The Professionalization of Indigeneity in the Carib Territory of Dominica

Jennifer Shannon

The Kalinago people are the origin—along with the "peaceful Arawaks"—of those enduring stereotypes of Native peoples as "noble savages" or "fierce cannibals" that Christopher Columbus conjured up in the late-fifteenth century.[1] More widely known as Island Caribs, most people know the Kalinago, as they prefer to be called, to be one of the first indigenous groups that Columbus met in the Caribbean on his second voyage in 1493. As a result of colonial conquest and resistance they were pushed into an inaccessible, mountainous corner of the small island of Waitukubuli, or Dominica (fig. 1). After two hundred years of concerted resistance to colonial powers, the Kalinago were subsequently decimated by disease, slave raiding, and genocidal warfare, to the point that today, most people think there are no indigenous peoples left in the Caribbean (fig. 2).[2]

In the literature, scholars have mainly presented a proud and rebellious Carib history until the eighteenth century,[3] and a comparatively weak contemporary Carib "ethnicity" or "identity" characterized by culture loss and assimilation.[4] Local textbooks only present Caribs to Kalinago children as part of "Amerindian" prehistory or cannibals whom Columbus met in 1493.

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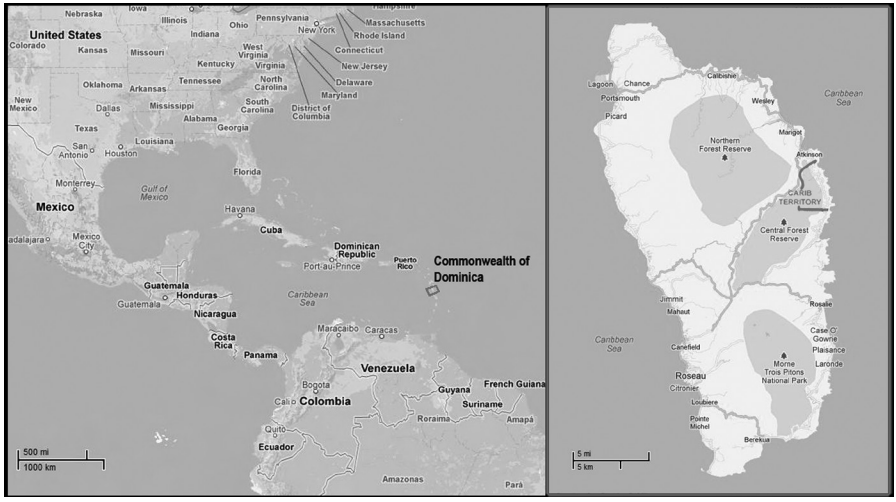

Figure 1. *Carib Territory on the Island of Dominica. Source: adapted by the author from "Commonwealth of Dominica" map, Google Maps (January 12, 2012).*

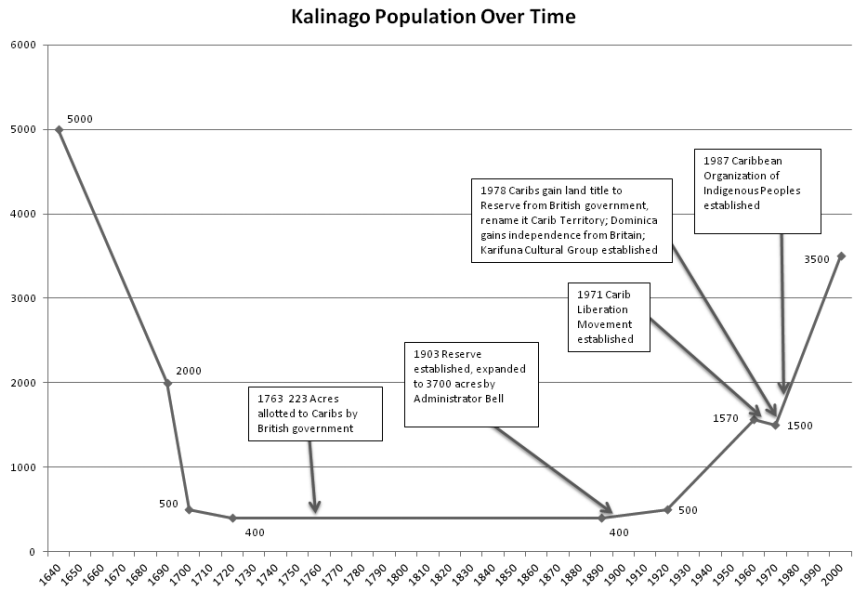

Figure 2. *Kalinago Population over Time. Numbers accounted for in the nearest decade.*

The Carib Territory, then, is an ideal location to consider the origins and contemporary renderings of the intersection of indigenous representations and Western desire, and how the value of "indigenousness" and indigenous knowledge has changed over time.

The misconception that there are no indigenous peoples left in the Caribbean was one of the reasons the Kalinago were invited to be included in the inaugural exhibitions of the Smithsonian's National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI), which opened in 2004. A description of the not-yet-open *Kalinago Barana Autê* or "Carib Village by the Sea" (KBA) was featured in the NMAI exhibition under its earlier name, Carib Model Village. The KBA opened in 2006 and is one of the newest and main features to attract tourists to the Territory. Described as a "heritage complex" by its manager, the KBA is the culmination of more than twenty-five years of planning by the Kalinago people, although it is run by the Dominican government.

I had learned about the Kalinago Barana Autê through various trips to the Carib Territory, first as a curatorial research assistant for the NMAI and later as a graduate student documenting the NMAI's exhibition-making process. I was a curatorial research assistant from 1999 to 2002 in Washington, DC, and then from 2004 to 2006, for my dissertation research, I ethnographically documented the production, reception, and interpretation of the NMAI's *Our Lives: Contemporary Life and Identities* exhibition, which featured the Kalinagos. In 2005 I traveled to the Carib Territory in Dominica to conduct interviews and work with the individuals who co-curated the Kalinago exhibit in the *Our Lives* gallery. At the time, one of my questions was, why were these particular people selected to represent their community to the Smithsonian and to the world?[5] Referred to as "community curators" or "co-curators," Garnette Joseph, Prosper Paris, Sylvanie Burton, Gerard Langlais, Cozier Frederick, Irvince Auguiste, Jacinta Bruney, and Alexis Valmond had developed the content for the NMAI exhibit about who the Kalinago are and what their lives are like today, including the Carib Model Village or KBA. During these various visits to the Kalinago community I discovered that a core of this small group selected for work with the NMAI were also on the task force to develop the KBA, had presented at international organizations overseas, and had been working on developing "cultural consciousness" in the Territory since the late 1970s.

In 2007 I returned to the Carib Territory to visit the recently opened KBA. Kalinago tour guide Sirena Frederick led me and a group of Quest cruise line passengers through the visitor center at the front of the complex, which is a lush landscape filled with a series of hut-like "traditional" Kalinago thatched structures, Kalinago foods and crafts for sale, and a small waterfall and trail.[6] As she pointed to photographs on the visitor center's text panels, Frederick

emphasized that Columbus did not discover Dominica, and that while he gave the Kalinago the name "Carib" and the word derives from "cannibal," "that was never true." After teaching us some Carib words, she then pointed to the hammock that hangs above a wall panel with an image of Christopher Columbus on it. She said it took Territory youth more than five hundred hours to make the hammock in the traditional way. Joking that the Kalinago hammock was hiding Columbus' face, she pulled it aside momentarily and irreverently let it drop again, causing laughter all around. He did not discover Dominica, she repeated. Then she traced the route of Columbus and explained how the Kalinago fought "to keep their land." Frederick's introduction, and the mechanism through which she provides it—a tour of a cultural tourism center in the heart of the Carib Territory with a Kalinago in the position of expert guide—highlights the legacies of colonialism and new forms of resistance the Kalinagos practice today.[7]

I want to suggest the concept of what I call "the professionalization of indigeneity" to indicate how some Native people such as the NMAI community curators, who were advisers to the KBA and NMAI, are experts at representation itself—on behalf of their communities and in the production of representations of their communities for the public abroad, yet always with an attention to state relations at home. Professionalization of indigeneity is both dominant culture celebration of difference and a push internally to learn, maintain, and strengthen one's own culture. It is not about political leaders or heads of state, but rather a working class of individuals with shared histories, discourses, and goals who have become sought after for their representational expertise at home and abroad. It also reflects a kind of "colonial entanglement" in settler societies that both oppress and celebrate indigenous peoples. To outline the development of the professionalization of indigeneity in the Carib Territory, this article will analyze the dominant discourses of cultural difference and the everyday practices of particular community members that resist settler colonialism. The professionalization of indigeneity, then, characterizes the shift of a small group of Kalinagos from local political actors to professionals who are in the business of representing their community, nationally and internationally, and who are participating in discourses of settler-colonial resistance by indigenous peoples.

