Elizabeth Edwards, *Raw Histories: Photographs, Anthropology, and Museums*, Oxford: Berg, 2001, 270 pages.
Corinne Kratz, *The Ones That Are Wanted: Communication and the Politics of Representation in a Photographic Exhibition*, Los Angeles: University of California Press., 2002, 307 pages.

Reviewer: *Julia Harrison*
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Edwards and Kratz engage their readers in stimulating narratives that challenge each of us to reflect on every photographic image that we know to be housed or exhibited in any museum or archive anywhere. Both books insist that the reader focus on what Edwards calls the "*punctum*, the inexplicable point of incisive clarity" of the photograph, and try to reflect *all* that one sees there (p. 1, italics in original). Elizabeth Edwards, as the Curator of Photographs at the Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford has spent several years "teaching critical theory of still photography...[and countless] hours, days, months...working with photographs, looking at photographs, talking about photographs, thinking about photographs and thinking about their relationship to history" (p. 1). In her book *Raw Histories* she examines "*specific* photographic *experiences*: how photographs and their making actually operated in the fluid spaces of ideological and cultural meaning" (p. 3, italics in original). Drawing on work on material culture, she explores the social biography of a range of 19th-century images, some taken on various early anthropological expeditions to the South Pacific, and others taken by British colonial officials in various parts of the empire. Her final two chapters focus on recent photographic exhibitions of two contemporary photographers, exploring how their works and installations push the reader to keep on looking at, or at least for, the *punctum* of any photograph, but particularly those that find their way into museum exhibitions and archival collections. Each chapter explores the social biography of a small number images framing them either as a form of intellectual currency between early anthropologists, or examining how when placed in museums and archives they "organized," "trophied" and thus made eminently visible the "exotica" world of the 19th century, or how such images become "the locus of historical power" somewhat ironically creating a space in which "alternative histories" (p. 101) can be explored. Such images, in Edwards' analysis, transform notions of space and temporality as they moved from "colonial encounter to anthropological document" (p. 123), as they became souvenirs, or in some cases, even as some resisted their very taking. Some remain forever in the *what if*, the subjunctive mood. All this is visible only if one looks beyond the image, recognizing the clarity of the *punctum*.

Corrine Kratz's book details the social biography of the images and the exhibition *Okeik Portraits* (as it was called in Kenya) or *A Kenyan People Look at Themselves* (as it was called in the United States). All the images in the exhibition were taken by Kratz during her years of fieldwork with the Okeik, some even being taken especially for the exhibition. Many were of her close friends and "family." The book's main title, *The Ones That Are Wanted*, is taken from a comment of one of her informants who knew full well that it was representations of the Okeik, dressed in traditional clothing suggesting they hovered close to Western notions of "primitive" that those in Nairobi and America would want to see. The Okeik, who live in west-central Kenya, were traditionally forest dwellers, who hunted and collected honey as their main subsistence. Today many are wage labourers, small scale farmers and cattle herders. It was their former lack of the latter that led groups such as the Maasai to consider the Okeik poor and backward. Kratz has worked with the Okeik since the late 1970s and has published extensively on her research. The exhibition arose from her desire to disseminate more knowledge of the Okeik to other Kenyans in an effort to challenge common derogatory stereotypes held of these forest people. In the process of fund raising for the exhibition, American venues were added to the tour. The first section of the book presents the images included in the exhibition and the text panels comprised of captions written by Kratz and commentaries (printed in both local languages and in English) made about the images by the Okeik people themselves. In chapter 2 Kratz details the processes by which the images were selected for the exhibition. She notes that her discussions with the Okeik "focused more on content, themes, and overall goals than on aesthetics and design" (p. 102). Those whose images were in the exhibit, however, never saw the actual exhibition in Nairobi as the contingencies of life intervened to prevent their travel. Kratz returned to the communities with an album of the images and elicited their commentaries which were added to the text panels for the American venues. Three chapters are devoted to "imagining" the audiences who saw the exhibitions in both Kenya and the United States. Kratz was conscious in developing the exhibition that she would have to address the specificity of the stereotypes and common knowledge of people such as the Okeik which were pervasive, yet different, in each country. In Kenya the exhibition showed at the National Museum and in the U.S. venues ranged from the National Museum of Natural History in Washington to smaller university art galleries and even academic departmental hallways. One of the most engaging chapters in the book is the discussion of the role of photographs in daily lives of the Okeik, and Kenyan nationals in general. We see that displays of photographs of important officials and family members, the owning of a camera, and the possession of an album of photographs which documents one's life and family are things greatly valued by the Okeik and others. Photographs are important symbolic referents for these people. In some of her commentary Kratz hints at where the *punctum* of these images lies for the Okeiks. Kratz made an attempt particularly for the final American venues, to document system-

atically visitor response to the exhibition. Her discussion of the dearth of good research on this subject, particularly the absence of good qualitative information, sets the stage for some valuable research projects.

