Chapter 3
Multivocality and Indigenous Archaeologies

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In July 1844, an Ojibwe orator told a Jesuit priest: *"My brother you have come to teach us there is only one way, for all people, to know the Great Spirit…My brother, there are many species of trees, and each tree has leaves that are not alike"* (cited in Delage et al. 1994:319).

In this statement, the orator speaks of an important aspect of traditional Anishinaabe[1] culture: an appreciation for a diversity of ideas and multiple ways of understanding cultural knowledge – in this case, spiritual knowledge. He equates knowledge with trees in a forest, recognizing and appreciating that the diversity of those trees is responsible for the beauty of our woodland homeland. In this chapter, I explore several concepts that relate to this statement – those of multivocality and the diversity of knowledge practices. I first provide a brief overview and introduction to some of the concepts and concerns of Indigenous archaeology approaches. This is followed by a brief practical example in which I examine the relevance of multivocality in Ojibwe epistemologies, philosophies, and practices as they relate to public education of the Ojibwe past in a museum display.

Beyond Nationalist: Global Applicability of Indigenous Archaeologies

The theoretical and methodological tenets and practices of Indigenous archaeology are currently being defined. As with many contemporary approaches within social science fields, Indigenous archaeology is not defined by one coherent theory or method. Rather, it includes many different experiences and approaches that have manifested themselves in a range of different practices. To reflect this, throughout this chapter I sometimes refer to the plural "Indigenous archaeologies" in discussing these approaches; while for simplicity and ease of language, at other times, I refer simply to Indigenous archaeology. While focus and specifics may vary, one common thread among Indigenous archaeologies that I have observed is an incorporation of, and respect for, the experiences and epistemologies of Indigenous groups globally.

J. Habu, C. Fawcett, and J. M. Matsunaga (eds.), *Evaluating Multiple Narratives: Beyond Nationalist, Colonialist, Imperialist Archaeologies.*
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Just as "Westerners" do not maintain a monolithic, homogenous culture with a single ideology or way of viewing the world, Indigenous people do not hold a common worldview or shared experience with archaeology, approaches to history, and cultural heritage. Those practicing a form of Indigenous archaeology build on the diverse experiences and views of Indigenous people to examine topics such as ethics and human rights, reburial and repatriation, decolonization, community collaboration, culturally effective dissemination of research, and field methodology. Approaches to Indigenous archaeology are being developed by Indigenous people and those working in collaboration with them. Some of the defining characteristics of Indigenous archaeology include: collaboration with local communities; development of research questions and agendas that benefit local groups that are developed and approved by them; respect for and adherence to local traditions when carrying out field and lab work; utilization of traditional practices of cultural resource management; combining indigenous methods with western scientific approaches; and a recognition and respect for the unbroken connection of the past with the present and future. Although born from and developed in conjunction with indigenous perspectives and experiences, the applicability of Indigenous archaeology approaches is not limited to Indigenous land and people, but rather holds relevance for archaeological practice more broadly.

Indigenous archaeology approaches are not simply critique and practice carried out by Indigenous people – one need not be a Native person to follow an Indigenous archaeology paradigm. It is also not necessarily archaeology located on an Indigenous land base – it may or may not take place on Native lands. Indigenous archaeologies do not include such essentialist qualities. Archaeology on Indigenous land, conducted by Native people without a critical gaze that includes collaboration; that does not incorporate Indigenous epistemologies and Native conceptions of the past, history, and time; or that neglect to question the role of research in the community would be a replication of the dominant positivist archaeological paradigm. A noncritical archaeology that is not based on or informed by the experiences and epistemologies of Indigenous people, even if carried out by Native people on Indigenous land, would be, to use Trigger's terms (1984), a *nationalist* archaeology – one that seeks to examine a particular Indigenous region or cultural group to contribute to nationalist concerns. In my view, approaches to Indigenous archaeology are not nationalist because they are not simply concerned with carrying out archaeological research on Native land using mainstream archaeological methods and theories. Rather, they attempt to bring to the table new tools and concepts based on Indigenous experiences. These have relevance outside of Indigenous settings for archaeologists working with local communities, descendent groups, and stakeholders.

Thus, Indigenous archaeology is not marginal in its applicability, but rather has implications for mainstream archaeological practice globally. It offers the potential of bringing to archaeology a more ethical and engaged practice, one that is more inclusive and rich without sacrificing the rigor and knowledge production capacity that make archaeology such a powerful tool for understanding past lifeways.

