



NAGPRA
COMICS

1

STORIES ABOUT REPATRIATIONS...

JOURNEYS TO COMPLETE THE WORK

...AND CHANGING THE WAY WE BRING
NATIVE AMERICAN ANCESTORS HOME



ATALAY - SHANNON - SWIGGER

JOURNEYS TO COMPLETE THE WORK

Stories about repatriations and changing the way we bring Native American ancestors home

Written by

Sonya Atalay, University of Massachusetts, Amherst

Jen Shannon, University of Colorado, Boulder

John G. Swogger, johnswogger.wordpress.com

Illustrated by

John G. Swogger

With

Shannon Martin, Ziibiwing Center of Anishinabe Culture & Lifeways

William Johnson, Ziibiwing Center of Anishinabe Culture & Lifeways

Sydney Martin & George Martin, Tribal Elders

And the collaboration and support of the Ziibiwing Center of Anishinabe Culture & Lifeways



NAGPRA comics are intended to help Native peoples, archaeologists, historic preservation officers, museum administrators and others involved in repatriation decisions to understand both the obligations and the impact of NAGPRA legislation and process. This comic is not an official publication of National NAGPRA or the Review Committee, and the content does not necessarily reflect the opinions, legal or otherwise, of the Committee or any other federal or legal body associated with NAGPRA. However, all information contained in this comic is in the public record, and has been reviewed by a former member of the National NAGPRA Review Committee for accuracy and appropriateness.

Published in the United States. Printed in PRC. First printing November 2017. © 2016-2017 Sonya Atalay, Jen Shannon & John G. Swogger. This publication is licensed under a Creative Commons Licence: You are free to make derivative, non-commercial works based on this comic, but you must attribute its original creators and must distribute it under a similar licence.



To order additional copies of this comic, please contact Sonya Atalay - satalay@umass.edu



I'm Sonya Atalay. I'm an archaeologist and a professor in the anthropology department of the University of Massachusetts, Amherst.

I have experience of NAGPRA repatriations as an archaeological consultant, a member of the National NAGPRA Review Committee, and as an Anishinaabe and member of the Three Fires Midewiwin Spiritual Society.

I know they can be difficult and emotional for all those involved.

I'm Jen Shannon. I'm an anthropologist and professor at the Natural History Museum at the University of Colorado, Boulder.

I help Native Nations connect to museum collections around the country.

As a museum curator, I have participated in a number of repatriations to tribes on behalf of our museum. NAGPRA can seem complicated because of its legal language, but the spirit of the law is clear.

I'm John Swogger. I'm an archaeologist, an illustrator and a comics creator.

I help people understand complex issues and difficult situations by explaining them with comics.

Comics are a great tool for making sure everyone understands, regardless of their experience and background.

Together, we're going to tell you stories of some repatriation cases - they will show you how NAGPRA works, and how it sometimes falls short. We'll explain what the law says, and how people interpret it.

We'll show how, when people display leadership and take responsibility, NAGPRA repatriations can work for everyone - tribes, archaeologists, museums, communities, families and individuals. Together, we'll look at how the way we are bringing the ancestors home is changing - and how you and your community can help take part in the:

JOURNEYS TO COMPLETE THE WORK



The Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act - NAGPRA - came about after many, many years of activism and political pressure.¹

The Act was intended to address the way Native American sacred objects, objects of cultural patrimony, graves, ancestral remains and items associated with burials had been treated in the centuries following European colonization...

Dr. Sonya Fitalay



By settlers...

... collectors...

... politicians...

... and scientists.



Many Native American ancestral remains and cultural items had been dug up out of the ground, put on display or kept in storage - without any thought about the beliefs of those people or their descendants.

NAGPRA was intended to finally give a **voice** to Native peoples...²

... in decisions made about what should happen with these remains.



Between 300,000 and 600,000 Native American human remains are held in collections around the country. The scale of the situation can often seem overwhelming...²

Dr. Jen Shannon

...and the legal language of NAGPRA can be a barrier to understanding what the law is about. Many people are simply not well-informed about why NAGPRA was passed, and what it is meant to do.



Over the years, this has made the process of repatriation feel like a confrontational process...

... rather than a cooperative one.



But it doesn't have to be like that. This comic is going to show how when tribes have a **real voice** in repatriation, when both sides understand all their **rights and responsibilities**, and when participants display good **Leadership**...

... but in **partnership**...

... repatriation can be a way for museums and Native nations to **forge new relationships**, and undertake the journey to complete the work not as adversaries...

... with meaningful consultation shaping each decision.

The **Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act** is a federal law enacted in 1990. It is intended to provide for the return of Native American ancestral remains and cultural material to Native American tribes.³



Public Law 101-601
101st Congress

An Act

H.R. 5237

To provide for the protection of Native American graves, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

For purposes of this Act, the term-

- (1) "burial site" means any natural or prepared physical location, whether originally below, on, or above the surface of the earth, into which as a part of the death rite or ceremony of a culture, individual human remains are deposited.
- (2) "cultural affiliation" means that there is a relationship of shared group identity which can be reasonably traced historically or prehistorically between a present day Indian tribe or Native Hawaiian organization and an identifiable earlier group.

(a) REPATRIATION OF NATIVE AMERICAN HUMAN REMAINS AND OBJECTS POSSESSED OR CONTROLLED BY FEDERAL AGENCIES AND MUSEUMS.--

(1) If, pursuant to section 5, the cultural affiliation of Native American human remains and associated funerary objects with a particular Indian tribe or Native Hawaiian organization is established, then the Federal agency or museum, upon the request of a known lineal descendant of the Native American or of the tribe or organization and pursuant to subsections (b) and (e) of this section, shall expeditiously return such remains and associated funerary objects.

(2) If, pursuant to section 6, the cultural affiliation with a particular Indian tribe or Native Hawaiian organization is shown with respect to unassociated funerary objects, sacred objects or objects of cultural patrimony, then the Federal agency or museum, upon the request of the Indian tribe or Native Hawaiian organization and pursuant to subsections (b), (c) and (e) of this section, shall expeditiously return such objects.

(3) The return of cultural items covered by this Act shall be in consultation with the requesting lineal descendant or tribe or organization to determine the place and manner of delivery of such items.

The act requires museums or institutions which hold collections of such material to consult with tribes to determine the **cultural affiliation** of the material and repatriate them when a claim is made.

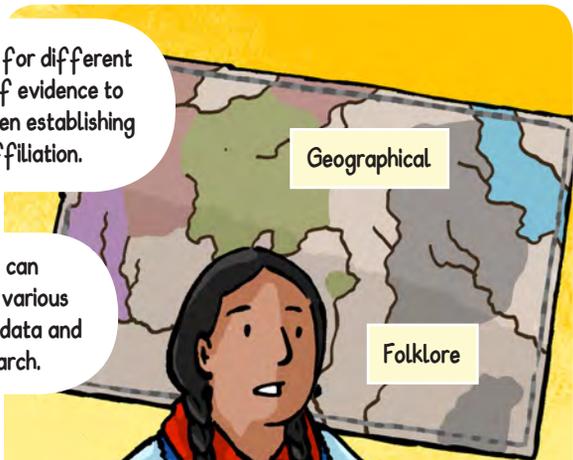


Repatriation claims must include proof of their cultural affiliation by using various **lines of evidence**.