Reading these two books one finds oneself feeling a little like Alice being lured through the looking glass to see the complexities that lie behind the sharp edges of any photograph. One begins in Kratz's gallery, moving towards one's favoured image in the room, and finds oneself at the end of Edwards' book having journeyed through time and space, being challenged to ask in many varied ways what one is actually seeing. Both books are very stimulating in this regard. One's personal focal length is carefully zoomed in and out as one moves through the pages and images of each book. Despite similarities in topics and themes the books are very different in many ways. Edwards draws her examples from British museum and archival collections and colonial histories and scientific expeditions. With the exception of the last two chapters, her discussion deals with 19th-century images—not that this detracts from the currency of her analysis as her concluding chapters demonstrate. Her characters are early British anthropologists, colonial officials and very pointedly, colonial subjects. Kratz's work, despite the fact that her subjects have their ancestral home in a former British colony, is a decidedly American narrative. She notes at the beginning of the book that she wrote it mainly for students, relegating much of the theoretical discussion and commentary to the footnotes. Edwards makes no such apologies. Her text is, in fact, quite dense at times as she grounds her analytical examination of her selected images in the ideological and cultural context of their taking, reproduction and preservation (or in some cases obliteration). She brings to bear a range of theoretical literature to her analysis, a context from which the anthropological examination of photography has been far too long separated. In her substantive examination of her chosen images, be they early museum exhibitions of New Ireland carvings, or two Samoan rivals and supporters photographed on the HMS *Miranda*, or anthropometric images of inmates in Breakwater Jail, Cape Town or Jorma Puranen's recent exhibition of Sami images, the clarity and insight of her position comes through clearly. Kratz also makes extensive use of a wide range of theory in her analysis of the politics of representation, bringing to the subject the sophistication that it deserves. This reader, however, tired of flipping back and forth to the footnotes to find her often insightful commentary and critiques on several substantive theoretical matters. One has to question why students should not be actively engaged in these debates from the very start. Concomitant with this separation of levels of text is the choice of the image for the cover. The image, devoid of captioning, is from the exhibition and shows a young man, Saidimu, with his gaze cast to the side awaiting his initiation with his younger female cousin, Murueet, smiling slightly at the camera while wearing a girl's initiation headdress. This photograph and the overall cover design suggest the glossy colourful images so often used on American introductory textbooks. Such first impressions belie the true content of the book.

A substantial amount of material has been published on the politics of representation in the United States and Canada, much focussing on Native populations of each country and their relations with museums. A percentage of this is written by Native people themselves. Kratz, despite her extensive bibliography, draws on none of this work. There is a tone of "first encounter" in some of her detailed analysis of the production and consumption of *Okeik Portraits*. She concedes at the beginning that it was, in fact, a small exhibition with a limited number of venues, few of them in major institutions. The minutiae of her analysis of the furor generated when the images where shown on a rotating basis without captions in the hallway cases in the anthropology department at the University of Texas seems at times almost too microscopic a point of analysis. The randomness and sparseness of the material which backs up much of her discussion of visitor response for the venues in Kenya and many of them in the U.S. raises the same sense of much being made of very little. The ethnographic method never stresses quantity over quality of data, but all good ethnographies are grounded in a richness of experience and cross-checking of interpretation which builds confidence in the expansion of a localized example into a larger context. As the book emerged as the project unfolded, it is understandable that some of the information gathering processes that might have been used were not initiated from the beginning. Such limitations could have been compensated for by the integration of a wider body of case study materials, many of which are only mentioned in passing by Kratz. The *Te Maori* exhibition, *The Spirit Sings: Artistic Traditions of Canada's First Peoples*, *Into the Heart of Africa*, the *Enola Gay* exhibition, the *The West as America* all provoked much discussion on the politics of representation, launching these debates in the late 1980s in North America. Much of the discussion about the Native American Graves and Repatriation Act has relevance to any discussion of the politics of representation, as does the material from the art world which documents how artists who both are and represent the "other" have challenged stereotypes and engaged with the debates around who gets to represent whom and what happens when those debates are situated in, and thus experienced by visitors to, museums and galleries. The example Kratz does mention more frequently is a 1988 exhibition *Art/Artifact*, which dealt exclusively with African objects, and thus while clearly appropriate to her discussion, the issues that ground her book reach beyond those of any particular continental shores. None of the reporting on these other exhibitions (all of them much larger and seen much more widely) had the degree of visitor response information that Kratz found so lacking for *Okiek Portraits*, but what is available would have added a good comparative context for some of her discussion.