Beyond Colonialist and Imperialist: Toward a Decolonizing Archaeology

As discussed above, in my view the aims of Indigenous archaeology approaches are primarily to avoid replicating mainstream (Western) archaeological practice, to investigate Indigenous concepts and knowledge related to history and cultural heritage management, and to incorporate such knowledge into mainstream archaeology (see Atalay 2006a, 2008, for discussions of how to accomplish this). Incorporating these indigenized practices, which may relate to theory, method, fieldwork, and education/pedagogical strategies, adds multivocality not only to archaeological interpretation, but also to all aspects of archaeological practice. The need to move beyond a multivocality of interpretation is discussed more fully later in this chapter.

The incorporation of indigenized practices into mainstream archaeology is an important point of consideration when examining traditions of nationalist, colonialist, and imperialist forms of archaeology. Through investigating and incorporating indigenized (and any number of other) concepts of knowledge (re)production about the past, it becomes possible to move beyond a colonialist or imperialist archaeology that disperses the methods and ideologies of mainstream Western (American and British) archaeology to some form of "other." The foundation in Indigenous concepts and experience coupled with the political aspirations of supporting Indigenous sovereignty and maintaining certain aspects of control over cultural knowledge production bring Indigenous archaeology approaches away from a colonialist or imperialist paradigm and into another realm. This is one that I believe is best termed a *de*colonizing archaeology, part of a wider global project of decolonization.

Before moving more specifically to a discussion of decolonizing practices and the involvement of multivocality with these efforts, I'd like to turn briefly to the development of Indigenous archaeologies and the decolonizing aspects of these approaches in order to demonstrate how their development is deeply rooted in Indigenous activism, and is part of a larger whole of internal efforts toward positive change for Indigenous communities. In his 1984 article "Alternative Archaeologies: Nationalist, Colonialist, Imperialist" (and in other work since then), Trigger discusses the ways that contemporary politics influences views of, and research into, the past. The rise and growth of Indigenous archaeology offers yet another demonstration of this situation. Indigenous people, marginalized and victimized by the early development and ongoing daily practice of anthropology, archaeology, and other social sciences have begun finding ways to speak back to the power of nationalist, colonialist, and imperialist interpretations of the past. A growing number of Indigenous people from around the globe have received archaeological training and field experience, and the number of those working professionally as archaeologists in some capacity is increasing. Education and training of Indigenous people in the field of archaeology range from extensive field school and professional experience to those who hold bachelor's, master's, and doctoral degrees.

Many work in tribal archaeology programs, as tribal cultural resource management officers, tribal historic preservation officers, and a smaller but still growing number are employed in museums or work within academia.

The activism and influence of Indigenous people, both those within and outside the field of archaeology, had a strong impact on the direction of the discipline. Simultaneously, the research and efforts of non-Indigenous archaeologists, many of whom worked closely with Indigenous groups, or on issues of Marxism, feminist approaches, and postprocessual concepts brought to archaeology a much needed change in perspective geared toward respect and the understanding of multivocality. Activism within Indigenous communities together with changes in mainstream archaeological practice created a *critical mass*, of sorts, and resulted in positive changes in interactions between archaeologists and Native People.

While some of this was the result of working together, in other cases it was heated debate, often in discussions involving the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) that led to dialogue, and eventually greater interaction and improved archaeological practices. The passing of national legislation related to repatriation, particularly NAGPRA in 1990, had a dramatic and very positive influence on the relationships between archaeologists and Native people. Both the public support behind NAGPRA and the resulting consultation with Native Americans in regards to museum collections led to a greater number of positive interactions and relationships with archaeologists – many of which were unexpected on both sides.

These contemporary events led to the rise of Indigenous archaeology and brought a much needed change in perspective and direction in the ways many archaeologists engaged in research. This is most clearly evident in the evolving changes in the relationships between archaeologists and Indigenous, local, and descendent communities, the multiple and diverse publics of archaeological research, and the various stakeholders involved. Changes in archaeological theoretical perspectives involving postprocessual concepts of multivocality and plurality paved the way for greater receptivity, respect, and appreciation of the Indigenous activism that attempted to bring concepts and experiences of Indigenous people into archaeological practice. The Indigenous activism that drove these changes was part of a larger push toward asserting sovereignty and self-determination, and a wider project of decolonization. All of these were internal developments that were not part of a colonizing or imperial process, but were in reaction against and in opposition to such oppressive forces.