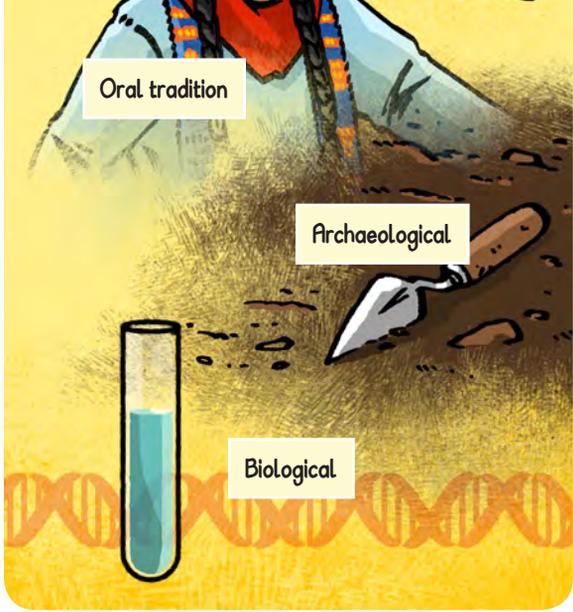


NAGPRA allows for different kinds of lines of evidence to be submitted when establishing cultural affiliation.

This can include various kinds of data and research.



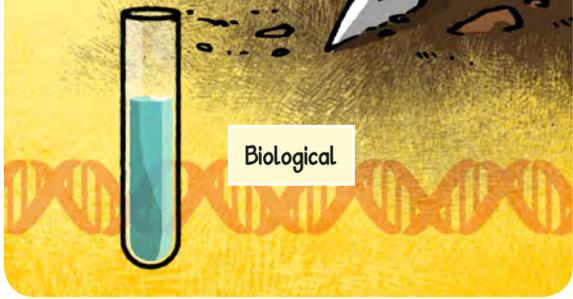
Geographical



Folklore

Oral tradition

Archaeological



Biological

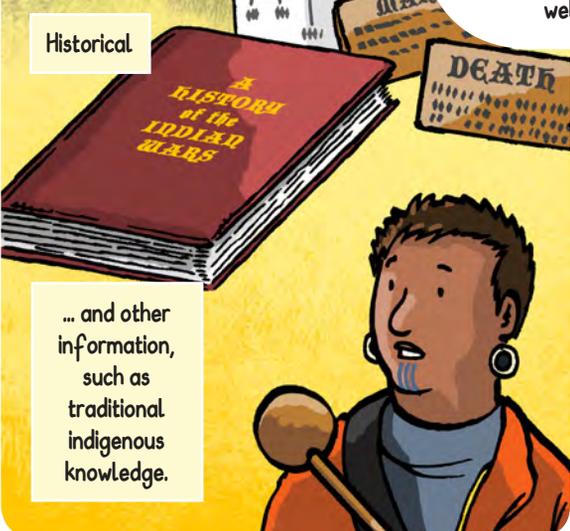


Expert opinion

Linguistic

Kinship

Historical



Importantly, NAGPRA also allows for different kinds of indigenous knowledge to be submitted as evidence as well.

... and other information, such as traditional indigenous knowledge.



One kind of evidence does **not** count "more" than any other in NAGPRA cases - decisions are made on the basis of reasonable probability, taking into account all the evidence equally.

All collections held by federal agencies and museums which receive federal funding must comply with the provisions of NAGPRA.



Which means that all such institutions have an obligation to create an inventory of their collections... and determine whether the ancestral remains and cultural material they hold can be **culturally affiliated**. In other words: whether, in the opinion of the institution, they can be affiliated with a present day tribe or Native Hawaiian Organization.

But if, in the opinion of the institution, this is not possible...

... then they are designated as "culturally unidentifiable"...

... and the institution follows another process under a section of the law known as the 10.11 rule.

This category was originally supposed to be for ancestral remains and cultural material for which there was no information about where they had been found, or how they came into the collection.



This could include items donated by collectors, or instances where archives and records had been lost.

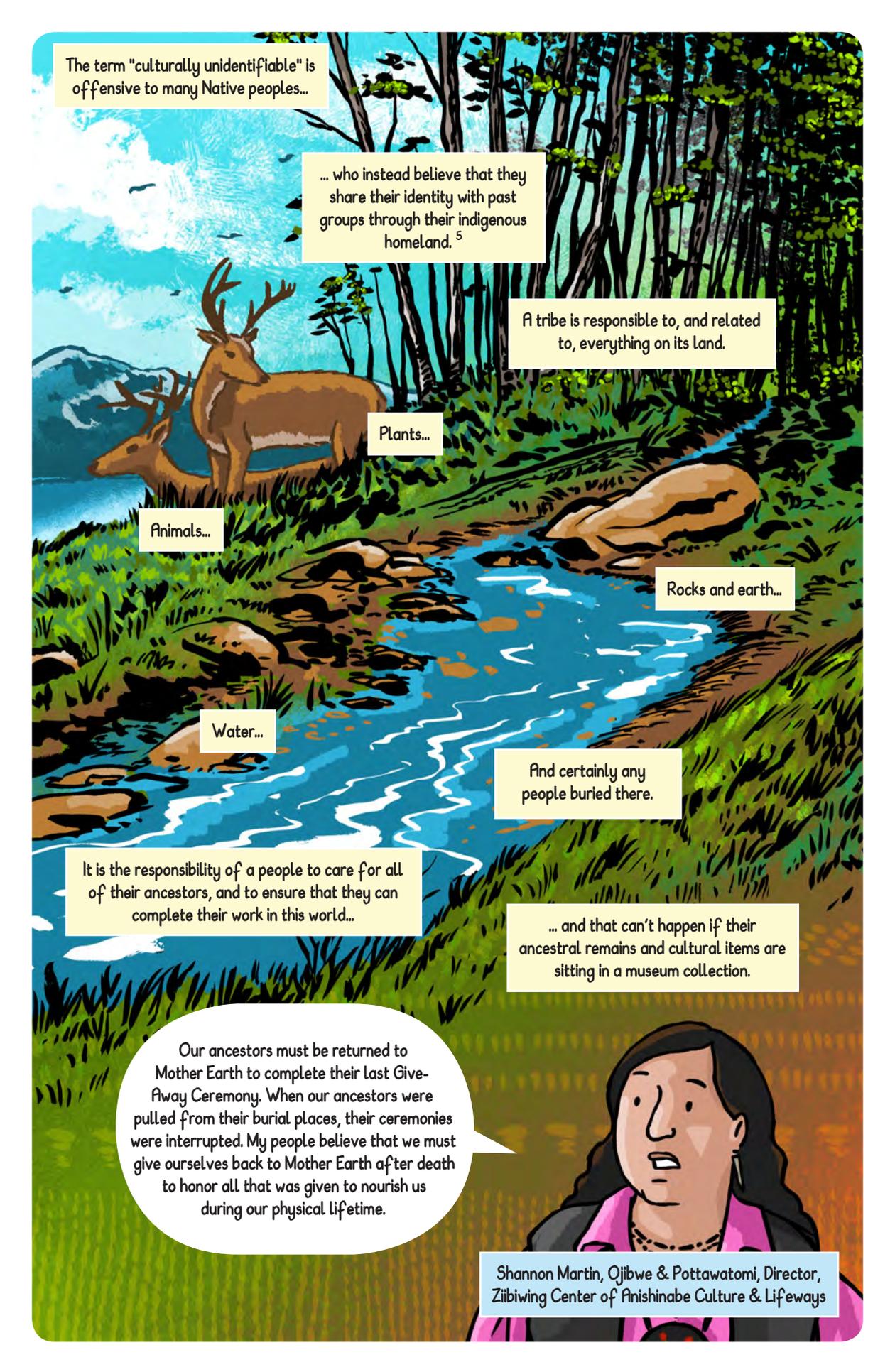
However, when NAGPRA was enacted in 1990, institutions were given only five years to determine what was culturally affiliated, and what was culturally unidentifiable.