Neoliberalism and the Commodification of Culture

As anthropologist Henrietta Moore explains, "one very dominant view that is widely shared across academic disciplines is that cultural production and issues of identity are now at the core of a new political economy. Culture has become

increasingly commodified, and it has also become the means through which diversification is replicated through globalized processes, experiences and interconnections."[8] A number of anthropologists have illustrated this by examining shared human rights discourse among indigenous peoples that has developed through international organizations and global networks. For example, writing about how indigenous peoples appropriate legal discourse as a tool for empowerment, Galit Sarfaty asks, what happens at the local level when international norms get internalized in local legal systems?[9] I ask a similar question with respect to transnational conceptions of indigenous culture and identity. However, rather than focusing on human rights discourse, I look at the shared discourse on indigenous identity and "culture as resource" that has become widespread in indigenous communities, museums, and cultural tourism. I place this discursive development in a wider context by highlighting two tacks: I first focus on changing regimes of value and political struggle; my second focus is on the market and its influence on cultural identities. There are elements of both in the case of the Kalinagos.

The expansion of capitalism and consumerism has "intensified the value of 'culture' and indigenous identities."[10] Consumerism and capitalism, described as a "system of values," has also fueled specific kinds of transnational ideas of indigeneity, particularly from settler-colonial nations, that are interpreted and produced locally.[11] Terry Turner explains "the essential idea" that "'culture' is the means by which a society maintains its morale and capacity for action, including both political action vis-à-vis the national society and the reproduction of its own pattern of life."[12] Turner further claims that culture has "tended to replace nationalism as a political resource in struggles for states and empowerment within a nation-state," and that cultural identities have become an avenue through which to assert social power and to struggle for collective social production. "This is a struggle for social production in the broadest sense," he writes, "not merely 'cultural' politics at the level of 'discourse' or 'imagination.'"[13] In addition, more and more Native peoples are finding ways for cultural production and representation to be a much needed source of revenue and pride in their communities. Therefore, the professionalization of indigeneity, which supports and values the resurgence and maintenance of cultural practices and indigeneity, is very much about securing a promising future for the Kalinagos, both economically and culturally. And it provides a means through which Kalinagos can represent themselves and their interests, in their own terms, at home and around the world.

In *Ethnicity Inc.*, John and Jean Comaroff situate these developments within the broader political economic development of neoliberalism, suggesting ethnic identity is increasingly shaped by—and in some cases produced for—the market.[14] According to David Harvey, from the 1970s onward, the turn to

neoliberalism—emphasizing deregulation, privatization, private property, and the increasing influence of international institutions on global markets—"proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade." Now hegemonic, neoliberal discourse is the common-sense way of seeing the world today,[15] providing the context and setting the conditions in which the Dominican government and economy operate. In part, neoliberal discourse explains the current pressures to privatize the Territory, as well as debates within the Kalinago community on whether to do so.[16]

Anticipating Jean and John Comaroff's argument in *Ethnicity Inc*., Maximilian Forte describes a community of about thirty Caribs on the island of Trinidad and Tobago who, primarily for state recognition and economic opportunity, in 1976 incorporated as a limited-liability company. Since then, as a group with indigenous identity, they have had far more visibility, legitimation, and state recognition. Forte locates the indigenous "resurgence" in the Caribbean specifically within the context of the Black Power movement, Creole nationalist ideologies, and the "neoliberal structural adjustment" that took place in the 1980s.[17] He suggests this may in part be due to the "de-homogenization" of the world system and asks, "what happens to ethnic identity and cultural expression under neoliberalism in the Caribbean?" He suggests it is the marketing of "the cultural product" that follows providing a frame "for the (re)creation of *ethnic groups as business organizations*." Strategies of legitimacy are key to establishing value in the market.[18] While this example certainly seems to fit the phenomena articulated in *Ethnicity Inc*., as this case study shows, it does not apply across indigenous communities, or even across Carib communities in the Caribbean.

The Kalinago have been struggling for decades to be recognized and to increase cultural consciousness; it is only since the mid-1990s that tourism and the marketing of their heritage has officially been supported by the state, in part due to a faltering banana industry and a push to diversify the economy.[19] Keeping in mind that their territory has demarcated them as a separate group, the question is, why did the state now become supportive of their ethnic separation, which in the past at times it opposed? Certainly, the burgeoning tourism market, neoliberal forces, and contradictory state attitudes have increased the visibility and forms of expression of Kalinago cultural practices and identities within this national space. However, this is not a case where the market drove the incorporation of identity, such as those described in *Ethnicity Inc*. While *Ethnicity Inc*. provides a provocative and cogent thesis applicable to some instances, it is important to reply with grounded case studies that show other outcomes and employ other frames of analysis.

Neoliberalism and changing regimes of value of difference and indigenous knowledge may have set new conditions of possibility for the state and economy to recognize and celebrate Native identity and begin to value indigenous expertise. Yet before tourism became the main economy in Dominica, the Kalinago had been actively asserting their identity in all domains, especially education. So, turning the thesis of neoliberal causation around, I instead ask, why is it now that the Dominican government chooses to recognize the indigenous identity and knowledge of the Kalinago as valuable assets to the state, given that in the recent past this identity was largely discriminated against and derided? And how does this change affect the lives, cultural expression, and identities of the Kalinago living there? Specifically, why now, after twenty-five years, did the KBA finally open?

The first time government supported a large-scale tourism venture associated with the Kalinago community was in 1996. Anthropologist Kate Hudepohl attributes the timing of this support to cruise ships beginning to visit the island in the 1990s and the Kalinago peoples' lack of the necessary "expertise" to engage in tourism until that time, as well as "the generally negative attitude of the larger Dominican population towards the Kalinago." While the government began construction on the KBA in 1997, it was not completed until 2005. According to Hudepohl, who suggests Dominicans were too discriminatory to Kalinagos to consider their participation in the project useful, the reason for the delay was lack of community participation in developing the heritage site until an outside consultant from Canada was hired. After Kalinago advisers were enlisted, the project opened relatively soon.[20]

I would argue, then, that the development of "representational expertise" has become a kind of resource, a source of livelihood, and a valued form of knowledge in tourism, museums, and scholarly fields. Indigenous international networking, as well as representational expertise more generally, cannot be separated from the larger processes of objectification, multiculturalist discourse, and the heightened value and presence of "culture" in local and national conceptualizations and discourses of belonging. As Elizabeth Povinelli documents in *The Cunning of Recognition*, indigenous peoples are caught up in the dominant society's "impossible desires" for authenticity that are associated with the "liberal forms of recognition" that multiculturalism entails.[21] Similarly, in museums and local heritage sites like the NMAI and the Kalinago Barana Autê, indigenous peoples are often "called upon to perform an authentic difference in exchange for the good feelings of the nation and the reparative legislation of the state"; as these individuals or communities identify "with the impossible object of 'authentic self-identity,'" as Povinelli notes, they must do so without looking opportunistic.[22] Further, as I describe below, in international organizations, tourism, and museums, non-indigenous desires

for indigenous authenticity influence indigenous actors in how they choose to represent themselves for tourists and other indigenous communities—even when they are not specifically called upon to take those desires into account. However, even when incorporating what they imagine to be the expectations of what outsiders want to see, community members view these representational practices as sites of learning and cultural transmission directed towards their own community, as well as sources of income for their families.

Politics of Expertise and Legacies of Colonialism

Facilitated self-representation is now the norm in museums of anthropology and heritage centers, which creates space for "indigenous experts"—an increasingly used term in these institutions for holders of indigenous expert knowledge—to contribute their knowledge to these endeavors. Taking seriously NMAI's written and spoken references to Native American community members as "co-curators" of the inaugural exhibitions, I conducted ethnographic research on the process of creating the community-curated exhibitions at the NMAI, considering it as a multi-sited ethnography of museum and cultural experts.[23] In this article, I expand my theoretical approach to expertise in Native communities by developing the concept of the professionalization of indigeneity, employing a case study approach that focuses on the Kalinago. Through this framework, I show how the politics of expertise can offer an alternative perspective to the seemingly predictable and problematic characterizations of identity politics, and—when considering Native representation—the instrumentalization of identity, as some cases in *Ethnicity Inc.* suggest. This focus on expertise reorients discussions of indigenous representation towards practices of knowledge production and emphasizes the agency of culture producers, but not at the expense of considering the constraints within which they must work.