New Tools for Building a Multivocal Archaeology

One of the primary points of concern in my own research is the decolonizing aspects of Indigenous archaeology approaches (Atalay 2006a,b). I'd like to explain more fully what I mean by decolonization, and more specifically and importantly for the purposes of this volume, the multilayered role of multivocality in decolonizing

efforts. In an important and oft quoted essay, Audre Lorde (1984) states that "the master's tools will never dismantle the master's house." If we consider that, in many ways, mainstream (Western) archaeology has oppressed and disenfranchised Indigenous people from holding sovereignty over their own past and heritage, then efforts to decolonize archaeology and to build an Indigenous archaeology have been understood by some (Indigenous and non-Indigenous, archaeologists and non-archaeologists) as aiming to introduce new tools that will either dismantle the discipline or exclude non-Indigenous archaeologists from studying the heritage and history of Indigenous peoples. On the contrary, I argue that the goal of researching and developing Indigenous archaeology approaches is not to dismantle Western archaeological practice (Atalay 2006a, 2008). The discipline of archaeology is not inherently good or bad; it is the application and practice of the discipline that has the potential to disenfranchise and be used as a colonizing force. Rather than dismantling, archaeology requires critical reflection and positive change if it is to remain relevant and effective. Indigenous archaeology approaches offer a set of tools to use in building positive change from within the discipline; but these are tools, concepts, epistemologies, and experiences for remodeling, not dismantling.

In response to Audre Lorde's thoughts about the role of the "master's tools," Henry Louis Gates, Jr. (1998:30) stated that, "you can only dismantle the master's house using the master's tools." I would argue that, for the discipline of archaeology the way forward lies between the views of Lorde and Gates, Jr., and multivocality plays a critical role in the scenario. There is no doubt that archaeology was built upon and remains deeply entrenched in a Western paradigm of history, culture, and the past, and it is thoroughly steeped in Western ways of viewing the world. Such Western paradigms include a reliance on economic models of optimal decision making that minimize the influence of spiritual or symbolic meanings; accumulation of knowledge production in the hands of a small elite (who set the research agenda and benefit most from its products); divorcing the people and places of the past from communities and situations in the present; and a strong privileging of written and material evidence over oral accounts and traditional knowledge. These can be contrasted with Indigenous paradigms that, in building on Native experiences and knowledge, recognize the high priority placed on things beyond "rational" comprehension; the importance of creating and sharing knowledge with the community; the critical connection of the past with the present and the interrelationship and holistic nature of these; and the power and importance of oral tradition and indigenous knowledge.

However, sole reliance on a Western paradigm with regard to producing and reproducing archaeological knowledge need not remain a standard practice. To bring greater diversity to the discipline, those following an Indigenous archaeology approach are attempting to move archaeology beyond its nationalist, colonialist, and imperialist roots in order to find new tools for understanding past cultures and lifeways by gaining insight from indigenous approaches and knowledge structures. As stated earlier, the attempt is to incorporate Indigenous experiences and epistemologies into current mainstream archaeological practices. The goal is not to replace Western concepts with Indigenous ones, but to create a multivocal archaeological

practice that benefits and speaks to society more broadly. In my view, it is precisely this form of multivocality that Indigenous archaeologists are calling for. This view of multivocality does not simply involve addressing multiple perspectives at the level of interpretation of a particular site or region. It is a more comprehensive approach to multivocality that attempts to find ways of combining Western and Indigenous theoretical and methodological concepts that begin at the planning stages of research, and works to create diverse approaches to long-term management of archaeological resources, as well as both the tangible and intangible aspects of heritage.

In thinking about multivocality as an Indigenous archaeologist, I do not aim to simply present Indigenous interpretations of the past or to make room for multiple perspectives at the interpretative table. Rather, it is a much deeper level of multivocality that is attempted which will have a more fundamental effect on the daily practice of archaeology at all levels – from the planning stages to the final sharing and presentation of research results. It is at this level of multivocality that decolonization efforts become central. Part of the methodology of decolonization is to research Indigenous traditional knowledge and practices and to utilize them, as Cavender-Wilson (2004:75) describes, "for the benefit of all humanity." As with Western ways of knowing, understanding, and teaching about the world, there is also a great deal of knowledge and wisdom in Indigenous forms of knowledge production and reproduction, and these have the power to benefit our own Indigenous communities as well as others globally. A decolonizing archaeology holds as one of its goals the work of bringing these concepts to the academy and working toward their legitimization as part of mainstream research strategies. More specifically, some Indigenous archaeologists are engaged in the struggle to put these concepts into practice in our own scholarship, producing models that others can follow.

