health	Past and Present	Small tribe
History	Performance	Sovereignty
Honesty	Power	
Humility	Pride	

Focused Codes

- **(Ad)** Adapting to changing societies and cultures
- **(An)** Serving ancestors through education today
- **(Ch)** Promoting an understanding that indigenous people change over time
- **(Com)** Participating in community: tribal, local, state, national, or international
- **(F)** Financial challenges and limitations
- **(H)** Promoting an accurate or honest account of history
- **(ID)** Revitalizing community and identity
- **(IK)** Recovering historical and cultural knowledge
- **(Inc)** Inclusiveness of the tribal community
- **(Obj)** Use of objects and artifacts
- **(Perf)** Performance and participation in social interaction
- **(Pl)** Importance of place
- **(Rec)** Achieving recognition
- **(S)** Counteracting stereotypes or received images of American Indian people
- **(Svc)** Serving tribal members
- **(Vis)** Increasing the visibility of indigenous people today

APPENDIX F

Sample Diagram of Initial Codes, Focused Codes and Categories, and Theme



APPENDIX G

Sample Thematic Memo

Social Interactions and Performance as Education

Definition: Occaneechi presenters use performative elements to instruct visitors to the Homeland Preservation Project about indigenous lifeways, through both demonstration and visitor participation. Presenters demonstrate lifeways using objects that visitors are also invited to handle. Presenters demonstrate cultural performances and invite visitors to also participate in the performance. Occaneechi presenters prioritize visitor interaction in their own teaching methods, and see visits to the site as an opportunity for outside community members to interact with contemporary Indian people. Occaneechi people use social interaction with visitors to accomplish the major goal of increasing their own visibility in the community to make outside community members aware of their contemporary existence.

Examples:

“We bring literally hundreds of area school kids out to the property and they get a glimpse of what it would have been like to live in that village in 1680, they learn about dance and music, storytelling, primitive weapons, flint knapping, all the way up to what it was like to live on the farm in the 1930s. They get a chance to use a cross-cut saw and shell corn, pump water out of the well, and just a variety of things.” [Interview 2]

“I’m certainly not going to say that we won’t have some of the traditional sorts of displays, but I hope we can go beyond that, I hope—you know, for example when the folklorists came last year, you’re transcribing people’s oral recordings. I would like to have, let’s say we have a display on tobacco. You’d be able to push a button and hear some of the people talking about raising tobacco.” [Interview 2]

“You know, I think that the more interactive you can have what you have for the visitors, the more successful it is. I mean, it’s one thing to tell kids that Indian people ground corn to make corn meal. Letting them actually try it themselves is much more impressive to them.” [Interview 2]

“I think that what we’re aiming at is to kind of take things outside of the box, have people out there to talk to visitors who actually are from the community and have shared the experiences that they’re talking about it, and it sort of personalizes it” [Interview 2]

“And then hopefully we can also show people the sacredness of some of the tribal traditions in a way that’s going to be meaningful and that can touch their heart.” [Interview 4]

“But looking at it behind the glass is not quite so cool. So we really would like to have something very, very interactive.” [Interview 4]

“Enriching their lives, and understanding that—hopefully adding to the fact, or getting them to view life through a different lens and understand that the way you see and experience the world is not the ways that everybody sees and experiences the world.” **[Interview 7]**

“So being in museums, for me, are painful, especially when it’s just a piece in the museum and then there’s no explanation, there’s no one there to explain what this piece is and the context of the culture it came from.” **[Interview 7]**

The kids are interested, they listen well, they want to learn about the culture—it’s not just a day out of school for them **[Interview 8]**

“To make something look like it’s just a historical object, that it’s not part of someone’s reality, that’s detrimental, really. Because if you see everything that is American Indian, or used by American Indians, or owned by American Indians behind a glass case, you only see American Indians as being people who you can’t touch, you can’t interact with, you can’t meet American Indian people. You don’t expect to meet Indian people unless you go to somewhere like a museum.” **[Interview 10]**

“It’s very hands on—they want to touch everything on the table, what is this, what is this, what is this. And you know, they may leave and they may not remember a single word, but they remember, you know, what they did.” **[Interview 10]**

Like the other demonstrators, he holds the tools in his hands when he talks about them—he mimics the motion of digging out a canoe with one tool, and he runs his fingers along the blade of the steel and stone axes when he compares them **[Observation 1]**

She demonstrates pounding corn with a large pestle of log—“You think I have it upside down, don’t you—but that’s the weight.” **[Observation 1]**

He explains that the smokehouse was donated from somewhere in Mebane, and probably dates back to around 1860—it was moved to this land piece by piece and rebuilt. He mentions the person who owned the smokehouse; when he picks up a tobacco planter (a sharp stick), he names the person who owned it. **[Observation 1]**

First, the demonstrator led the kids in a skit where one was a deer (skull) and the other a muskrat (fur)—they had to say “Hello,” “How are you?” and “Fine.” **[Observation 2]**

She describes welcoming the children in to the circle and the sacredness of that act, and offering these dances and this knowledge to visitors with an open heart. **[Observation 2]**