The role of culture brokers, mediators, and translators has long been recognized in anthropology.[24] So why use the term *professionalization?* Going beyond a mediating role, professionalization indicates employment, a common discourse, being part of international associations, moving in common organizational networks, and benefiting from the market value of culture and indigenous identity. Here I highlight two developments: some individuals now have become representational experts, such as community curators Paris and Joseph; and some institutions in the business of representing indigenous identity—the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Peoples, the NMAI, and the Kalinago Barana Autê, for example—call on these representational experts to be advisers. Each of these practices is engaged with notions of indigeneity and

the possibility of income or access to funding sources. As NMAI curator Ann McMullen explains,

> For early consultations, museums often asked Native people to volunteer their time: the museum could not pay or did not consider what it gained worth paying for. . . . Today, museums commonly engage and pay Native consultants, and this is only fair since museums obviously pay non-Native consultants. This transition has been facilitated by changes in grant funding—such as the National Endowment for the Humanities . . . [where] costs for Native or non-Native "subject-matter experts" can be included in grants and where such participation is almost a requirement.[25]

Indigenous knowledges and perspectives are now valued as a specific form of expertise.

Here, I seek to connect settler-colonial legacies of elimination and recognition to the expression and professionalization of indigeneity. My turn to settler colonialism is twofold. First, it places the Kalinagos who seek to raise "cultural consciousness" in the cultural and political context in which they see and place themselves. Notably, the communities with which they most identify and network are from settler-colonial nations that inspired them through the Native American rights movement. This discourse has become central to their activism. Second, Dominica experienced waves of different forms of colonialism, and this history, together with the notion of slave descendants as settlers, complicates our understandings of (settler) colonialism in productive ways.[26] The Kalinagos fought against extermination by European powers, but what later replaced Carib language and traditions was the slave descendants' patois language and cultural practices, which were based on earlier French occupation.[27] In addition, although the Dominican government has at various times tried to eliminate the special status of Kalinagos and their territory, today it celebrates and markets Kalinago identity and cultural difference as part of its tourist trade.

Scholars have defined indigeneity in many different ways, prioritizing aspects such as history, polity, culture, and ties to land. Within the frame of settler colonialism, Patrick Wolfe explains that, rather than race or racism, "aboriginality is a matter of history; indigenous people can be defined as that group which settler-colonial society has attempted to eliminate in situ (other groups have alternative social bases). . . . Thus the primary object of [settler] hostility should not be defined in terms of race or colour but in terms of prior entitlement, of being there from the beginning."[28] While Wolfe suggests a historical priority to be the foundation of indigeneity, Michael Hathaway links it to a global category of recognition. In writing about Chinese public intellectuals advocating for indigenous status for rural peoples, Hathaway argues that the term "'indigenous people' is not simply a positive replacement for earlier

terms such as Indian . . . tribe, or primitive group, but a social and political category that repositions groups out of local and domestic struggles, and into a position of transnational solidarities, rights, and participation in a dynamic social movement."[29] Finally, S. James Anaya instead emphasizes a pre-invasion presence and a connection to land and ancestors:

> The term *indigenous* refers broadly to the living descendants of preinvasion inhabitants of lands now dominated by others. Indigenous peoples, nations, or communities are culturally distinctive groups that find themselves engulfed by settler societies born of the forces of empire and conquest. . . .They are indigenous because their ancestral roots are embedded in the lands in which they live, or would like to live, much more deeply than the roots of more powerful sectors of society living on the same lands or in close proximity. Furthermore, they are peoples to the extent they comprise distinct communities with continuity of existence and identity that links them to the communities, tribes, or nations of their ancestral past. [30]

Regardless of how it is defined, in many places indigeneity is now a social fact—and also "a concept that fosters particular social worlds."[31]

I continue to struggle with the issue of how to express conceptually in scholarly writing the impact of the current emphasis on indigeneity as an identity, rather than as political or historical status—especially with respect to the associated complex perceptions of identity *within* indigenous communities. Both at the tourism interfaces and in the official bodies of the community, the national marketing of Carib identity can result in desiring "pure kwaib," or pure Carib-looking people, in heritage-sector jobs as well as in Carib Territory family planning, resulting in internalized racism. When writing about either indigenous sovereignty or indigenous identity, scholars must be cautious, as often there can be real-world negative consequences.[32] Citing Jonathon Friedman, Kalinago Kelvin Smith reminds us that "mutable, polyphonic concepts of identity are generally held only by academics. Identity for most people is real and nonnegotiable."[33]

Jean Dennison's notion of "entanglement" well captures this fraught domain. Discussing national rhetoric and constitutional reform in the Osage Nation in Oklahoma, Dennison examines discourses regarding blood, culture, mineral resources, and sovereignty. For Dennison, entanglement is a key concept that addresses the complexities of colonialism and self-determination in settler-colonial societies. Arguing that blood is not "an inevitable way of defining citizens, indigenous or otherwise" and that determining citizenship through blood or culture is a result of colonialism, Dennison details tensions between half- and full-bloods on the reservation that are similar to tensions found today in the Carib Territory.[34] She asserts that "culture, like blood, is a colonial

concept that has been imposed on indigenous people; yet it also serves as an important role in imagining an outside to the ongoing colonial process."[35]

Similar to the entanglements Dennison addresses, the professionalization of indigeneity can be linked to commodification of culture and the production and representation of difference. While it may be empowering to acknowledge indigenous histories, value other ways of knowing, and generate revenue, disempowerment may also result when indigeneity is equated with phenotypes, caught up in local racialized discourse and discrimination, or deemed inauthentic by outsiders for its connection to economic spheres. I hope that focusing on the politics of expertise in academic treatments can free Native identity from being analyzed solely as a form of political maneuvering, and instead situate Native identity within a wider global context of recognition and non-recognition, and expectation and rejection, of specific forms of knowledge and specific representations of indigenous identities.

Following Dennison, I will first present the range of perspectives on maintaining cultural difference with examples of discourses of blood, culture, and sovereignty by prominent Kalinagos. I then address how Dominica is a unique settler nation, with a particular legislative history and indigenous reservation. The Dominican government has been largely hands-off, and in more recent years the slave descendants, rather than the European colonizers, have been seen as encroaching on the indigenous population and lands. Finally, I detail how since the 1970s particular individuals living in this context have formed a small group of cultural activists who have learned from settler-colonial indigenous movements: first building local political interest groups, and later, through cultural and political organizations and institutions, representing the Kalinago people internationally.

Discourses on Race, Culture, and Sovereignty

I begin with the future of the Kalinagos rather than their origins, which have been researched and written about extensively. It is their present, and especially their future, that has often been overlooked in scholarship and politics—and what was highlighted in the NMAI exhibit that they curated about themselves.[36] As Forte explains, assumptions about the extinction of indigenous peoples in the Caribbean "have been made for the better part of the past five centuries," but "the last 25 years have seen a shift from writing about indigenous peoples in a state of decline, facing a future of assimilation, to perspectives on indigenous peoples engaged in resistance, facing a future of resurgence. . . . The survival and revival of indigenous presence, the articulation of indigenous identities, and the struggle for rights within the politics of the

nation-state—all of these are increasingly worked out on a regional scale. It is this combination of themes that builds up into what we call resurgence."[37]

Multiple discourses by Kalinagos about their future are both fearful and hopeful.[38] At the same time, there are everyday forms of resistance to this narrative of absence and a movement towards "resurgence," such as tour guide Sirena's narrative about Columbus, there is also an extinction narrative arising from some parts of the Carib Territory. These hopes and fears for the future encompass cultural and economic concerns as well—the Kalinago community's "social reproduction" by individuals and institutions in the Carib Territory.[39]

In a 2008 article titled "Fighting for Survival?," a BBC reporter writes that "there are fears within Dominica's indigenous Carib community that their population will be diminished, if they continue to mix with non-Caribs."[40] The story continues, "This fear has prompted current Carib Chief Charles Williams to call for marriage to non-Caribs to be outlawed, in order to preserve their heritage."[41] Four months later, another article was published on the same topic, "Love Dilemma for Caribbean People," in which Chief Williams is quoted as saying, "the impact of colonization has been so strong on us that if we do not take steps to protect the race, it will soon be extinct." The reporter then remarks, "Getting the few tourists who do visit Dominica to make the Carib Territory their first port of call is essential and the key to that lays within the tribe's next generation." In the last word on legislation that would prohibit intermarriage, "several people" told the reporter, "You can't tell someone who they should or shouldn't love."[42]