Integral to decolonizing efforts is the realization and acknowledgment that Western ways of knowing are not in any way superior or natural – they are produced in specific contexts and are reproduced through daily practice. As such, these ways of knowing and understanding the world can be disrupted, changed, and improved upon. In the same light, it is also important to recall that all aspects of human life and culture, knowledge, and the practices associated with its production and reproduction are not static, but are constantly changing. Situated within the context of a global decolonizing practice, effective ways of regaining traditional Indigenous knowledge, epistemologies and practices are being examined through Indigenous archaeology approaches. When appropriate for sharing outside of a Native context, such knowledge, epistemologies, and practices are being brought to the foreground and put forth as models (Atalay 2006a, 2008).

Some might utilize the resulting methods and theories within Indigenous communities, while others see the value of incorporating certain aspects into archaeological practice more broadly. As part of decolonizing efforts and in working toward a multivocal archaeology, Indigenous archaeology situates itself to work from the place of the "local"; to acknowledge specific critiques and concerns of Indigenous people and descendent populations; to research them, name them, deconstruct them; and finally to offer a positive plan of forward movement toward a more ethical practice. This kind of ethical practice finds respect for humanistic

concerns, spiritual landscapes, material and ancestral remains, and the heritage issues that bind all of these together.

Multivocality in Native American Epistemologies

In Western thought multivocality has played an important role in postmodernism, and within archaeology some postprocessual approaches, such as Hodder's (1999) reflexive methodology, hold multivocality as a central tenet. Certain, although not all, Indigenous cultures also maintain a strong epistemological tradition of multivocality when dealing with history and knowledge about the past. In my approach to Indigenous archaeology, I attempt to actively move away from the idea of simple binaries that categorize knowledge and ideas, and rely instead on a pluralistic approach based on my own tribe's (Ojibwe) epistemological view. Ojibwe cultural heroes are often trickster figures who, rather than embodying pure good or evil, personify multiplicity. One example of this in Ojibwe culture is the cultural hero Nanaboozhoo. Among many Indigenous cultures there are trickster figures similar to Nanaboozhoo. This figure, and many like him, embodies multiplicity. The cultures from which they originate often find balance and knowledge in the struggle and space of ambiguity that he embodies. This acceptance of ambiguity is interesting and useful for thinking of multivocality in archaeology.

The acceptance of multiplicity is not only seen in Ojibwe cultural heroes, but is found throughout the Ojibwe worldview. There is an understanding that multiple and conflicting interpretations are acceptable and need not be worrisome. Multivocality is expected, and stems from the standpoint or perspective of the viewer, teller, or one who experiences. When using an Ojibwe worldview in thinking about the past, one doesn't need to choose the best or correct interpretation, as knowledge about the past is more closely related to the concept of *understandings* that stem from perspective.

Peter Nabokov (2002) emphasizes the importance of a diversity of interpretation and multivocality in American Indian concepts of history among many North American groups. In the case of the Ojibwe, this concept is echoed in the orator's quote from the beginning of this chapter, and it is present in other aspects of Ojibwe daily life as well. Nabokov illustrates the ways in which multiple accounts of Indian pasts from a range of tellers are the norm. He states:

> By identifying the multiple, often quarreling interest groups within any society, and by making each of their claims the measure of any given history's intended relevance or "scale"…, we arrive at oral tradition's defining benefit and unending pleasure: multiple versions (2002:47).

Nabokov relates the experiences of Luci Tapahonso, a Navajo oral historian, who explains that Navajo oral histories often begin with words such as "the way I heard it was…" Tapahonso explains that one variation of a tribal history might *privilege* a certain group's role in an account, but it does not discount other versions. She states that it, "adds to the body of knowledge being exchanged" to "enrich the listener's experience" (Nabokov 2002:47–48).

Multivocality: Beyond a Seat at the Interpretive Table

While there are similarities between Western and Indigenous concepts of multiplicity, there are also differences. When multivocality is brought within the sphere of research, particularly archaeological research, Indigenous experiences and perspectives have the potential to enrich the way multivocality is currently practiced within a Western tradition – particularly with respect to collaboration in all aspects of research, identifying the dangers of multivocality, and pointing to the importance of public education about multiple perspectives.