Both books make a significant contribution to the growing level of sophistication of the analysis of the collections and processes of representations which lie at the core of museums and archives. But many who work in museums and archives have always known that there is much that is "good to think" within their walls. Finally, as exemplified particularly by Elizabeth Edwards, but also notably by Corinne Kratz, some of this thinking is bearing delicious fruit.

Ann M. Tweedie, *Drawing Back Culture: The Makah Struggle for Repatriation*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002, xxiv + 175 pages.

Reviewer: *Ed Koenig*
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Drawing Back Culture is anthropologist Ann M. Tweedie's account of challenges the Makah face in their efforts to repatriate cultural objects. The Makah live in the Northwest corner of Washington State, across the strait from Vancouver Island, where other Nootka groups to whom the Makah are culturally linked are located. A great deal of media attention was directed toward the Makah in the late 1990s when they asserted their "traditional" rights to hunt whales that were regarded by environmentalist groups as a species in need of protection. The whale hunt receives a good deal of attention in the book (since whaling objects are an important class among those eligible for return), but she brings quite remarkable insights to a wide range of repatriation issues.

The author's analysis of the repatriation process, as manifested in this one particular case, is appropriately broad, but she pays particular attention to efforts to address the requirements of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA). This law (which is conveniently included in full in the Appendix) was passed in 1990, and it applies only to Native peoples living within the boundaries of the United States of America.

In terms of theoretical contributions, Tweedie's book is outstanding: through her Makah case study, she questions the suitability of several concepts and assumptions that are key to NAGPRA and thereby improves the knowledge base through which the intended results of this legislation might be achieved. Her assessments of this Act, and of repatriation policies more broadly, are equally important as an example of applied anthropology. *Drawing Back Culture* is especially compelling because it is based on sound fieldwork.

The book is nicely organized, allowing for a coherent presentation of often overlapping issues. In the first chapter Tweedie outlines Makah perspectives on NAGPRA, noting ambiguities in how concepts such as "sacred objects," "cultural patrimony" (communal ownership), "religious leader," and "traditional," are understood according to the Act and within the Makah community. Tweedie does not pretend that community perspectives are unanimous.

In the second chapter, through effective use of secondary written sources and some archaeological evidence, Tweedie depicts pre-contact Makah life, which gives the reader background information relevant to current repatriation issues. She reads this evidence as indicating that the Makah's pre-contact ancestors had a strong sense of social stratification and personal "ownership" of things, characteristics not easily reconcilable with NAGPRA's assumptions about "communities." The Makah are apprehensive about repatriation processes, since ownership of "cultural" objects is often only traceable through individuals, and many objects, especially those associated with the whale hunt, were originally owned by elite community members. This raises contentious questions about who currently owns such objects: though most recognize potential community benefits, repatriation might also introduce or reinforce particular relations of power within the group.

Tweedie continues her careful analysis of how history is intertwined with the present in chapter 3 where she discusses the conditions under which the Makah were originally dispossessed of culturally significant items. Her treatment of this topic is typical of the sound analytical approach she employs throughout the book. While acknowledging that some "collectors" were not the most scrupulous of individuals, and that colonialist expansion should not be ignored as a backdrop for economic transactions that involved cultural objects, Tweedie also recognizes native peoples' roles in collecting activities when she notes their active responses to new market opportunities (e.g., development of new symbolic decorations on basketry made for tourist markets). Altogether, she provides a credible assessment of the wide range of social interests and conditions, at local levels and beyond, that motivated dispersal of Makah material culture.

More recent social and political conditions that are also part of the history of such objects are examined in chapter 4. Tweedie suggests that a new era in the Makah's relationship with the outside world began around 1930s, shortly after they were granted full citizenship, and were soon to be affected by Collier's Indian Reorganization Act. Subsequent community efforts noted by Tweedie as relevant to current repatriation issues include a land claim that was unresolved for 50 years, involvement in a fishing rights dispute which led to the Boldt Decision (1974), several decades of participation in local archaeological excavations, and the establishment of a Cultural Center, created in large part to house artifacts found during these excavations.

Tweedie's most thorough analysis of NAGPRA—of the disjuncture between "the spirit and the letter of the law"—is presented in the second last chapter. She notes two strategies by which the Makah are dealing with NAGRA: they try to work with the process, and at the same time they challenge its assumptions and definitions. In explaining the first tactic, she criticizes one assessment of NAGPRA, which