Focusing more on the importance of culture than racial characteristics, in the 2004 NMAI exhibit the Kalinago community curators (identified on page 31) explained that what helps them survive is "cultural consciousness" and maintaining cultural practices. A panel titled "I am Kalinago" that quotes Cozier Frederick, a Kalinago co-curator, explains, "You make a choice to be Kalinago, because you could either be a Kalinago person or an Afro-Dominican. If you choose to be Kalinago, you find there are a lot of obstacles." The panel goes on with a group statement by the Kalinago community curators: "Many of us choose to be Kalinago. To choose to be Kalinago means to accept responsibility for maintaining and promoting our culture. It requires having a strong character to withstand negative stereotypes about our people. Today, more of us are proclaiming our identity. A stronger cultural awareness is emerging every day." Another emphasis of the NMAI exhibit is on the annual Carib Week cultural event: "We have educational sessions, and people make traditional foods and do traditional dances. Every year, more awareness is created in the community. We learn about problems facing our people, our history, where we came from, and where we want to go."[43]

Another narrative, corresponding with indigenous activist discourse from settler-colonial nations, focuses on the importance of land, rather than racial purity or cultural practices. A 2003 booklet that is based on interviews with Kalinagos and titled "Yet We Survive" asserts, "We realise that the Territory should be an independent nation within Dominica—we should have control over our own institutions, like other indigenous nations around the world. Carib people were never treated the best by other Dominicans when outside the Territory."[44] Along similar lines, Chief Garnette Joseph, who was elected before and after Chief Williams' term, wrote an essay titled "The Carib Territory Today," in which he states:

> Many visitors to the Carib Territory are terribly disappointed that they expect the people to be living in their traditional ways. However, the Carib people lost most of their traditional way of life during colonization. Basket weaving and boat making are two of the few aspects of their culture that have survived. There has been a rapid integration of the Carib people into mainstream Dominican life. As the world moves into the twenty-first century, the Carib world is under relentless pressure to give up the last vestiges of their culture. The most crucial threat to the survival of the people as a race is their land.

Joseph then points out that "The Carib Territory is quite unique in that the land is communally owned," the only land in the Caribbean with this status, and that "As with other indigenous people, the land keeps the people together as a family, but the advocates of 'MODERN DEVELOPMENT' are calling for privatization of Carib lands."[45] Chief Joseph is clearly against privatization, a process that conjures up the push to break up reservation lands during the US allotment era and eventually opened them up for non-Native settlers. Chief Williams, owner of a guesthouse, is one of those advocating for private lands.

These two Kalinago chiefs represent different conceptualizations of indigenous identity and self-determination. Charles Williams is primarily a local businessman who is seen as a "more militant leader," advocating for compensation and redress from the national government.[46] Garnette Joseph is a transnational figure who exemplifies the professionalization of indigeneity—attending an overseas indigenous theater program and international conferences, building international networks, and engaging in the discourse of sovereignty and land rights. However, these two leaders agree with most Kalinagos that the economic future of the Territory, once dependent upon banana production, now depends on the tourism industry. People appreciate the opportunity to stay in the Territory and make money, while learning their cultural traditions.[47] As one Kalinago tour guide at the Kalinago Barana Autê explained to me, she had not lived in the Carib Territory until recently, but was happy to get this job and learn about her own culture.

In the Caribbean, tourism is an important economy and a key arena in which culture, race, and self-determination intersect.[48] Real and imagined audience expectations in regard to transnational spaces like the NMAI, UN forums, or cultural heritage sites can drive internal discrimination. For example, I heard two Kalinago leaders say that while Joseph was a good chief, a figurehead who "looks Carib" was needed to go abroad to international meetings because "you don't want a black face in the crowd" among the indigenous peoples at the United Nations. During the plans for the Kalinago Barana Autê, community leaders, including prominent cultural activists, noted that one woman, who lives in the Territory and is considered the best cook of traditional Kalinago foods, was "too black" to work at the heritage site.[49] Similarly, Circe Sturm writes that Cherokee Nation members feel that you have to look Cherokee to work in the "front offices"; consequently she explores in depth the meaning of "looking Cherokee," as race is a central issue in "the debate over what constitutes Indian identity." The Cherokee, like the Kalinago, have a preoccupation with marriage partners and "what kind of person will produce offspring with an acceptable blood mixture." Sturm advocates the Cherokee to "deracialize their national identity," so that recognition is about sovereignty and governance over territory and not over a race-based community—a nation "no longer defined in terms of blood."[50]

One of the central legacies of settler colonialism and its emphasis on biological rather than land-based legal claims is the displacement of indigenous peoples from their homelands and the discourse of race and blood politics with respect to indigeneity.[51] Chief Joseph's appeal to territory as the main way to maintain Kalinago identity is in line with the views of Sturm and Dennison, who seek to increase sovereignty, acknowledge colonial legacies, and advocate ways for their communities to endure and prosper into the future.

Multiple Colonialisms

Ranging from French and British colonization to the rise of slave descendants and Afro-Dominicans as landowners and legislators, Dominica's history has resulted in multiple and overlapping colonialisms. Today, having experienced forces of assimilation through government policies, language imposition, and encroachment on their lands, Kalinagos position themselves structurally as indigenous peoples in a settler colony. Largely, the people who use this discourse participate in the professionalization of indigeneity. In recent decades, this shared discourse of settler colonies has manifested in Kalinagos' demands for self-determination and a nation-to-nation status with respect to the nation-state.

Patrick Wolfe, a central figure in settler-colonial studies, explains that under settler colonialism, colonizers are not dependent on Native labor, nor do they primarily seek to extract surplus labor from them; rather, the main goal is to displace or replace Natives on the land with colonizers' settlements. Wolfe states, "Settler colonies were (are) premised on the elimination of native societies."[52] Wolfe goes on to say that the "logic of elimination," which "strives to replace the indigenous society with that imported by the colonizers," was, among a few other examples, in its "purest form . . . in the case of the . . . Caribs."[53] No doubt replacing indigenous society with their own was the intention of the various colonizers who came to Dominica's shores, but the Kalinagos persisted. Not only the case of the Kalinagos, but accumulating scholarship in recent years on other Caribbean indigenous peoples should finally lay to rest the frequent assumption that indigenous peoples in the Caribbean no longer exist. Moreover, although authors have sought to diversify our understanding of colonialism in its many forms,[54] Dominica's history complicates even further the more nuanced notion of (settler) colonialism that has been mainly associated with North America, Australia, and New Zealand.

Literary critic Shona Jackson argues that Wolfe's definition of settler colonialism does not fit the specifics of Caribbean settlement. Jackson's approach to her research on Guyana is also pertinent to the wider region. She points out that Europeans primarily extracted labor from African slaves who were brought there, that ultimately Africans settled and came into power, and that, "in most histories of the colonial Caribbean, the reason given for the introduction of black labor is, with few exceptions, indigenous disappearance."[55] She argues that the displacement of indigenous peoples is foundational to "producing Creole subjects and citizens" and that, while post-independence policies are supposed to be different than colonial ones, they still assume a colonial stance of increasing assimilation into Creole society. "In dominant settler colonial paradigms," she explains, "it is the white settler who holds power compared to minority groups. However, we must begin to address the ways in which, in the Caribbean . . . those brought in as forced labor (racialized capital) now contribute to the disenfranchisement of Indigenous Peoples." African descendants did not necessarily seek this role of colonizer, so she refers to them as "'involuntary colonials'" who have farmed and built homes, and established their nations, on indigenous lands and are now in positions of power over them. She suggests "to recognize one's own role in the oppression of others is not about blame but about opening our eyes to how power works and how we can redirect it so that it doesn't diminish us all."[56]

Due to Kalinago resistance to the Spanish, French, and British powers, and unique to the Caribbean, Dominica remained uncolonized for about two hundred years after Columbus' arrival. In the sixteenth century, the Spanish

designated Lesser Antilles as *islas inutiles* (useless islands) and "the true homeland of the Caribs," which contained "hostile natives and no gold." The French established settlements along the coast as early as 1632.[57] Although a 1748 treaty between France and Britain acknowledged that Dominica was neutral and belonged to the Caribs, in the early-eighteenth century, after the decimation of the Kalinago population to about four hundred people, French settlements increased. Dominica alternated between French and British rule throughout European treaties and warfare until 1763, when the island was deemed a British possession and the colonial government allotted the island for sale. One 223-acre lot was set aside for the Kalinagos where they were already living, on the inaccessible rugged northeast coast.