In an effort to decolonize research and indigenize the academy, Indigenous scholars (Tuhiwai-Smith, Mihesuah, Cavender Wilson) have called for research to be carried out in collaboration with Native communities to produce research that is viewed as relevant and useful to those communities. Collaboration with communities is an important component of my approach to Indigenous archaeology (Atalay 2006a), and one that is critical to the concept of multivocality. With the importance of collaborative and participatory research in mind, multivocality becomes important long before the interpretive process begins. It is also a critical component in all aspects of archaeological knowledge production and reproduction. Developing the research design, asking research questions, funding projects, sharing the knowledge that is created with a wider community (knowledge stewardship), and overall heritage management are all intimately tied to, and involve the concept of, multivocality.

Indigenous experience has brought to the foreground the need for local and descendent communities and other stakeholders to become involved through the use of a multivocal model not only at the interpretive stage, but also from the outset of research. Comprehensive multivocality in participatory research designs bring to bare important issues related to arguments of local versus national and global "world" heritage; who has rights and privilege to interpret the past; and the long term management of tangible and intangible heritage. Yet beyond this is the broader question of, "who has the right and privilege to carry out archaeological research, to excavate, to obtain funding, and to be involved in knowledge production and reproduction?" To adequately and ethically respond to such a question, multiplicity of approach becomes crucial at all levels of research, not only at the point of interpretation. It is with this point that Indigenous experience brings a much needed addition to the current postprocessual view of multivocality, which has concerned itself primarily with the multivocality of interpretation.

There are also ways in which multivocality can undermine marginal groups, and Indigenous experiences help to bring this critical point of consideration to the foreground. While Indigenous archaeology has tended to focus primarily on researching and incorporating alternative ways of producing and reproducing knowledge about the past, history, and heritage management, I find it is also critical to consider ways of ensuring that multiple (alternative) "ways of seeing" are viewed as valuable and legitimate. Is it enough for Indigenous people to have a seat at the multivocal table if all voices are considered equally valid and there is no concern for evaluating which interpretations are the strongest, supported by evidence, and appropriately

fit the data? If we rely on multivocality to mean that all voices are equally valid, then doesn't multivocality, in some ways, constitute a loss of power for Indigenous (and other "marginal") groups, who no longer have any claim to truth or greater legitimacy? Wylie (2002:190) discusses a similar point in relation to feminist critiques of science. She refers to the work of Lather (1991) and Mascia-Lees et al. (1989), who each in different ways point out that aspects of postmodernism (including multivocality) may be "dangerous for the marginalized" (Lather 1991:154). Along the same line of argumentation, Mascia-Lees et al. (1989:14–15) state that, "In the postmodern period, theorists "stave-off" their anxiety by questioning the basis of the truths that they are losing the privilege to define." In the same paper, Mascia-Lees et al. point to other feminist scholars, such as political scientist Nancy Hartsock (1987) and Sarah Lennox (1987), who make similar points. They summarize this aspect of Hartsock's (1987) work stating, "…she [Nancy Hartsock] finds it curious that the postmodern claim that verbal constructs do not correspond in a direct way to reality has arisen precisely when women and non-Western peoples have begun to speak for themselves and, indeed, to speak about global systems of power differentials." Mascia-Lees et al. (1989:15) highlight a similar point raised by Sarah Lennox (1987), summarizing Lennox as follows: "…postmodern despair associated with the recognition that truth is never entirely knowable is merely an inversion of Western arrogance. When Western white males – who traditionally have controlled the production of knowledge – can no longer define truth, she argues, their response is to conclude that there is not a truth to be discovered." So while Indigenous views of the past often include aspects of multivocality that in traditional practice have no conflict with concepts of plurality, it is also critical to be cognizant of and bring to the foreground the ways in which multivocality, when placed in the proper historical context with Western modernism and postmodernism, can be harmful or detrimental to Indigenous views and interpretations in the ways outlined by feminist scholars above.

