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Grave Injustice: The American Indian Repatriation Movement and NAGPRA.
By Kathleen S. Fine-Dare. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002. 250 pages. $60.00 cloth; $19.95 paper.

Author Kathleen S. Fine-Dare’s Grave Injustice is the fourth volume in a series of contemporary ethnographies from the University of Nebraska Press entitled Fourth World Rising. The series is designed for classroom use and a general audience in order to “change the public perception of native struggle” by presenting contemporary issues that hold “practical and theoretical implications” for understanding more general cultural and political processes (p. ix). In addition to a concern with the misperception of Native people as timeless, the book addresses a more complex issue: the argument against Native homogeneity. This call for attention to “internal differentiation among native peoples” is a major theoretical thrust of the both the series and this work in particular. Rather than looking at these “splits” in Native communities as “simple factionalism” along lines of traditionalists or progressives, the series editors argue for the model of a changing “social matrix” of Native communities that work “within and against” the dominant society (p. 195). The complexity of NAGPRA (the context, development, implementation and compliance to the 1990 federal law: the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act) is presented as a means to understanding how political struggles can productively use models of differentiation, not unity.

The text consists of two sections: “The Historical and Legal Contexts of the Repatriation Movement” and “Interpretation, Compliance, and Problems of NAGPRA.” As if predicting the objections of readers to her devoting half of the work to the “actions and motivations of nineteenth-century European scientists” rather than “the ways the world-view and attitudes they institutionalized . . . have been addressed, contested, resisted and revised” (p. 113), Fine-Dare argues that understanding how Native American human remains and objects were acquired “has everything to do with the discussions about their return” (p. 51). The historical section adequately addresses most of the ways in which the military, scientific institutions, the academy, and museums justified the systematic acquisition of Native American human remains and cultural objects (for example, manifest destiny, world’s fair exhibits, and evolutionary theory). However, this analysis lacks the engagement that characterizes the author’s firsthand experience described in the second section, which deals with repatriation case studies and their theoretical implications as “dense symbol(s) laden with deep layers of cultural meanings” (p. 8).

Fine-Dare’s historical examination draws heavily from standard sources that are readily available in their full format, and her writing here appears rather uneven in its scope and references. A highlight of this section is the description of varying notions of Native identity (inserted after a discussion on the Wounded Knee massacre and before an example of the Dawes Act) titled “‘Being Indian’ in the United States” (pp. 53–58). Here, the various definitions of identity—such as race, minority, special status (noble, victims, savages), sovereign entities, legal designations, and even the racial hatred informing the notion of “Indians as deserving of negative treatment”—
receive a lucid analysis that establishes a foundation for the author’s later discussion of implementing NAGPRA.

The benefit of this survey of Indian relations from contact to the present is that an educator could use it in a course dealing with other related cultural/human rights issues. A class devoted to Native American Studies might, however, more productively read the sources that Fine-Dare cites extensively (such as The Nations Within: The Past and Future of American Indian Sovereignty by Vine Deloria Jr. and Clifford M. Lytle). The encompassing overview loses some of its veracity when its sheer volume leads to mistakes or generalizations. For example, the work identifies Suzan Shown Harjo as “of the American Indian Ritual Object Repatriation Foundation,” instead of designating her as the president of the Morning Star Institute (p. 32), and refers to the National Museum of the American Indian as being only in Washington, D.C. instead of occupying sites at the Cultural Resources Center in Suitland, Maryland, and the George Gustav Heye Center in New York (p. 93). More problematic generalizations are made elsewhere. Discussing the interpretation of NAGPRA as a “very Western document that squeezes Native American experience into inappropriate categories” (p. 157), Fine-Dare criticizes “the architects of the law” for a lack of knowledge of Native American beliefs and languages. This criticism perhaps inadvertently acknowledges her own lack of knowledge of some of the primary authors, including Pawnee attorney Walter R. Eco-Hawk, whom she cites at length elsewhere in the text.

As chair of the Anthropology Department at Fort Lewis College in Durango, Colorado, Fine-Dare was responsible for responding to NAGPRA compliance in 1994. Her account of this consultation process is exemplary for its honesty and thoroughness. Significantly, both the series editors and the volume authors pay particular attention to an approach that is “deeply rooted . . . in a fundamental caring for native people’s well-being” (p. xi). Ironically, this narrative also positions Fine-Dare as an enthusiastic new advocate to the poignant human manifestations of repatriation—a continuous lack of respect for one’s basic human rights, a legacy of genocide resulting in severe social, political and emotional dysfunction, and the trauma of responding to physical reminders of the near-total demolition of one’s land, language, religion, and way of life. The fact that she exposes herself by saying “I could not believe that I was really expected to deal with something as monumental and even alien as this” (p. 123) gains her respect and permits a compassionate reading of her response to NAGPRA as a “wake-up call . . . to which most of us are still responding clumsily” (p. 7).

The use of “us” and “we” throughout the text places the author in a role of non-Native speaking to other non-Natives, thus oddly framing a conversation among academic peers rather than the Native audience she seeks to engage. (On page 8 Fine-Dare states, “This book will be viewed by its author as a failure if it does not make us look away from the mirror and across to those holding it up for our gaze”.) A manifestation of this somewhat paternalistic concern is the continuous reference to conflicts between and among tribes as a result of NAGPRA. This spotlight on “internal differentiation” as a political strategy is one of the primary goals of the Fourth World Rising series
and the focus on NAGPRA in this particular text. In the Afterwords, the series editors suggest that “those . . . made largely powerless” by struggles such as NAGPRA “might well and productively root themselves within this differentiation, rather than seeking unity” (p. 196). This approach belies a certain posturing that undermines the very agency that might be credited with the passage of the law. Tribes as nations are capable of both strategically presenting a united front and simultaneously managing their own internal affairs. The fact that tribes do disagree among themselves and others in response to NAGPRA (a situation described by Fine-Dare as “horrific” on page 170) should not justify advocating major policy changes along lines of differentiation or unity, for both can serve as productive strategic tools in obtaining justice.

Grave Injustice provides a useful account of the NAGPRA movement, a term Fine-Dare uses appropriately and contextualizes usefully. The problems due to passage of the law spelled out at length in chapter five, “NAGPRA as a Cultural and Legal Product,” offer a clear outline that could be put to use as a tool in classroom discussion. The conclusion’s “Summary of Key Points” also presents a succinct analysis of how this legislation might be considered within the context of international human rights efforts, with a history that offers a myriad of cultural and political meanings. The author’s overall conclusion—that the treatment of American Indian bodies and sacred objects is a metaphor for the overall treatment of Native Americans in America since its inception—will certainly enhance the standing of this work in courses on American studies, legal studies, history, and anthropology.

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Hopi Tales of Destruction makes available the English language portion of the bilingual, English/Hopi publication Hopi Ruin Legends: Kiwotutanwutsi issued by the University of Nebraska Press in 1993. The work presents narratives collected from four Hopi consultants (one remains anonymous) concerning the destruction of seven Hopi ancestral villages, most notably Hisatongoopavi (Old Shungopavi), Sikyatki, and Awat’ovi. Malotki provides an introductory commentary for each narrative summarizing what is known archaeologically of each ruin. In addition, he provides detailed discussions of Paaloloqangut (mythic Water Serpents), koyaanisqatsi (social chaos), and powoqwa (witchcraft) as contexts for understanding the destructions of Hisatongoopavi and Pivanhonkyapi and the abandonment of Huk’ovi. In a revised preface, Malotki describes recent archaeological research about the place of violence, warfare, and cannibalism in Puebloan prehistory. An extensive glossary provides background into many cultural elements mentioned in the narratives.