Despite English being the official language under British colonial rule from 1763 to 1978, French patois is spoken as the lingua franca to this day, in part because the British were absentee landowners. The island never did become a thriving plantation colony, due at first to Kalinago resistance, but ultimately, because of the mountainous terrain, small-scale farming became the norm. In the end, the settlers who "swamped and absorbed" the Kalinagos were not the British or French colonists, but the escaped slaves, "free coloreds" who bought their freedom under French colonial rule, and later, slave descendents.[58]

In his 1902 "Report on the Caribs," British colonial administrator Hesketh Bell notes that in 1900 there were four hundred individuals in Dominica who "claimed" to be Caribs, but only about 120 were "full blooded."[59] Certain that the race was dying out, he appealed for an expansion to their allotted lands by asserting that "the land in the Carib reserve is of the poorest description and practically worthless" and "politically, the Caribs are now of no account. With the exception that they are exempt from taxation, they are treated exactly like other natives of the island and have the same privileges. In return for freedom from taxation, they are required to keep in order the two miles of high road which traverse their territory." Bell advocated and achieved the establishment of a 3700-acre "Carib Reserve" and convinced the colonial government to recognize the office of the Carib chief. In his "Glimpses of a Governor's Life," Bell also mentions that he was told "the younger generation unfortunately show but little pride of race . . . I said what I could to make them realize that they are now the last remnant of a dying race and they should try to keep their breed pure, but I fear that the claims of ethnology will not have much effect on them."[60] By 1903, then, the government policy was to maintain Carib distinctiveness by setting aside territory.[61]

Chief Garnette Joseph discusses the imposition of British-style governance in the Carib Territory in "Five Hundred Years of Resistance." In 1930, after a confrontation between the Dominican government and the Kalinagos, referred to as the "Carib War," the government discontinued the office of the chief.

Joseph recounts that, twenty years later, after a petition for the reinstatement of the chief,

> the colonial establishment agreed to a "compromise" by introducing the British concept of an elected chiefdom. At the same time, the authorities divided the people by introducing a British-style party system [which] has pitted Caribs against each other, so that politics sometimes take precedence over the welfare of the community. Today party affiliation, a colonial "solution," actually hinders rather than helps Carib development.[62]

At no time was Kalinago title to the land acknowledged by law. In 1930, and continuing to the 1960s, leaders in the Carib Territory sent requests to the Secretary of State for the Colonies to obtain a common land title to the Carib Reserve, and later to the United Nations. They continued lobbying throughout the 1970s.[63] Land title was finally awarded in 1978 when the British colonial government enacted the Carib Reserve Act just before Dominica gained independence.[64] Access to title and lands in the Territory was not determined through blood quantum, as in the United States, but rather according to three principles: a parent is Kalinago; one is born in the Reserve; or a person has lived on the Reserve for twelve years. Many Kalinagos criticize these principles, particularly the last. In a 1994 interview, former chief Irvince Auguiste's brother Kent quipped, "Technically, what it is saying is, that after 12 years you are a Carib. That's magic."[65]

Like Native Americans in the United States, Kalinagos have been both vilified and celebrated by the nation-state and its citizens.[66] Once, there were British colonial "Indian hunts," discrimination, and suspicions of land theft by encroaching African descendants; today, the Afro-Dominican-dominated government celebrates the Kalinagos as a unique aspect that distinguishes their Caribbean island from others. As a major tourist draw, the Kalinagos are listed as one of Dominica's "special features" in tourism brochures, and cruise ships provide both "nature tours" exploring the island's waterfalls and geological features and "Carib tours" that visit the Carib Territory and the Kalinago Barana Autê. According to Kalinago Kelvin Smith,

> Historically, the island's authorities have been resistant to the Caribs' increasingly vocal demands for social and political recognition, seeing it as conflicting with the need to build a unified nation. Given this antagonism to the Carib identity, the necessary promotion of a distinct, culturally different Carib community within tourist advertising has created a dilemma for government policy. On the one hand there is the wish to enable tourism in the Carib Territory and on the other the desire to curb any basis for Carib separatism.[67]

Once granted land title to the Reserve, the Kalinagos renamed it the Carib Territory. The ruling Freedom Party at the time did not use this name because, according to anthropologist Brigitte Kossek, it was "too closely identified with the idea of a nation," but today everyone calls it a territory. In 1994 a Carib council member stated that the Carib leadership "'did make an effort to work out a good Act, but I believe in that time the leaders were not as militant as now.'" The council member stressed that because Caribs were not in contact with other indigenous peoples or rights organizations at the time it was agreed to, the Act did not include "proper legal provisions."[68] The rise of Kalinago political and cultural activism in the late 1970s fostered this critique of the Carib Reserve Act. Among the individuals whom I came to know while conducting research for and about the NMAI, Hilary Frederick, Garnette Joseph, and Irvince Auguiste were activists who became chiefs and worked in a number of political and cultural institutions in the Territory.

Indigenous Cultural Activism

Hilary Frederick had gone to high school in the United States and brought an international perspective on indigenous rights issues back to Dominica. He was elected chief in 1978, the same year the Kalinagos were granted title to their lands, serving from 1979 to 1984 and again from 1994 to 1999. NMAI co-curator Garnette Joseph followed, serving from 1999 to 2004, and then was reelected in 2009. In between Frederick's two terms, NMAI co-curator Irvince Auguiste was chief from 1984 to 1994. According to Brigette Kossek, Hilary Frederick had contacted the United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Peoples and "initiated international and local public relations on Carib issues. His successor, Irvince Auguiste, intensified this work and expanded the contacts to other indigenous groups and representatives" and was instrumental in the 1987 establishment of the Caribbean Organisation of Indigenous Peoples.[69] These chiefs, and their outreach beyond Dominica's borders, resulted in part from their introduction to the Black Power and Red Power movements in the Americas.

Lennox Honychurch, author of *The Dominica Story*, writes of the arrival of the rights movement in Dominica: "It takes time for ideas or fashions to drift down to the Caribbean, and so the effects of the protests in the U.S. were not felt until the very end of the 1960s."[70] While he discusses the "the Black Power boys" and the Rasta movement,[71] neither Honychurch nor others who write about Dominican history or Caribs consider or give specific accounts of late-twentieth-century political formulations or community organizing that

Kalinago people created from within the Carib Territory in response to the heightened race consciousness of the 1970s.

In the 1970s, Kalinago people finally had access to secondary school education, and with this opportunity came a greater awareness that they were "not alone"—that there were other indigenous groups like them, experiencing similar discrimination and struggles.[72] Learning about other Native communities in gaining a secondary education, they also experienced severe discrimination while in close contact with the wider Afro-Dominican population, and these same people came to be the first generation collectively committed to raising Carib "cultural consciousness" in the Territory.[73] This generation included the founders of the Karifuna Cultural Group, which was created in 1978 to raise cultural consciousness about Carib people within and outside the Territory, as well as the Carib Liberation Movement, created to raise political consciousness to progress Carib rights in Dominica. NMAI co-curator Prosper Paris explained to me the inspiration for starting the political and the cultural groups:

> To me the whole consciousness of 1970s was getting up. We had the black power for example in the U.S.— it filtered through the Caribbean. So we had the Dread people getting into identifying themselves as Africans and Rasta men . . . Now, we couldn't identify with *that*. We had to find our roots *also* . . . there was a new image that we should rise up as Carib people. That new generation had to stand up, because everything was not lost . . . People who went through education had a lot of problems, being discriminated against as being a Carib or inferior race.[74]

Co-curators Paris, Auguiste, and Joseph were key members of each of these groups. They continue to advocate for Kalinago political and cultural consciousness today, as evidenced in the NMAI exhibit's text panels and main message, "Kalinago survive despite numerous challenges."