Furthermore, there is the question of public understanding and acceptance of multivocality. In traditional Indigenous contexts, where entire communities subscribed to concepts of multivocality with reference to understanding and interpreting the past, the concern for refuting dominant, often hegemonic, interpretations did not hold relevance. However, when placed in the current context in which the majority of public audiences have been taught to accept a univocal view and have most often not been trained to evaluate multiple arguments, it becomes critical to question the impact that multivocality holds for public audiences. If the same (Western) voices, interpretations, and worldviews continue to be perceived as true or legitimate, then there is little effectiveness in a multivocal approach as alternative voices are in danger of being seen as quaint or superfluous. Unless we do more to educate the general public, particularly children, about the value and importance of multivocality, then it will remain either nearly impossible to gain legitimacy for views and approaches that are not mainstream, or pointless to put these interpretations forward since they will not carry authority for a public that is searching for univocal answers. It is no longer enough for Native people or any other disenfranchised group to simply have a place at the table when interpretation takes place.

A more comprehensive approach is needed that includes all aspects of research and involves changing the mindset of people on a much broader scale as to what is expected from archaeological knowledge production.

In terms of reaching the public, teaching a tolerance for ambiguity and multivocality is as critical as researching and implementing a multiplicity of approaches. Public archaeology thus plays a central role in any pursuit of multivocality as it becomes our responsibility as archaeologists concerned with multivocality not to teach what the *right* interpretation is, but rather to help people understand that many interpretations are potentially valid, and that it is our cultural worldview that determines how we evaluate, and what we respect and choose as valid. It is the tolerance of multiplicity in practice that becomes important. Such pursuits of educating the public can occur on many levels, but would most effectively involve advocacy on the part of archaeologists at the K-12 educational level. Finding the most productive strategies for doing this at the local and national level, on school boards and through local classroom visits, is one of my ongoing research projects and something I hope to present and publish in the near future.

Since starting research in the area of Indigenous archaeology, I've been asked by both Native community people and archaeologists if Indigenous archaeology refers to archaeology carried out by only Indigenous people. In presenting Indigenous archaeology concepts I've been called "colonialist" and accused of trying to replace the current Western approach to archaeology with an Indigenous one. With a concern for implementing multivocality in mind, these become critical points for consideration. The replacement of one power structure with another without changing the way power is perceived and enacted is pointless. Similarly, offering a seat at the interpretive table in the absence of true appreciation and respect for other worldviews can become an empty, even dangerous gesture if it removes the concern for evaluating arguments and fitting data with interpretation. Of course the question then becomes: who decides which data and evaluation techniques are legitimate? These are the issues that must be further considered and grappled with, and will only be worked out through further multivocal dialogue. They will not be solved simply by replacing one power structure with another; they will involve multivocality far before the point of interpretation, and they are most likely to build on a newfound strength through a combined or blended approach of Western and Indigenous forms of knowledge.

Diba Jimooyoung: Telling our Story

This chapter was originally written as a theoretical piece examining the role of multivocality in Indigenous archaeology. However, as this edited volume focuses on case studies that examine multivocality in a particular setting, I'm including an example of multivocality in practice within an Indigenous context to illustrate some of the points introduced above. The Ziibiwing Cultural Center of the Saginaw Chippewa Indians of Michigan developed and curated an exhibition that beautifully illustrates the points made in this chapter quite clearly. The permanent display

at the Ziibiwing Cultural Center is called *Diba Jimooyoung: Telling Our Story*. The building of the cultural center and the development of the *Diba Jimooyoung* exhibit were part of the collaborative efforts by Native people of one tribal community (the Saginaw Chippewa [Ojibwe] of Michigan). The exhibit tells the history of this community from the distant past to contemporary life. The physical space of the museum is organized around Ojibwe cosmological principles – clockwise, as the Earth turns, as the Earth turns around the Sun, and as the Moon turns around the Earth. As you enter the museum you physically follow the Ojibwe path of the universe. The museum is bilingual (Anishinabemowin and English) and as you proceed through the displays you hear discussions and presentations in Anishinabemowin and then in English. All text panels are also multilingual. The opening display is a life size replica of the Sanilac Petroglyphs of Michigan, a rock art site in the tribe's traditional territory that has several hundred engraved petroglyphs (Fig. 3.1). This rock art site is managed by DNR but is now co-managed by the tribe. Tribal historians, spiritual and community leaders, and elders were brought out to the site to interpret the carvings. The tribe utilizes the site on a regular basis to give spiritual teachings and for ceremonial events.

Of the several hundred carvings on the Sanilac Petroglyphs, several were chosen by the community collaborative team for depiction and interpretation in the *Diba Jimooyoung* exhibit. One carving chosen was that of a spiral (Fig. 3.2). The text panel next to the spiral reads: "…touch this to connect with the teaching."