As a result, labeling items in collections as "**culturally unidentifiable**" became a way for hard-pressed institutions to cope with large collections and complete their NAGPRA obligations before 1995...⁴



... despite the fact that, in many cases, evidence could have been presented which would have shown them to be **culturally identifiable**.



The term "culturally unidentifiable" is offensive to many Native peoples...

... who instead believe that they share their identity with past groups through their indigenous homeland.⁵

A tribe is responsible to, and related to, everything on its land.

Plants...

Animals...

Rocks and earth...

Water...

And certainly any people buried there.

It is the responsibility of a people to care for all of their ancestors, and to ensure that they can complete their work in this world...

... and that can't happen if their ancestral remains and cultural items are sitting in a museum collection.

Our ancestors must be returned to Mother Earth to complete their last Give-Away Ceremony. When our ancestors were pulled from their burial places, their ceremonies were interrupted. My people believe that we must give ourselves back to Mother Earth after death to honor all that was given to nourish us during our physical lifetime.

Shannon Martin, Ojibwe & Pottawatomi, Director, Ziibiwing Center of Anishinabe Culture & Lifeways

In 2006, I was involved in repatriation research on behalf of MACPRA: the Michigan Anishinaabek Cultural Preservation & Repatriation Alliance...

... concerning the museum collection of the University of Michigan.

The case shows how the use of the "culturally unidentifiable" category creates real problems for tribes undertaking repatriations.

The Zibiwing Center, where I worked.

* A coalition of all tribes in the state of Michigan.

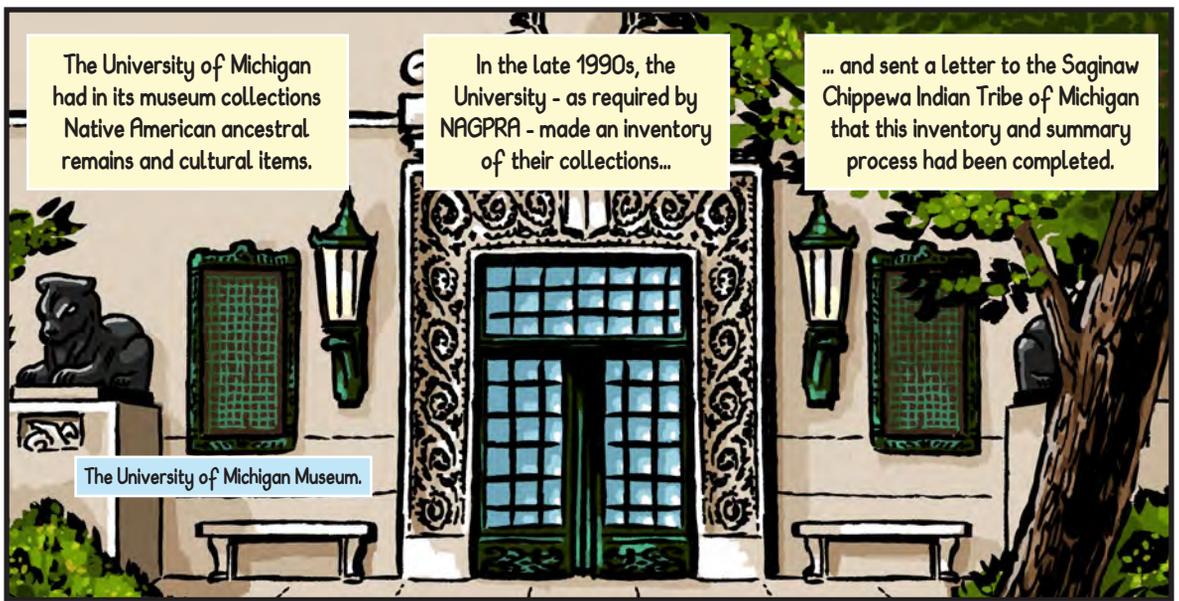
New NAGPRA procedures had recently been put in place to address how museums should treat ancestral remains and cultural items they had designated as "culturally unidentifiable".

D. Bambi Kraus,
Tlingit Nation
- Advisor to
President Bill
Clinton on Native
American Affairs
and President
of the National
Association of
Tribal Historic
Preservation
Officers.

These rules are commonly referred to by their section number in the Code of Federal Regulations: [10.11](#).

But, as you will see from my story, it took more than new rules and laws -

- it took activism as well as powerful testimony and leadership from brave individuals to help change the situation for the better.



The University of Michigan had in its museum collections Native American ancestral remains and cultural items.

In the late 1990s, the University - as required by NAGPRA - made an inventory of their collections...

... and sent a letter to the Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe of Michigan that this inventory and summary process had been completed.

The University of Michigan Museum.



My job was to prepare a statement based on my research, outlining the evidence for cultural affiliation between the tribes represented by MACPRA and the ancestral remains and cultural items held in the collection.

But I had already determined in 1995 that this material was "culturally unidentifiable" and therefore not legally available for repatriation.

John O'Shea - Archaeologist at the University of Michigan, responsible for NAGPRA compliance.