Paris explained that in the late 1980s, "What encouraged me more, in the struggle and in the fight . . . it wasn't anything written about the Carib people. It was a book written about American Indians: *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee*. . . . You see, history was repeating itself."[75] He recounted that Joseph had introduced this influential book of the Red Power movement to a small "circle" of Kalinagos, including Sylvanie Burton and Prosper Paris, who were participating in the Carib Liberation Movement.[76] Both Joseph and Burton have graduate degrees from an indigenous theater program in Canada. Joseph also has training in business administration. Burton completed a course in England on rural poverty alleviation and now works in the development sector; Dominican government officials proudly refer to her as a "daughter of the soil."[77] Paris is a self-taught cultural scholar who has read every book

available about the Kalinago history and language, beginning with Taylor's essay in *Aspects of Dominican History*; he is often called a "cultural icon."[78]

As members of this generation who went to secondary school and advocated "cultural consciousness," Paris and Joseph began in African-oriented cultural groups and then decided to make the Karifuna Cultural group that celebrated Carib culture instead. Paris explained that at this time, "you get an encouragement from other people out of the Territory. And people who would come would realize that Carib become assets to the whole of Dominica, because anyone from archaeologists [to] historians would come to Dominica—they wanted to write, they wanted to . . . meet the Carib chief, they wanted to see what is life [like for a] Carib."[79]

As a result of these accomplishments, Paris and Joseph were called in as advisers to help plan the Kalinago heritage site. During the course of my fieldwork, including sitting in on meetings such as the task force meeting where Paris and Langlais produced the name for the heritage center, I realized that the people who had been selected for the NMAI co-curator committee were people who were consulted as experts on Kalinago history, culture, and language. Kalinago co-curators had also participated in the NMAI exhibit and community task forces, and they had represented the Kalinagos in international indigenous meetings abroad at the Organization of American States, the Caribbean Organization of Indigenous Peoples, and the United Nations. They were chiefs or past chiefs, and members of CLM and Karifuna Cultural group, which has traveled all over the Caribbean as well as to Canada, France, England, and the United States.[80] Prosper writes, "the group has accomplished a number of projects to raise the awareness among the larger Kalinago community of the importance of keeping the Kalinago Culture alive."[81]

During the course of my work with these Kalinago co-curators, I also realized that what set them apart from other community members was that they all had an understanding of Kalinago as an *indigenous* identity, connected to other indigenous peoples around the globe; this understanding did indeed "foster particular social worlds" that others in the Territory may not experience.[82] The co-curators had developed connections with other Native peoples in the hemisphere; they had knowledge and experience in promoting their cultural traditions and community organizing; and they all recognized the difficulties of trying to maintain a positive indigenous identity in Dominica and encouraged community members to be proud to be Kalinago. There are many people in the Territory who don't necessarily have Kalinago "cultural consciousness," the co-curators explained to me, so they continue to work hard to raise awareness in the community.

Conclusion

As in the Carib Territory, Trinidad and Tobago community leaders feel that when they show revenue and infrastructure as a product of practicing culture, community members "at the margins" get involved and "become proud."[83] Or, as they say in Dominica, putting "food on the table" is the first priority, and until that need is met it is hard to get people interested in raising cultural consciousness.[84] Both groups see that more recognition from the outside bolsters their positions with respect to their state governments—as well as to their own community members. Neoliberalism has provided conditions to recognition that seem to be both favorable—for example, valuing difference in the market can drive state recognition—and also unfavorable, such as the pressure to privatize indigenous territories. These developments are contextualized within ongoing colonial entanglements that also shape tensions within the community. Kalinagos see the Territory and their cultural identity as resources and also as providing a capacity for action in representing and maintaining their community.

Museum professionals are well recognized for being expert in the complexities, critiques, and forms of representation they practice on behalf of others. So, too, have indigenous people become accustomed to this form of expertise, through their participation in indigenous organizations, conferences, museum work, non-governmental organizations, and rights movements. These developments contribute to the professionalization of indigeneity, which reflects how indigenous peoples contribute to and practice a common transnational discourse on indigeneity, circulate in familiar networks, and conceptualize cultural and political activism in similar terms.[85] I mentioned this idea to Garnette Joseph and he told me this idea "sounds right." At one point he told me, "I've been representing people half my life."

Muehlebach suggests that in the last twenty years at the United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations, a shift has occurred away from a politics of morality toward calls for valuing cultural and linguistic diversity. She explains that this shift follows the dominant society's movement toward emphasizing information and valuing biodiversity.[86] But I think the current emphasis is not only on diversity, but also sustainability, and in a different sense: making cultural production and cultural representation institutionally supported *and* a viable way to make a living. And, for those who do this kind of work, their efforts come full circle to their own communities who benefit from increased cultural and political awareness. For example, Paris' speech for the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues asserted, "After 500 years of struggling for our survival, we have lost to a great extent our language, religion, and ritual. . . . However, canoe building, basket weaving, and traditional

medicine have managed to survive." All were featured in the NMAI exhibit he co-curated. Later, he explains, "The challenges to us indigenous people are enormous. We need to ensure that indigenous culture forms part of our school curriculum in the community in which we live, where our children can regenerate a sense of pride and dignity of who they really are. . . . Most of us who do *cultural work* do it on a voluntary basis, and we need to find ways and means to sustain ourselves *and this process*."[87]

Along similar lines, anthropologist Kate Hudepohl explains, "a general goal of cultural renewal is ensuring the well-being of the community. This state can occur both through pride in heritage and economic improvement."[88] This point is important. Cultural resurgence is not just about economic interest, and it is not constrained to only the business sector. It is about well-being and the future of the community. People in the Territory advocating cultural consciousness often discuss it in terms of education, pride, and self-esteem of young people, and in terms of overcoming discrimination and creating new opportunities.

The professionalization of indigeneity in this case, then, is the outcome of various historical and political economic developments that include community activism, colonialism and resistance, neoliberal political economic forces, and changing international and national regimes of value. These developments encourage cultural expression and also raise internal tensions regarding who should represent the community in particular circumstances: implicated in fraught discourses of indigenous identity and belonging, the professionalization of indigeneity is not without its entanglements. However, and most importantly, the values that are changing are not just about indigenous culture or identity—that is, indigenous peoples as symbols or objects of knowledge—but also about indigenous expertise: indigenous peoples as producers of knowledge. It is in this development that we have the most to gain. To value indigenous knowledge is to create the conditions for its support and maintenance beyond the local scale, to foster epistemological diversity, and to increase indigenous participation and reward in the representation, marketing, and transmission of cultural knowledge and practices.

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Notes

1. David Hurst Thomas, *Skull Wars: Kennewick Man, Archaeology, and the Battle for Native American Identity*, 1st ed. (New York: Basic Books, 2000).

2. Sources of the population information depicted on the chart by the author in figure 2 are: Crispin Gregoire, Patrick Henderson, and Natalia Kanem, "Karifuna: The Caribs of Dominica," *Ethnic Minorities in Caribbean Society*, ed. Rhoda Reddick (St. Augustine, Trinidad and Tobago: University of West Indies Press, 1996), 107–71; Lennox Honychurch, *The Dominica Story: A History of the Island* (Oxford: Macmillan Education, 1995), 47; in "The Carib Reserve: Henry Hesketh Bell (1902)," *Wild Majesty: Encounters with Caribs from Columbus to the Present Day*, ed. Peter Hulme and Neil Whitehead (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), Hesketh Bell refers to 120 "pure Carib" at 293; Brigette Kossek, "Land Rights, Cultural Identity and Gender Conflicts in the Carib Territory of Dominica," *Law and Anthropology*, ed. René Kuppe and Richard Potz (Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1994), 171–202; Nancy Owen, "Land, Politics, and Ethnicity in a Carib Indian Community," *Ethnology* 14, no. 4 (1975): 385–93; Garnette Joseph, "The Carib Territory Today," *Heritage of the Kalinago People*, ed. Ministry of Community Development Cultural Division, Commonwealth of Dominica (Lethbridge, AB: Paramount Printers, Ltd., 2007), 5–6.

3. Hilary Beckles, "Kalinago (Carib) Resistance to Colonization," *CARICOM Perspective* (1992).

4. Patrick Baker, "Ethnogenesis. The Case of the Dominica Caribs," *América Indígena* 48, no. 2 (1988); Peter Hulme, "Elegy for a Dying Race: the Island Caribs and Their Visitors," *Wolves from the Sea: Readings in the Anthropology of the Native Caribbean*, ed. Neil L. Whitehead (Leiden: KITLV Press, 1995); Peter Hulme, "Survival and Invention: Indigeneity in the Caribbean," *Text and Nation: Cross-Disciplinary Essays on Cultural and National Identities*, ed. Laura Garcia-Moreno and Peter C. Pfeiffer (Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1996); Anthony Layng, *The Carib Reserve: Identity and Security in the West Indies* (Washington, DC: University Press of America, 1983). Brigette Kossek explains, "In spite of the Carib Reserve Act of 1978, the Caribs' claims for special rights are frequently disregarded by the Dominican government. It argues that the Caribs have lost not only most of their phenotypical features, but also their language and other important aspects of their pre-Columbian cultural heritage. This kind of argument is supported by American anthropologist Anthony Layng." Layng did fieldwork in the Caribe Reserve in the mid 1970s, defining the Caribs as a "territorial minority rather than an indigenous group" (citing Anthony Layng, "The Caribs of Dominica: Prospects for Structural Assimilation of a Territorial Minority," *Caribbean Ethnicity Revisited*, ed. Stephen Glazer (New York: Routledge, 1985), 217); Brigette Kossek, "Land Rights, Cultural Identity and Gender Conflicts in the Carib Territory of Dominica," *Law and Anthropology*, ed. René Kuppe and Richard Potz (Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1994).