Fig. 3.1 Replica of the Sanilac petroglyphs of Michigan displayed in the *Diba Jimooyoung* permanent exhibit at the Ziibiwing Cultural Center

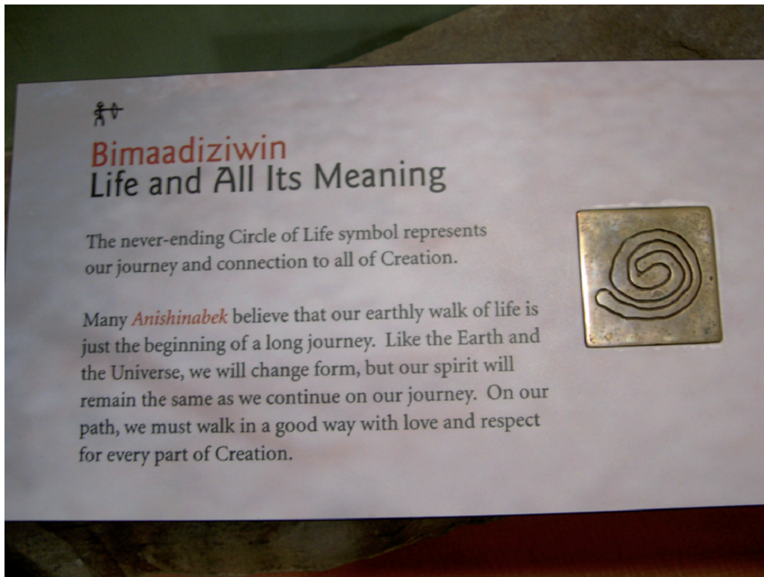

Fig. 3.2 Replica of spiral petroglyph and accompanying text panel from the *Diba Jimooyoung* permanent exhibit at the Ziibiwing Cultural Center

The panel also presents the interpretation of the spiral, stating that it describes the connection of the past to the present and our ongoing connection with all living beings. One important point of this spiral is its representation of the past coming alive in us in the present. Another image featured on the Sanilac replica, as well as in a text panel, is that of an archer (Fig. 3.3). The interpretation of this petroglyph is that our Ojibwe ancestors placed the rock art images for us to find in the future, during a time when we need their wisdom and teachings. The teachings from these petroglyphs are being shot by the archer into the future.

The Sanilac replica is not only teaching spiritual lessons, but also combines these with archaeologically based information about how the petroglyphs were made – displaying both males and females making petroglyphs. This technique of combining archaeological data with important cultural information is repeated throughout the exhibit. These views are combined together so that the visitor (both Ojibwe community members and non-Native visitors) learns about Ojibwe history, culture, worldview and spirituality from an Ojibwe perspective. Through this process, Ojibwe perspectives are made more accessible to those who don't view the world through this set of beliefs and practices. Ojibwe worldviews and beliefs are priviledged, but are constantly combined with western science and concepts of time and space to help reach and educate the viewer. There are also constant reminders of the important role of multivocality in the Ojibwe worldview, as well as reminders that Western knowledge systems are not natural or exclusively correct.

These presentations of the Ojibwe view of multivocality are most clearly displayed in the section following the Sanilac replica, in the section called "Our Creation." As

Fig. 3.3 Replica of archer petroglyph from the *Diba Jimooyoung* permanent exhibit at the Ziibiwing Cultural Center

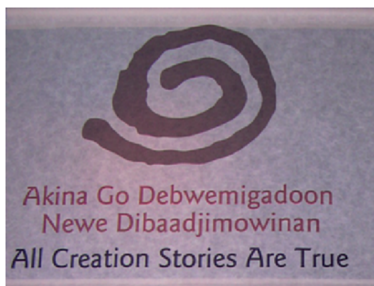

Fig. 3.4 Banner marking entrance to the "Our Creation" section of the *Diba Jimooyoung* permanent exhibit at the Ziibiwing Cultural Center

you enter this section the first thing you see is a large banner hanging above the exhibit. You must pass under this banner to enter the remainder of the *Diba Jimooyoung* displays. On the center of the banner is the Sanilac spiral, which the visitor learned about in the previous display, and the words (in both Anishinabemowin and English): "All Creation Stories are True" (Fig. 3.4). The visitor then passes into the Our Creation display where the Ojibwe creation story is presented briefly. It describes our creation story in a panel and has several rattle-shakers on display that relate to the creation story. These are described using labels with information on dates and the artist's name clearly presented, but are brought into a worldview that is

distinctly Ojibwe through the telling of the story using a speaker's voice from an overhead voice box. Visitors may also visit the "Creation Theatre," a small domed movie theatre that presents a more-detailed version of the creation story with different emphasis by a different speaker.