Participation in workshops open to public **[Document 2]**

Welcoming—pleased to have you visit, invitation to powwow **[Document 8]**

Displays, demonstrations, hands-on activities, films, and storytelling **[Document 9]**

APPENDIX H

Occaneechi Band of the Saponi Nation Chronology

1000	Yesah migrate from Ohio River Valley to North Carolina/Virginia piedmont
1676	Bacon's Rebellion dispels Occaneechi from prominent trading village
1701	John Lawson visits Occaneechi Town
1713	Treaty with Virginia brings Occaneechi to Fort Christanna
1717	Fort Christanna closes
1730	Reservation land sold to settlers
1840	Ancestors of present-day Occaneechi have relocated to Little Texas community
1984	Creation of Eno-Occaneechi Indian Association
1985	First reorganized Occaneechi powwow
1990	Petition submitted to NCCIA
1995	Name change to Occaneechi Band of the Saponi Nation
1995	NCCIA turns down recognition request; Occaneechi appeal to NCCIA denied
1998	Smith decision issued recommending recognition
1999	NCCIA rejects Smith decision; OBSN files suit in North Carolina Superior Court
2002	Occaneechi recognition granted by court order
2005	Homeland Preservation Project initiated

APPENDIX I

Tribal Synonymy

Occaneechi

Acconeechy
Achomechos
Achonechy
Achonechy
Aconeche
Aconechos
Aconeechy
Aconichi
Acoonedy
Akenatzie
Akenatzy
Akonichi
Botshenins
Ocameches
Occaanechy
Occaneches
Occaneeches
Oconeachey
Ochineeches
Ockinagees
Okenechee
Oscameches
Patshenins

Saponi

Christanna Indians
Christianna Indians
Paanese
Sapan
Sapenyys
Sapiny
Sapon
Sapona
Saponas
Saponees
Sapones
Saponeys
Sapongs
Saponi
Saponie
Saponys
Sapoonies
Sappona
Sapponces
Sapponees
Sapponeys
Sapponi
Sapponie
Sappony
Saps
Sapsony
Shatteros

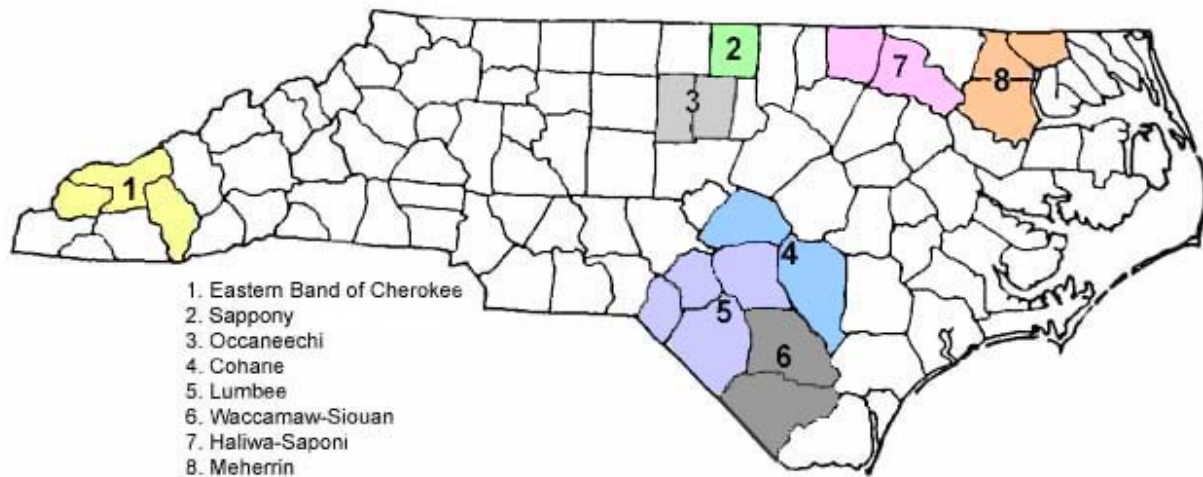
Tutelo

Kattera
Nahyssan
Shateras
Taderighrones
Tadirighrone
Tateras
Tedarighroones
Tedarrighroones
Tedderighroones
Tedirighroonas
Tehötirigh
Tehütli
Tentilves
Tetarighroones
Tetero
Teuteloe
Thedirighroonas
Thoderighroonas
Tiederighroenes
Tiederighroonas
Tiederighroones
Tiederigoene
Tiederigroenes
Tiütei
Tiüterih
Toalaghrehroones
Toalaghrehroonees
Toalaghrehsoonees
Toataghrehroones
Toderichroones
Toderichroone
Todericks
Todevighrono
Toderichroones
Toderichroones
Tolera
Tolere
Tortero
Totally
Totare
Toteloos
Totera
Toterass
Toteri
Totero
Toteroes
Totierono
Totiri
Totora
Tottero
Totteroy
Tutaloos
Tutecoos
Tuteeras
Tutelas
Tutele
Tutelo
Tuteloos
Tutie
Tutiloos
Tutloe
Tuttelars
Tuttelee
Tutulor
Yesa(n)
Yesah
Yesang

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APPENDIX J

Map of North Carolina Tribes



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