5. Co-curators were chosen for the "Our Lives" gallery by processes that community members had determined would be appropriate. For example, the Kalinago chief selected individuals, Chicago co-curators were nominated and elected, and in Igloolik the elders' society became the co-curators.

6. The thatching is made of local materials, but the base and support structures include concrete.

7. I later learned that the interpretive panels were created without consultation with Kalinagos by anthropologist Lennox Honychurch, who lives on the island.

8. Henrietta Moore, "Global Anxieties: Concept-Metaphors and Pre-Theoretical Commitments in Anthropology," *Anthropological Theory* 4, no. 1 (2004): 78.

9. Galit Sarfaty, "International Norm Diffusion in the Pimicikamak Cree Nation: A Model of Legal Mediation," *Harvard International Law Journal* 48, no. 2 (2007).

10. Fred Myers, "The Complicity of Cultural Production: The Contingencies of Performance in Globalizing Museum Practices," *Museum Frictions: Public Cultures/Global Transformations*, ed. Ivan Karp, Corinne Kratz, Lyn Szwaja, and Tomás Ybarra-Frausto with Gustavo Buntix, Barbara

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, and Ciraj Rassool (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 507; see also Terence Turner, "Anthropology and Multiculturalism: What is Anthropology that Multiculturalists Should be Mindful of It?," *Cultural Anthropology* 8, no. 4 (1993): 411.

11. Maximilian Forte, "The Contemporary Context of Carib 'Revival' in Trinidad and Tobago: Creolization, Developmentalism and the State," *KACIKE: Journal of Caribbean Amerindian History and Anthropology* 1, no. 1 (2000): 22.

12. Terence Turner, "Representing, Resisting, Rethinking: Historical Transformations of Kayapo Culture and Anthropological Analysis," *Colonial Situations: Essays on the Contextualization of Ethnographic Knowledge*, ed. G. W. Stocking, Jr. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991), 304. Compare to the "birth of Caribism" in Crispin Gregoire and Natalia Kanem, "The Caribs of Dominica: Land Rights and Ethnic Consciousness," *Cultural Survival Quarterly* 13, no. 3 (1989).

13. Terence Turner, "Representation, Polyphony and Indigenous Media: Cultural Hybridity in Kayapo Video" (unpublished manuscript in author's possession, 1996), 6.

14. John Comaroff and Jean Comaroff, *Ethnicity Inc.* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2009).

15. David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 2–3.

16. See Forte, "The Contemporary Context of Carib 'Revival;'" Emma Gaalaas Mullaney, "Carib Territory: Access to Land in the Commonwealth of Dominica," *Journal of Latin American Geography* 8, no. 2 (2009): 71; Kate Hudepohl, "Community Agency and Tourism Initiatives in Carib Territory, Dominica," *Journal of Heritage Tourism* 3, no. 4 (2008): 231–41. Forte explains Dominica in the wider context of neoliberalism; Mullaney shows how Dominican prime ministers espoused neoliberal principles including the support of outside international interventions and an emphasis on private property as an essential mechanism to capital mobilization and development. Hudepohl documents foreign investment in the Territory, as does Mullaney. Mullaney contrasts neoliberal emphasis on private property with the communal land title of the Carib Territory as an important distinction for many Kalinagos in representing their identity and securing it against interests of the state; there is ongoing debate in the community as to the benefits and challenges to privatization of land. Kalinagos, outside the neoliberal paradigm, "are seeking to secure more than ownership because, in their lives, *land is far more than property*" (quote at 92; my emphasis). Mullaney notes that although it is communal land, there are clear traditions of inheritance and use rights, with enforcement through "collective social pressure" that represents an "unofficial form of land management;" an important role of the Carib Council is to adjudicate land disputes (83–86). Cozier Frederick, a Kalinago teacher and graduate student who studies the history and economic development of the Territory, suggests this maintenance of communal property can be seen to underscore socialist principles held by Kalinagos amid a wider neocolonial paradigm (personal communication, April 1, 2014).

17. Forte, "The Contemporary Context of Carib 'Revival' in Trinidad and Tobago," 19.

18. Ibid., 20 (emphasis in original).

19. Cozier Frederick (personal communication, April 1, 2014).

20. Hudepohl, "Community Agency," 234–35.

21. Elizabeth A. Povinelli, *The Cunning of Recognition: Indigenous Alterities and the Making of Australian Multiculturalism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002), 4, 6.

22. Ibid., 6.

23. Jennifer Shannon, *Our Lives: Collaboration, Native Voice, and the Making of the National Museum of the American Indian* (Santa Fe, NM: SAR Press, 2014).

24. Richard Kurin, *Reflections of a Cultural Broker: A View from the Smithsonian* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997); Regna Darnell, *Invisible Genealogies: A History of Americanist Anthropology* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001).

25. Ann McMullen, "The Currency of Consultation and Collaboration," *Museum Anthropology Review*, 2 no. 2 (2008): 57.

26. Taylor describes the Kalinago themselves as colonizers who came to the islands and displaced and assimilated the Arawaks, based on early missionary texts, though the date of "invasion" was unknown. See Douglas Taylor, "Kinship and Social Structure on the Island Carib," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 2, no. 2 (1946): 180–212. Cozier Frederick provides a counter narrative: there is "evidence of the mixture of language used in a common indigenous settlement [which] may attest that there was integration rather than hostile takeover;" in addition, this determination of displacement as described by Europeans may be misleading because "Europeans could not easily discern the differences between Kalinago and Taino/Locono (Arawak) peoples" (Cozier Frederick, personal communication, April 1, 2014).

27. Lennox Honychurch, personal communication, 2005; Nancy Owen Lewis, personal communication, 2011.

28. Patrick Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology: The Politics and Poetics of an Ethnographic Event* (New York: Cassell, 1999), 185.

29. Michael Hathaway, "The Emergence of Identity: Public Intellectuals and an Indigenous Space in Southwest China," *Cultural Anthropology* 25, no. 2 (2010): 303.

30. S. James Anaya, *Indigenous Peoples in International Law* 2ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 3.

31. Hathaway, "The Emergence of Identity," 304.

32. See also Charles Briggs, "The Politics of Discursive Authority in Research on the 'Invention of Tradition,'" *Cultural Anthropology* 11, no. 4 (1996). The argument in *Ethnicity Inc.* seems akin to this—a productive and thoughtful analytical and theoretical perspctive, but one that could undermine claims to identity in ways not intended by its authors.

33. Kelvin Smith, "Placing the Carib Model Village: The Carib Territory and Domnican Tourism," *Indigenous Resurgence in the Contemporary Caribbean: Amerindian Survival and Revival*, ed. Maximilian Christian Forte (New York: Peter Lang, 2006), 81; citing Jonathon Friedman, "The Past in the Future: History and the Politics of Identity," *American Anthropologist* 94, no. 4 (1992): 837–59.

34. Jean Dennison, *Colonial Entanglement: Constituting a Twenty-First-Century Osage Nation* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012), 52.

35. Ibid., 74. See also Circe Sturm, *Blood Politics: Race, Culture, and Identity in the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).

36. Maximilian Christian Forte, "Introduction: The Dual Absences of Extinction and Marginality—What Difference Does an Indigenous Presence Make?," *Indigenous Resurgence in the Contemporary Caribbean: Amerindian Survival and Revival*, ed. Forte (New York: Peter Lang, 2006), 3. He writes, "Whether in terms of demography, symbolic meanings, cultural practices, political organization, or mere commemoration, the indigenous peoples of the Caribbean have, far from vanishing, become more visible than ever. The only way one can 'miss' seeing them is by choosing not to look" (3).

37. Ibid., 2, 9.

38. Although I focus on three prominent Kalinago men here, I do not mean to exclude the contributions of women in the Territory. Women are also prominent activists in the community; for example, Sylvanie Burton and Sylvie Warrington were invited to many different task forces during my fieldwork and are recognized by the community for being "resource persons" who work hard for the community.

39. Terence Turner, "Anthropology and Multiculturalism," 426.

40. British Broadcasting Corporation, "Fighting for Survival?" (BBC Caribbean.com, May 16, 2008), http://www.bbc.co.uk/caribbean/news/story/2008/05/080516_carib.shtml.

41. Ibid. See also Mullaney, "Carib Territory," 79.

42. Andy Gallacher, "Love Dilemma for Caribbean People," (2008), http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/7529143.stm.

43. According to Cozier Frederick, although this is seen today as a cultural event, it was developed in service of asserting autonomy and sovereignty in response to the "1930 agitation," or Carib War, a conflict with nation-state police described below (personal communication, April 1, 2014).