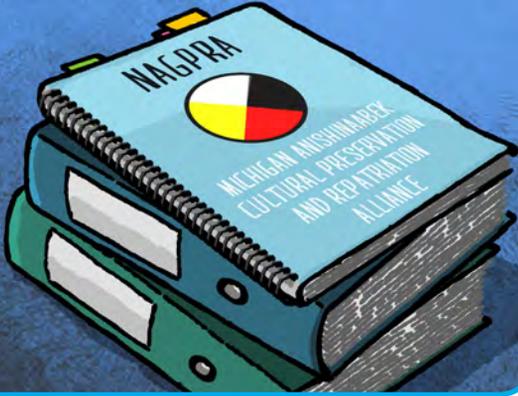


I'm responsible for these objects and human remains - if we get the process of determining cultural affiliation wrong, then they might get returned to the "wrong" tribe.⁶

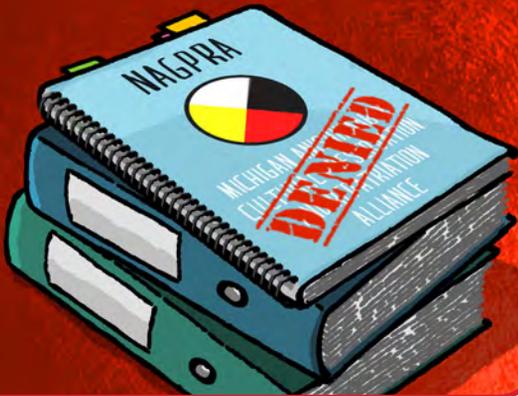
Besides, there's always more that research can tell scientists like myself about this material - particularly as new technologies are developed.⁷

I believe the museum does a good job of caring for the human remains in our collection.⁸

A repatriation claim was filed in the late winter of 2007, using oral histories and traditional knowledge to support cultural affiliation with the tribes.



That claim was rejected by the University of Michigan's archaeologist...



Absolutely not: these burials are **not affiliated with you.**⁹



This summary rejection of the claim for repatriation made the tribes - and myself - angry for several reasons.

First, no justification was given as to why the designation "culturally unidentifiable" had been used...

... despite the fact that the tribes had spent significant amounts of grant money gathering data to support their claim of cultural affiliation.

Second, the University insisted that their original letter - informing the Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe of Michigan that they had completed the required inventory and summary of their collection - fulfilled their obligation with regard to "consultation"...

... which it clearly did not.

Finally - and perhaps most importantly - the University's archaeologist had completely dismissed the significance of the oral histories in the tribe's claim...

... despite the fact that he had served for a number of years **on** the NAGPRA Review Committee.



The University's decision was debated both on-campus and off...



... and the tribes felt that activism was needed to raise awareness of the issue.

Protests were organized...



... as well as a drum-in during exam week.

Eventually, Joseph Sowmick, a Saginaw Chippewa tribal member, was allowed five minutes to address the Regents.¹⁰

Hear me now:
your university is in
direct violation of our
basic human rights.

We ask, would
you want your
grandmothers and
grandfathers to be
treated in this way?

Is this the
legacy you want
to perpetuate
for future
generations?

We are the
direct descendants of
the ancestors who lived
on this land before your
arrival and we are united
on this issue.

In the spirit
of NAGPRA, we urge
you to do the right thing
- restore dignity to our
ancestors and to your
institution.

As I begin speaking
these words, I ask the Creator
to let all hear this perspective
with open minds and an ability to
embrace a broader worldview -
including those who no longer
have a voice. It is for those
that I am here today.

Today, I am here
to inform you that we
will not stand idly by and
condone this treatment, nor
will we allow our research and
perspective to be dismissed.
Please rest assured that our
perseverance and determination
will carry us through once
again - as this issue is of the
utmost importance to
us all.

His testimony may have been short...

... but it was powerful.

Powerful enough that one of
the Regents, Katherine White,
pressed the University to take a
completely different approach.

We have a legal
obligation to comply
with NAGPRA, and an ethical
obligation to the spirit of those
laws. Instead of digging our heels
in and allowing the University to be
dragged into unnecessary lawsuits
we should act like leaders and
find a way to resolve this
situation.¹¹

Activism, leadership and community involvement were all part of the solution.

Within a few short months, the entire approach and attitude of the University changed radically...

They are now recognized as National Leaders in NAGPPRA...

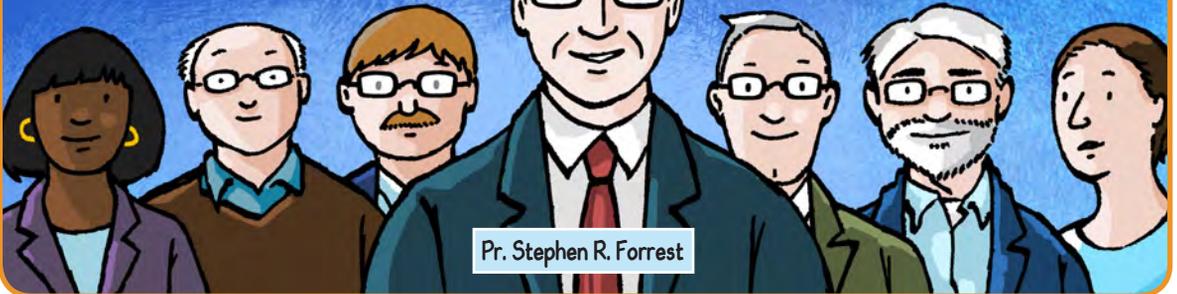
... for their written policy of returning associated funerary objects with "culturally unidentifiable" remains...

... even though it's not **required** by the law.



The University asked Pr. Stephen R. Forrest - Vice President for Research - to create a new team:

The Advisory Committee on Culturally Unidentifiable Human Remains under NAGPPRA.



Pr. Stephen R. Forrest

This Committee is responsible for policies and procedures relating to NAGPPRA...

... and for reviewing all submissions regarding so-called culturally unidentifiable material in the University's collection...



Chair: Pr. Toni Antonucci - Associate Vice President for Research



... through a "Consultation First" approach which finally gives tribes the opportunity to share traditional knowledge as evidence of cultural affiliation.¹²

As a result, remains of tribal ancestors and cultural materials were returned, and reburied in a "Recommitment to the Earth" ceremony at the Nibokaan Ancestral Cemetery in Mt. Pleasant, Michigan.

We have sent word out to the entire community - all the different tribes in the Michigan area:

... the Pottawatomi, the Ojibwe, the Ottawa...

... all the Anishinabe peoples...

... as well as staff from the University of Michigan...

... so that they can all participate.

These are new ceremonies for our people.

Our ancestors never had to rebury - but we have to today.

This is just one repatriation. There are many more that we need to complete.