I've highlighted here some of the primary examples of the multivocality present throughout the Diba Jimooyoung exhibit. The museum provides an alternative interpretation to the standard one found in most natural history museums that present a Western view of the Ojibwe based on archaeological materials. However, an important component of the displays is to illustrate that the Anishinaabe version of our own history is not at complete odds with the archaeological version. In fact, there is complementarity between them that is presented quite effectively in the exhibit. In each of the displays that follow, including a diorama depicting seasonal activities; Ojibwe countings of time and season; the seven Ojibwe prophesies and spirituality more broadly; boarding schools; treaties; and even the importance of NAGPRA, stories are told from a distinctly Ojibwe perspective. In many cases these are combined with archaeological data and are presented by men, women, and children – many of whom mention the ambiguity and multiplicity of beliefs among Ojibwe people.

As the visitor exits the *Diba Jimooyoung* exhibit, she leaves through the same door from which she entered, and is again presented with the same Sanilac Petroglyph replica. Of course, having moved through the exhibit and learning of Ojibwe history, the meaning of this display is much different for the viewer, and the panel describing the Sanilac replica at the exit points this out explicitly. It reminds the visitor that Ojibwe people valued this sacred place in the past and used it to send messages to contemporary Ojibwe people in the present. The spiral petroglyph symbolizes the connection of past to present, and the petroglyph site is itself a way of connecting the past to the present. Through text, symbol, voice, and physical experiences of the body, as it is guided through the displays, the Diba Jimooyoung exhibit manages to effectively give a site and the objects and symbols associated with it renewed and multiple meanings for the viewer.

In these and many ways not highlighted in this brief example, the museum illustrates the points I've tried to make throughout this chapter about Anishinaabe views of multivocality and epistemological views on history, heritage, and the past. The Anishinaabe acceptance and expectation of multivocality are present throughout the displays in the Ziibiwing Cultural Center's museum. It is this embracing of multivocality that gives the museum strength. It is also these same views that I see as being present in the concepts of Indigenous Archaeology.

Conclusion

What I've attempted to do in this chapter, in postcolonial terms, is to point out the need to *de-center* mainstream archaeological practices, and place at the center, at least momentarily, Ojibwe concepts of multivocality in producing and reproducing knowledge of the past *for* people living in present Indigenous and local communities.

I argue here that Indigenous archaeology approaches need not be nationalist, colonialist, or imperialist in nature. They fall into a category that Trigger (1984) didn't discuss in his 1984 paper, a category that many, including myself, couldn't even envision at the time – they are part of a *decolonizing* archaeology. Decolonizing archaeology does not mean discounting science or Western epistemologies, such as multivocality. It means struggling to build bridges and develop tools to build a more tolerant society that allows different epistemologies to exist and play a role.

Indigenous experiences call for the need to develop collaborative methods for archaeological research and find ways to put multivocality into practice – not only in interpretation, but through community developed research projects that include culturally sensitive methods of education.

Knowledge of the past can be utilized in a variety of ways – producing and reproducing history can be an act of resistance, a reworking of the master narrative of the past, and/or something that informs us on the image that a community (or certain members of it) has of itself through emphasis on certain aspects of the historical narrative. In these ways, Indigenous archaeological practices find no conflict with the concept of multivocality. I would argue, in fact, that Indigenous archaeology is, by its very nature, multivocal and at once decolonizing and democratizing of archaeological knowledge in its collaboration with local people. These are illustrations of the ways in which the leaves of many trees can best be appreciated to build a rich forest of knowledge about the past, in any part of the world, in all time periods, and by archaeologists who are as diverse as the pasts that they hope to explore.

Note

[1] Anishinaabe, which means *original person*, is formed of an alliance of three related groups: Ojibwe, Ottawa, and Potawatomi. Anishinaabe people refer to this alliance as the "Three Fires." The people of the Three Fires speak a related language (Anishinabemowin) and had common cultural and kin ties.

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