44. Mary Walters, *Yet We Survive: A Photographic Interview Portrait of Carib Life and Culture* (London: Papillote Press, 2007 [2003]), 9.

45. Garnette Joseph, "The Carib Territory Today," in *Heritage of the Kalinago People*, ed. Ministry of Community Development Cultural Division, Commonwealth of Dominica (Lethbridge, AB: Paramount Printers, Ltd., 2007).

46. Cozier Frederick (personal communication, April 1, 2014).

47. See, for example, Jessica R. Cattelino, *High Stakes: Florida Seminole Gaming and Sovereignty* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008).

48. See, for example, Kaifa Roland, "Tourism and the Negrification of Cuban Identity," *Transforming Anthropology* 14, no. 2 (2006).

49. See also Forte, "Contemporary Contexts of Carib Revival," 31n18.

50. Sturm, *Blood Politics*, 114, 122, 145, 208. Kalinago do not have membership or identity requirements as a political group, but rather rights to the communal ownership of Carib Territory lands, effectively determining who has the right to live in the community. As noted below, access to Carib Territory lands is not based on a notion of blood quantum, but on whether one's parent is from the Territory, if one is born there, or if one has lived there for twelve years.

51. Ibid.

52. Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology*: 1-2. Designating Caribs as cannibals empowered colonizers to enslave them.

53. Ibid., 27.

54. See, for example, Ann Laura Stoler, Carole McGranahan, and Peter C. Perdue, *Imperial Formations* (Santa Fe, NM: School for Advanced Research Press, 2007); Caroline Elkins and Susan Pedersen, *Settler Colonialism in the Twentieth Century: Projects, Practices, Legacies* (New York: Routledge, 2005).

55. Shona N. Jackson, *Creole Indigeneity: Between Myth and Nation in the Caribbean* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012), 27. By focusing on the settler-colonial period in which the emphasis was on African slave labor, I do not intend to erase the history of Europeans enslaving indigenous people in the Caribbean. Jackson is the only source I have found in which Afro-descended populations are discussed as settlers and colonial figures as well as Europeans; see page 60.

56. Ibid., 16, 20, 3, 38. On page 60 Jackson refers to her decision to label Creoles as settlers "controversial." I think the label is appropriate, corroborating my similar argument about settler colonialism in Dominica. Shannon, "The Professionalization of Indigeneity in the Carib Territory of Dominica," paper presented at the American Anthropological Association (Montreal, Canada, 2011).

57. Kossek, "Land Rights, Cultural Identity and Gender Conflicts in the Carib Territory," 174, 177. For a discussion of St. Vincent Carib resistance and the "Carib Wars," see Julie Chun Kim, "The Caribs of St. Vincent and Indigenous Resistance during the Age of Revolutions," *Early American Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 11, no. 1 (2013).

58. Lennox Honychurch (interview with author, 2005).

59. Hulme, "Elegy for a Dying Race," 260. The colonial emphasis on race is evident in the various Carib population counts from the seventeenth century, which include how many "pure bloods" are left; almost every archival account in Hulme and Whitehead's *Wild Majesty* addresses this question.

60. Ibid., 262-63, 270. Compare this last quotation to the NMAI exhibit statement, "You must be proud to be Kalinago."

61. Nancy H. Owen, "Land, Politics, and Ethnicity in a Carib Indian Community," *Ethnology* 14, no. 4 (1975): 387.

62. Garnette Joseph, "Five Hundred Years of Resistance," *The Indigenous People of the Caribbean*, ed. Samuel M. Wilson (Miami: The University Press of Florida, 1997), 219. The term of the chief also changed in its new incarnation: it was no longer a life term, but a three-year term.

63. Kossek, "Land Rights, Cultural Identity and Gender Conflicts," 183.

64. The Dominican parliamentary government still holds Carib Territory title despite the language in the 1978 Carib act. In 2008 Carib Chief Charles Williams asked Dominican government for land title to the Territory. Mullaney explains how as a result the Carib Territory is in "legal limbo" and discusses debates within the community about the benefits and challenges of private versus communal land. Mullaney, "Carib Territory," 71.

65. Ibid., 194.

66. Frederick Hoxie, "Retrieving the Red Continent: Settler Colonialism and the History of American Indians in the US," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 31, no. 6 (2008): 1157. Hoxie explains "Native people were vilified as the enemy of the settler nation even as Native survivors of American expansion were later trotted out as symbols of the new nation's humanity."

67. Smith, "Placing the Carib Model Village," 79. See also Nancy H. Owen, "Land and Politics in a Carib Indian Community: A Study of Ethnicity" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1974).

68. Kossek, "Land Rights, Cultural Identity and Gender Conflicts," 191.

69. Ibid.

70. Lennox Honychurch, *The Dominica Story: A History of the Island* (Oxford: Macmillan Education, 1995), 242.

71. Ibid., 243. The Kalinago were influenced by the movement in Canada and also inspired by the US movement. Nancy Owen Lewis, who conducted fieldwork in 1970 and 1972 in Dominica, said she could remember when the Black Power movement came to Dominica: it was when Rosie Douglas, a black activist in Canada who later became Prime Minister of Dominica, stepped off a plane after he had been part of a protest at a university in Montreal where a computer lab was burned (personal communication, October 28, 2011). See also David Austin, "All Roads Led to Montreal: Black Power, the Caribbean, and the Black Radical Tradition in Canada," *The Journal of African American History* 92, no. 4 (2007).

72. Honychurch explains how this process (and co-curating at the NMAI) ultimately leads to Kalinago becoming "colleagues" rather than "informants": "And I think it's a process that started in the 1970s . . . It was basically a Creole culture that had swamped them. But then with this realization of what was happening elsewhere in the Americas, and the improved educational opportunities. . .eventually, you won't need people like Douglas Taylor [the anthropologist] or myself. . .you would view [the Kalinagos] as colleagues" (interview with author, 2005).

73. Along similar lines, former Chief Hilary Frederick advocated for what he called "Caribism" (Cozier Frederick, personal communication, April 1, 2014).

74. Prosper Paris, interview with author, Carib Territory, 2005.

75. Ibid.

76. Garnette Joseph and Jennifer Shannon, "The Carib Liberation Movement: The Legacy of American Indian Activism in Dominica," *Visions and Voices: American Indian Activism and the Civil Rights Movement*, ed. A. Terry Straus and Kurt Peters (Chicago: Albatross Press, 2009).

77. Sylvanie was introduced by non-Kalinago government workers from the Ministry of Culture during a *Heritage of the Kalinago People* book launching at the KBA on November 21, 2007. Many of the speakers at this event urged the Kalinago to "be proud," including the last, who said "culture is truly alive in the Territory. Continue, Kalinago people, keep it strong."

78. Prosper Paris (interview with author, 2005); Douglas Taylor, "The Interpretation of Some Documentary Evidence on Carib Culture," *Aspects of Dominican History: Issued by the Government of Dominica to Commemorate Fifth Anniversary of Associated Statehood with Britain, November 3, 1972* (Dominica: Government Printing Division, 1972): 8–17.

79. Prosper Paris (interview with author, Carib Territory, 2005). Turner has written about a similar development in the 1970s among the Kayapo in the Amazon, and how people who placed value on Kayapo culture helped raise consciousness to a point when in the 1980s the Kayapo began to see their difference as a "valuable resource" and their culture as a focus of political struggle within the nation-state. Turner, "Representing, Resisting, Rethinking," 301-02; see also Hudepohl, "Community Agency," 238. On page 304 Turner describes a shift among the Kayapo from despair in the 1960s, to confidence in the 1980s.

80. Prosper Paris, "The Karifuna Cultural Group," *Heritage of the Kalinago People*, ed. Ministry of Community Development Cultural Division, Commonwealth of Dominica (Lethbridge, AB: Paramount Printers, Ltd., 2007), 15.

81. Ibid.

82. Hathaway, "The Emergence of Identity," 304.

83. Forte, "The Contemporary Context of Carib 'Revival' in Trinidad and Tobago," 30n15.

84. Cf. Hudepohl, "Community Agency and Tourism Initiatives in Carib Territory," 238; Mullaney, "Carib Territory," 88.

85. Andrea Muehlebach, "'Making Place' at the United Nations: Indigenous Cultural Politics at the UN Working Group on Indigenous Populations," *Cultural Anthropology* 16, no. 3 (2001).

86. Ibid., 417–18.

87. Prosper Paris, "The Importance of Education for Cultural Survival," paper prepared for the Fourth Session of the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, May 19, 2005 (unpublished manuscript; my emphasis).

88. Hudepohl, "Community Agency and Tourism Initiatives in Carib Territory," 235.