As we lay down our ancestors today, we're already thinking of who's going to be next.¹³

Shannon Martin, Ojibwe & Pottawatomi,
Director, Ziibiwing Center

This is a significant milestone as we work to fulfil the letter and the spirit of the law mandating the repatriation of these collections...¹⁴

... and we now see NAGPRA as an opportunity to create lasting working relationships with Native American tribes, rather than just a compliance issue.¹⁵

By respecting the cultural perspective of the tribes, we are looking at entirely new research collaborations that will advance our knowledge of Native American lifeways for the benefit of all.¹⁶

Stephen R. Forrest - Vice President for Research

Ben Secunda - NAGPRA Project Manager

Toni Antonucci - Associate Vice President for Research

From where we stand today, it looks like the new regulations have finally resolved some of the acknowledged areas of confusion within NAGPRA.¹⁷

These remains are ancestors of Native American students on campus, myself included, and we are looking forward to their return to our communities.¹⁸

What we have to understand and what we have to get the public to understand is that these tribes are living, breathing cultures.¹⁹

Veronica Pasfield - Bay Mills Indian Community member

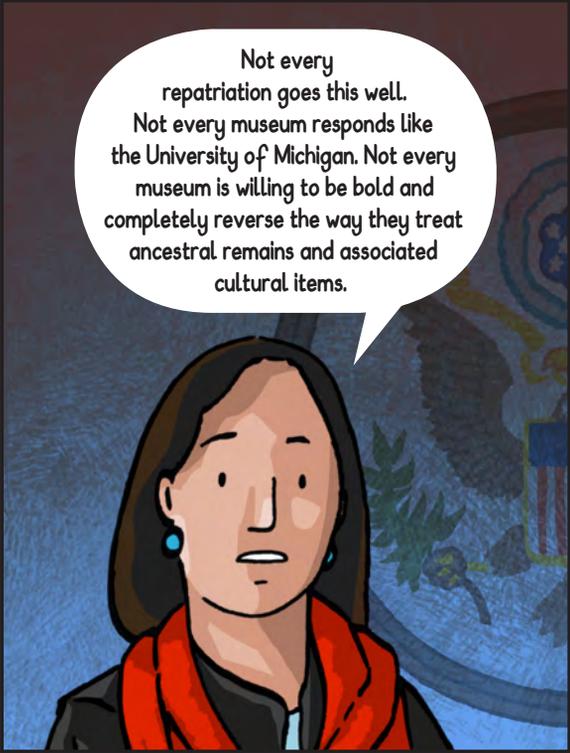
Alys Alley - Native American Student Association Co-chair

William Johnson, Saginaw Chippewa, Curator, Zibiwing Center

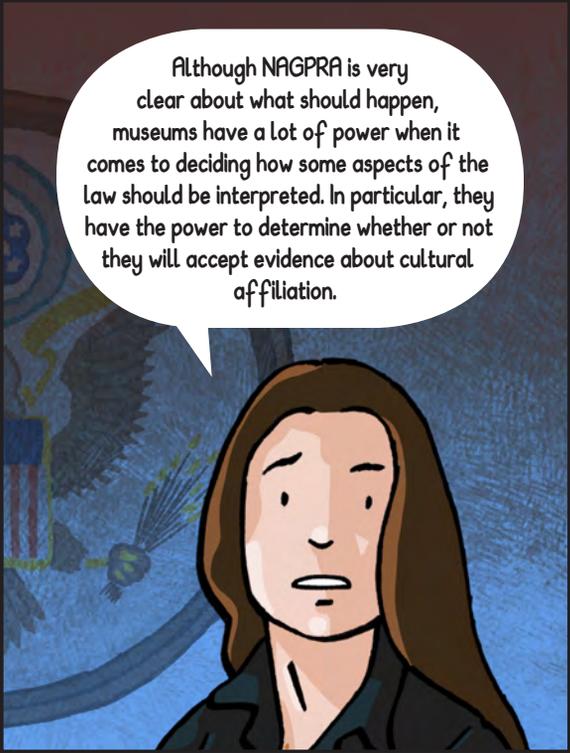
This story shows very clearly how approaching the issue of repatriation of "culturally unidentifiable" ancestral remains and cultural items under NAGPRA can be done differently.

But it requires leadership from both sides - to find a new way forward that isn't about confrontation, but about working together.

However, sometimes this DOESN'T happen...

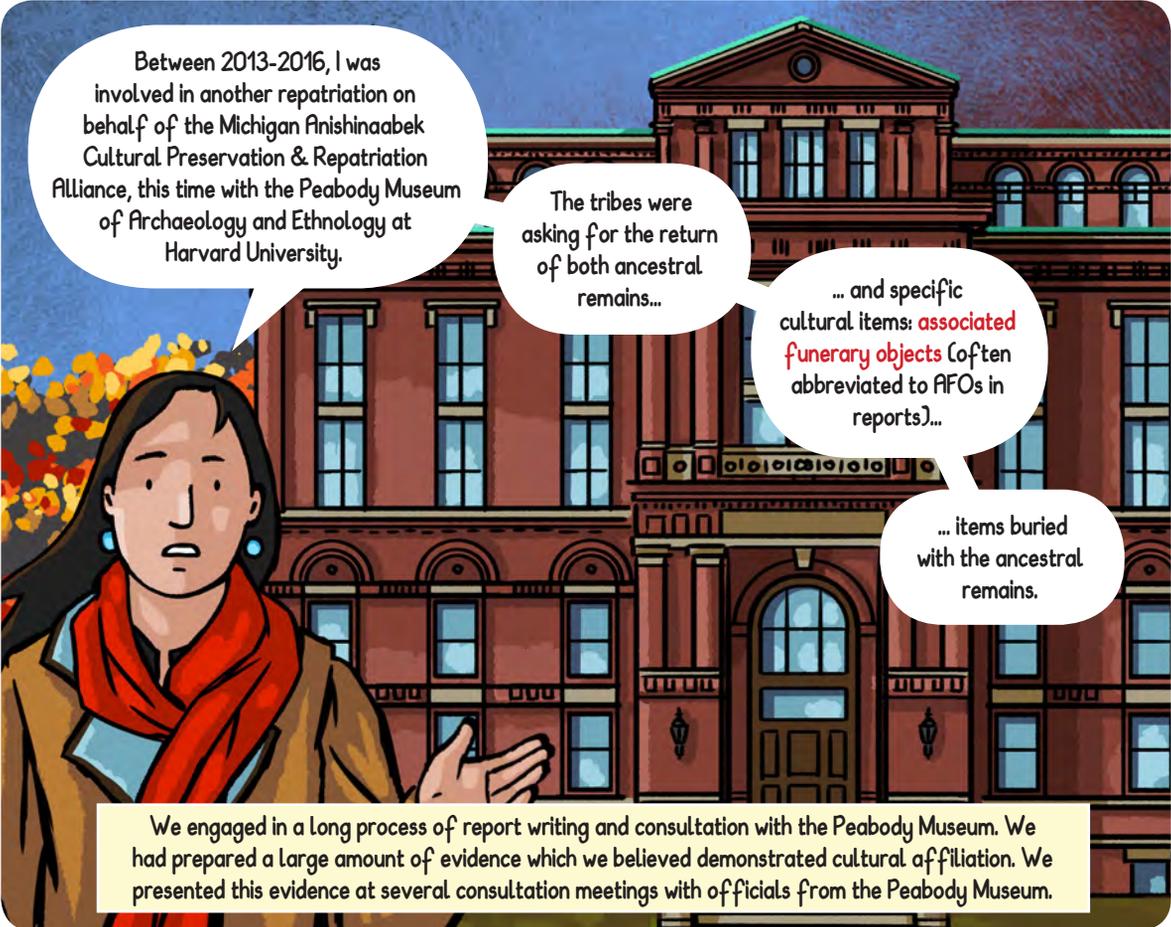


Not every repatriation goes this well. Not every museum responds like the University of Michigan. Not every museum is willing to be bold and completely reverse the way they treat ancestral remains and associated cultural items.



Although NAGPRA is very clear about what should happen, museums have a lot of power when it comes to deciding how some aspects of the law should be interpreted. In particular, they have the power to determine whether or not they will accept evidence about cultural affiliation.

So the law gives museums and other institutions the final decision-making authority. They are required to consult, but can then choose to ignore or accept the oral histories or other forms of evidence which tribes share.



Between 2013-2016, I was involved in another repatriation on behalf of the Michigan Anishinaabek Cultural Preservation & Repatriation Alliance, this time with the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at Harvard University.

The tribes were asking for the return of both ancestral remains...

... and specific cultural items: **associated funerary objects** (often abbreviated to AFOs in reports)...

... items buried with the ancestral remains.

We engaged in a long process of report writing and consultation with the Peabody Museum. We had prepared a large amount of evidence which we believed demonstrated cultural affiliation. We presented this evidence at several consultation meetings with officials from the Peabody Museum.

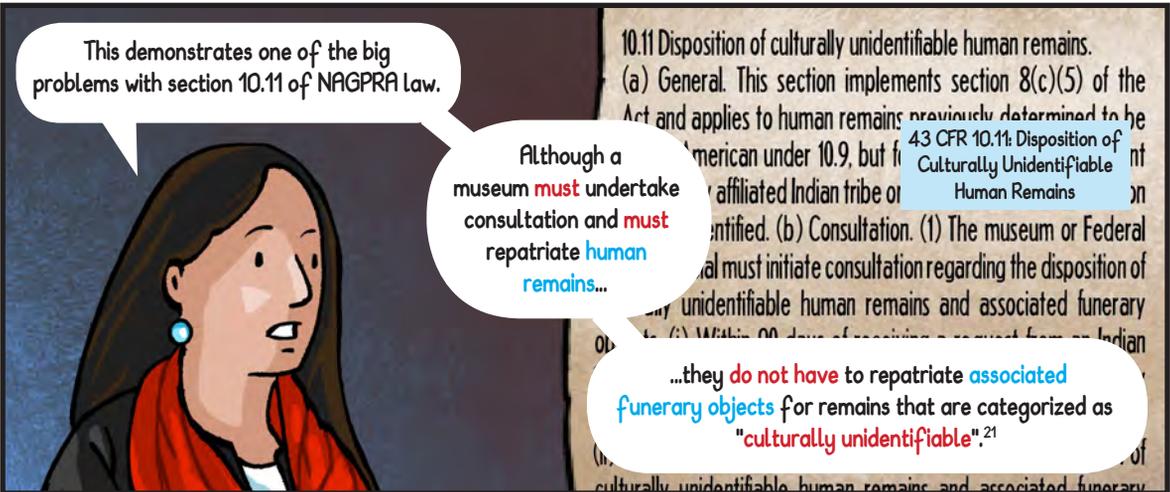
Some of the evidence we presented was in the form of oral histories and traditional knowledge...

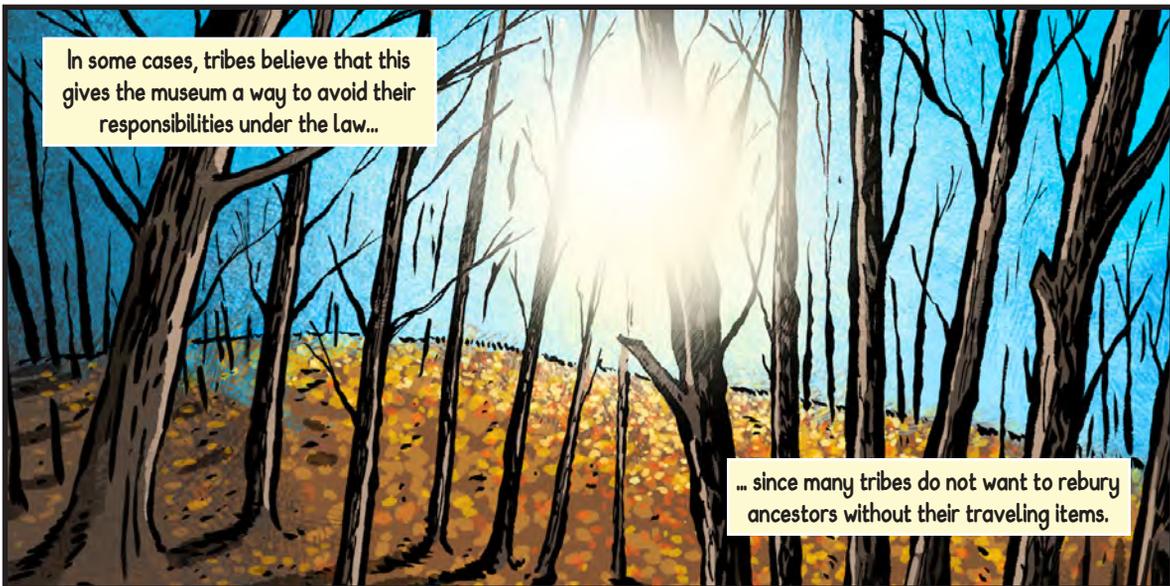


The consultations we had with the Peabody Museum about this were... difficult.



They would not culturally affiliate all the ancestors - categorizing some of them as "culturally unidentifiable". As a result, although they agreed eventually to return the physical remains, under the 10.11 section of the law they were not obliged to return the traveling items that had originally been buried with them.





In some cases, tribes believe that this gives the museum a way to avoid their responsibilities under the Law...

... since many tribes do not want to rebury ancestors without their traveling items.

But in this case, the tribes decided they would **not** let the Peabody's decision stop them from reburying the ancestors.



Instead, when they brought the ancestral remains home for reburial...

... they discovered that the community had come together and made new traveling items...

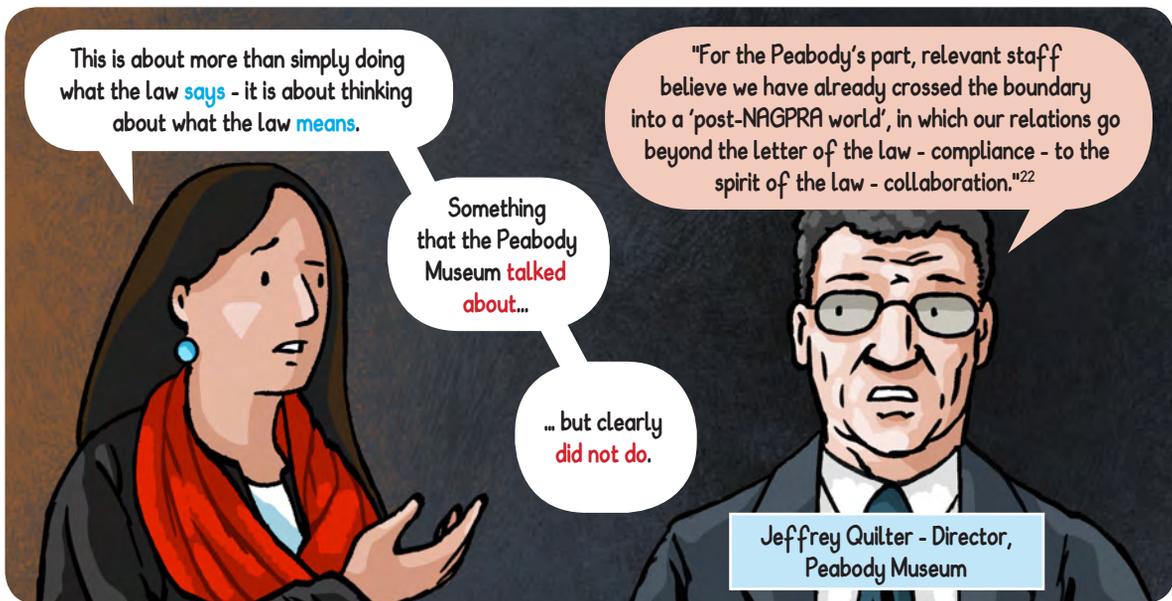
... using the museum's own records to determine what would be appropriate for each ancestor.



Individuals who work in museums like the Peabody should understand that if they hold ancestral remains and associated funerary objects that they are more than just caretakers of artifacts...



... they are stewards of tribes' ancestors. They can use the power they have to move **towards** completing the work of repatriation - and **away** from tactics designed to preserve museum collections.



Changing attitudes like these is part of the challenge of making NAGPRA work.



And with every repatriation, with every Recommitment to the Earth, great healing and reconciliation happens - not only within our community, but with all those institutions and people that may have handled our ancestors through study or research. There is joy that they have come home - that their work is complete.²⁴

REFERENCES & RESOURCES

1. Despite the 1st Amendment in the US Constitution, Native American religious rights were not protected until 1978 when Congress passed the American Indian Religious Freedom Act. The act concludes that "henceforth it shall be the policy of the United States to protect and preserve for American Indians their inherent right of freedom to believe, express, and exercise the traditional religions of the American Indian, Eskimo, Aleut, and Native Hawaiians, including but not limited to access to sites, use and possession of sacred objects, and the freedom to worship through ceremonials and traditional rites." NAGPRA is considered to be the necessary completion of these rights: the return of disinterred ancestors and the return of sacred items needed for Native religious practices. <http://uscode.house.gov/statutes/pl/95/341.pdf>
2. These numbers (McKeown, p. 10) refer to individuals that can be addressed through NAGPRA. As mentioned earlier, NAGPRA does not apply to non-Federally recognized tribes. It also does not apply to collections outside the United States and private collections or institutions that receive no federal funding support. NAGPRA does not apply to collections housed within the Smithsonian Institution, but they are covered by a similar law, the National Museum of the American Indian Act, which was passed a year before NAGPRA. For more information about the social history of NAGPRA, see: Kathy S. Fine-Dare, "Grave injustice: the American Indian repatriation movement and NAGPRA". U of Nebraska Press (2002). For a details of the congressional and legislative history of NAGPRA see Timothy C. McKeown, "In the Smaller Scope of Conscience: The Struggle for National Repatriation Legislation, 1986-1990". University of Arizona Press, (2013:10).
3. For the sake of consistency, we use the terms "Native peoples" or "tribes" to mean all those to whom the law refers in full, "ancestral remains" to mean human remains, and "cultural items" to refer to things such as pots, funerary objects, etc.. For a more complete and detailed discussion of the terms and definitions used in NAGPRA, refer to the law itself, published online at: <https://www.nps.gov/archeology/tools/laws/nagpra.htm>
4. For more on the use - and misuse - of the "culturally unidentifiable" category by museums, see: Rebecca Tsosie, "NAGPRA and the Problem of 'Culturally Unidentifiable' Remains: The Argument for a Human Rights Framework", published in the Arizona State Law Journal (2012), and James Riding In, Cal Seciwa, Suzan Shown Harjo, Walter R. Echo-Hawk & Rebecca Tsosie, "Protecting Native Human Remains, Burial Grounds and Sacred Places: Panel discussion, Wicazo Sa Review, Volume 19, No. 2. (2004).
5. Paraphrased from the following paragraph in Tsosie, op. cit. The article summarises the conclusions of a 2010 Conference entitled "Repatriation at Twenty: A Gathering on Native Self-Determination and Human Rights":
The vision statement acknowledged the moral, spiritual, and legal obligation of Native peoples to defend their ancestors and rejected the notion that there is a category of Native remains that can be designated as "culturally unidentifiable" and given to the "realm of science and museums." Rather, the participants believed that present-day Indian tribes and Native Hawaiian organizations have a shared group identity with past cultures belonging to the indigenous homelands that bind both past and present Native peoples.
The idea that the term "culturally unidentifiable" is offensive has been expressed by many who have given testimony in NAGPRA hearings. One succinct example is the following statement, given by Mr. Shane Anton, Cultural Preservation Program Manager, Salt River Pima-Maricopa Indian Community, at a 2012 NAGPRA Review Committee meeting:
"...the concept of "culturally unidentifiable human remains" is inappropriate, upsetting and offensive"
6. Also from the above article by Matthew L.M. Fletcher on "Turtle Talk", the blog of the Indigenous Law and Policy Center at Michigan State University College of Law: <https://turtletalk.wordpress.com/2008/04/17/detroit-news-tribe-demands-remains-from-u-m/>. Quotes added for emphasis.
7. *ibid.*
8. The Michigan Daily, March 16th, 2010. <https://www.michigandaily.com/content/change-act-may-make-museum-anthropology-return-native-american-remains-0>
9. As reported by Joseph Sowmick. "Remarks from Saginaw Chippewa to University of Michigan Board of Regents". Tribal archives, accessed via Sonya Aitalay, pers. comm.

10. *ibid.* See also: M-Live, March 21st, 2008. http://blog.mlive.com/annarbornews/2008/03/protesters_urge_return_of_ance.html
11. We're not sure exactly what Katherine White said, but whatever her argument was, it not only resulted in a complete change of policy, but a change of attitude as well.
12. The University of Michigan is now regarded as a national leader with regards to NAGPRA, and their example is one that many museums in similar situations would do well to follow. For their new guidelines, see: <http://nagpra.umich.edu/repatriation-disposition-process/>
13. Paraphrased from Martin's narration to "Recommitment to the Earth Ceremony at the Nibokaan Ancestral Cemetery". Video, plus additional comments from the accompanying article. Michigan University Record, January 7th, 2014. <https://record.umich.edu/articles/u-m-reaches-milestone-transferring-native-american-remains> . Video also on YouTube at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nllVLUJpJk>
14. Michigan University Record, January 7th, 2014. <https://record.umich.edu/articles/u-m-reaches-milestone-transferring-native-american-remains>
15. Michigan Daily, Dec. 20th, 2013. <https://www.michigandaily.com/news/administration-tribe-leaders-celebrate-change-native-american-remains-policy>
16. Michigan University Record, January 7th, 2014. <https://record.umich.edu/articles/u-m-reaches-milestone-transferring-native-american-remains>
17. Ann Arbor News, March 15th, 2010. <http://www.annarbor.com/news/new-rule-prompts-university-of-michigan-to-re-examine-holdings-of-native-american-human-remains/>
18. The Michigan Daily, March 16th, 2010. <https://www.michigandaily.com/content/change-act-may-make-museum-anthropology-return-native-american-remains-0>
19. "Turtle Talk", the blog of the Indigenous Law and Policy Center at Michigan State University College of Law. <https://turtletalk.wordpress.com/2008/04/17/detroit-news-tribe-demands-remains-from-u-m/>
20. For a general discussion of Harvard Peabody's lack of commitment to meaningful consultation, "intentionality" and reluctance to accept Native arguments for cultural affiliation, see: D. Rae Gould, "NAGPRA, CUI and Institutional Will", in *The Routledge Companion to Cultural Property*, Routledge (2017).
21. 43 CFR 10.11, sub-section C (4), reads: "A museum or Federal agency may also transfer control of funerary objects that are associated with culturally unidentifiable human remains. The Secretary recommends that museums and Federal agencies transfer control if Federal or State law does not preclude it." The use of the word "may" is intentional, and contrasts with the use of the word "must" when talking about transferring control of human remains. Note also that although we have used the word "repatriation" here for the sake of consistency, 10.11 refers to "disposition".
22. Ivan Gaskell and Jeffrey Quilter, "Museums - Crossing Boundaries" in the journal *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics*, 52, (2007). Some critics have interpreted his remarks to indicate a willingness to ultimately modify Museum policy; others, however, point to the huge gulf between this statement and the Museum's well-documented obstruction with regards the "spirit" of NAGPRA. For more, see D. Rae Gould *op. cit.*
23. The Society for Advanced Research has some really useful information about reuniting collections with communities, starting dialogue, changing museum policies, and contributing to museum records. Although they stress that the information they provide is not specifically about NAGPRA and is not intended as a resource for repatriations, the information is useful in understanding how to build meaningful relationships with institutions. Start by downloading their guidelines at: <http://sarweb.org/guidelinesforcollaboration/>. Then have a look at their case studies to see how they might apply to your situation. Talking to Tribal Historic Preservation Officers is also a good place to start - the National Association of Tribal Historic Preservation Officers can give advice: <http://www.nathpo.org/contact.html> and <http://nathpo.org/wp/thpos/find-a-thpo/>
24. Based on a quote from Martin's narration to "Recommitment to the Earth Ceremony at the Nibokaan Ancestral Cemetery". Video, plus additional comments from the accompanying article. Michigan University Record, January 7th, 2014. <https://record.umich.edu/articles/u-m-reaches-milestone-transferring-native-american-remains> . Video also on YouTube at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nllVLUJpJk>

WHAT DO WE DO NEXT?

NATIVE NATIONS

Native Nations who are working to repatriate ancestral remains, sacred objects or objects of cultural patrimony can contact the National NAGPRA Program at <https://www.nps.gov/orgs/1335/contactus.htm> with any questions or for guidance getting started and writing NAGPRA grants. You can attend National NAGPRA meetings to learn from Tribal Historic Preservation Officers from other communities about what has been effective. As the cases in this book demonstrate, building alliances can provide support and be useful for making joint claims. MACPRA is one excellent example of how tribes in Michigan formed an effective alliance: <https://www.macpra.org>. For resources and information about international repatriation, see <https://www.indian-affairs.org/international-repatriation-project.html>.

STAFF IN MUSEUMS

Staff in Museums can reach out to National NAGPRA for assistance or with questions: <https://www.nps.gov/orgs/1335/contactus.htm>. We've noticed that museums which aren't fully compliant with NAGPRA may be reluctant to do so. Our experience has been that everyone wanting to complete the work of repatriation is more than happy to provide assistance, guidance, and helpful advice. National NAGPRA is a fantastic and friendly resource at any stage of the process. We encourage you to attend National NAGPRA Review Committee meetings. And, most importantly, contact tribes and Alaska Native and Native Hawaiian Organizations to talk through ways you can work in partnership to move your repatriation work forward. A good source for tribal contacts is NATHPO: <http://www.nathpo.org/contact.html> and <http://nathpo.org/wp/thpos/find-a-thpo/>

UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

University Students who are concerned about repatriation can talk to your campus museum or Anthropology Department. Ask if they hold ancestral remains of Native Americans or other Indigenous peoples, sacred objects, or objects of cultural patrimony. Does your University have a NAGPRA or repatriation policy? If not, encourage them to develop one. The University of Michigan has an excellent online policy that can be used as a guide: <http://nagpra.umich.edu/repatriation-disposition-process/>. You might also offer to volunteer at your University's museum to assist with their inventory process, help write a NAGPRA consultation grant, or assist in conducting cultural affiliation research. Beyond NAGPRA, indigenous peoples around the globe are working to repatriate their ancestors and you can help by learning more about your University's wider repatriation policies and practices.

HISTORICAL SOCIETIES AND PRIVATE COLLECTORS

Historical Societies & Private Collectors can also follow the NAGPRA process. Even if your organization isn't required by law to comply with NAGPRA, you can still do the right thing and follow the spirit of the law. Reach out to tribes, lineal descendants, and Native organizations whose homelands are in the areas where your collections originated. Faculty or students from local universities may have an interest in assisting with research as part of a community-based research and teaching effort. Working together to complete the work of repatriation is a great way to build partnerships that can blossom into other collaborative projects.

All people can become involved in protecting sacred sites and Indigenous cultural heritage around the country and the world. For more information about the protection of sacred sites and human rights, see the work of the National Council of American Indians: <http://www.ncai.org/policy-issues/community-and-culture/rel-freedom-and-sacred-places>