From Loss of Objects to Recovered Meanings: Online Museums and Indigenous Cultural Heritage

Jeremy Pilcher and Saskia Vermeylen

Introduction

The debate about the responsibility of museums to respect Indigenous peoples' rights (Kelly and Gordon; Butts) has caught our attention on the basis of our previous research experience with regard to the protection of the tangible and intangible heritage of the San (former hunter gatherers) in Southern Africa (Martin and Vermeylen; Vermeylen, *Contextualising*; Vermeylen, *Life Force*; Vermeylen *et al.*, 2008; Vermeylen, *Land Rights*).

This paper contributes to the critical debate about curatorial practices and the recovery of Indigenous peoples' cultural practices and explores how museums can be transformed into cultural centres that "decolonise" their objects while simultaneously providing social agency to marginalised groups such as the San.

Indigenous Museum

Traditional methods of displaying Indigenous heritage are now regarded with deep suspicion and resentment by Indigenous peoples (Simpson). A number of related issues such as the appropriation, ownership and repatriation of culture together with the treatment of sensitive and sacred materials and the stereotyping of Indigenous peoples' identity (Carter; Simpson) have been identified as the main problems in the debate about museum curatorship and Indigenous heritage. The poignant question remains whether the concept of a classical museum--in the sense of how it continues to classify, value and display non-Western artworks --will ever be able to provide agency to Indigenous peoples as long as "their lives are reduced to an abstract set of largely arbitrary material items displayed without much sense of meaning" (Stanley 3).

Indeed, as Salvador has argued, no matter how much Indigenous peoples have been involved in the planning and implementation of an exhibition, some issues remain problematic. First, there is the problem of *representation*: who speaks for the group; who should make decisions and under what circumstances; when is it acceptable for "outsiders" to be involved? Furthermore, Salvador raises another area of contestation and that is the issue of *intention*.

As we agree with Salvador, no matter how good the intention to include Indigenous peoples in the curatorial practices, the fact that Indigenous peoples may have a (political) perspective

about the exhibition that differs from the ideological foundation of the museum enterprise, is, indeed, a challenge that must not be overlooked in the discussion of the inclusive museum. This relates to, arguably, one of the most important challenges in respect to the concept of an Indigenous museum: how to present the past and present without creating an essentialising "Other"?

As Stanley summarises, the modernising agenda of the museum, including those museums that claim to be Indigenous museums, continues to be heavily embedded in the belief that traditional cultural beliefs, practices and material manifestations must be saved. In other words, exhibitions focusing on Indigenous peoples fail to show them as dynamic, living cultures (Simpson). This raises the issue that museums recreate the past (Sepúlveda dos Santos) while Indigenous peoples' interests can be best described "in terms of contemporaneity" (Bolton qtd. in Stanley 7). According to Bolton, Indigenous peoples' interest in museums can be best understood in terms of using these (historical) collections and institutions to address contemporary issues. Or, as Sepúlveda dos Santos argues, in order for museums to be a true place of memory--or indeed a true place of recovery--it is important that the museum makes the link between the past and contemporary issues or to use its objects in such a way that these objects emphasize "the persistence of lived experiences transmitted through generations"(29).

Under pressure from Indigenous rights movements, the major aim of some museums is now reconciliation with Indigenous peoples which, ultimately, should result in the return of the cultural objects to the originators of these objects (Kelly and Gordon). Using the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1990 (NAGPRA) as an illustration, we argue that the whole debate of returning or recovering Indigenous peoples' cultural objects to the original source is still embedded in a discourse that emphasises the mummified aspect of these materials. As Harding argues, NAGPRA is provoking an image of "native Americans as mere passive recipients of their cultural identity, beholden to their ancestors and the museum community for the re-creation of their cultures"(137) when it defines cultural patrimony as objects having ongoing historical, traditional or cultural importance, central to the Native American group or culture itself. According to Harding (2005) NAGPRA's dominating narrative focuses on the loss, alienation and cultural genocide of the objects as long as these are not returned to their originators. The recovery or the return of the objects to their "original" culture has been applauded as one of the most liberating and emancipatory events in recent years for Indigenous peoples. However, as we have argued elsewhere, the process of recovery needs to do more than just smother the object in its past; recovery can only happen

when heritage or tradition is connected to the experience of everyday life. One way of achieving this is to move away from the objectification of Indigenous peoples' culture.

Objectification

In our exploratory enquiry about new museum practices our attention was drawn to a recent debate about ownership and personhood within the context of museology (Busse; Baker; Herle; Bell; Geismar). Busse, in particular, makes the point that in order to reformulate curatorial practices it is important to redefine the concept and meaning of *objects*. While the above authors do not question the importance of the objects, they all argue that the real importance does not lie in the objects themselves but in the way these objects embody the physical manifestation of social relations. The whole idea that objects matter because they have agency and efficacy, and as such become a kind of person, draws upon recent anthropological theorising by Gell and Strathern. Furthermore, we have not only been inspired by Gell's and Strathern's approaches that suggests that objects are social persons, we have also been influenced by Appadurai's and Kopytoff's defining of objects as biographical agents and therefore valued because of the associations they have acquired throughout time. We argue that by framing objects in a social network throughout its lifecycle we can avoid the recurrent pitfalls of essentialising objects in terms of its "primitive" or "traditional" (aesthetic) qualities and mystifying the identity of Indigenous peoples as "noble savages."

Focusing more on the social network that surrounds a particular object opens up new avenues of enquiry as to how, and to what extent, museums can become more inclusive vis-à-vis Indigenous peoples. It allows moving beyond the current discourse that approaches the history of the (ethnographic) museum from only one dominant perspective. By tracing an artwork throughout its lifecycle a new metaphor can be discovered; one that shows that Indigenous peoples have not always been victims, but maybe more importantly it allows us to show a more complex narrative of the object itself. It gives us the space to counterweight some of the discourses that have steeped Indigenous artworks in a "postcolonial" framework of sacredness and mythical meaning. This is not to argue that it is not important to be reminded of the dangers of appropriating other cultures' heritage, but we would argue that it is equally important to show that approaching a story from a one-sided perspective will create a dualism (Bush) and reducing the differences between different cultures to a dualistic opposition fails to recognise the fundamental areas of agency (Morphy).

In order for museums to enliven and engage with objects, they must become institutions that emphasise a relational approach towards displaying and curating objects. In the next part of

this paper we will explore to what extent an online museum could progressively facilitate the process of providing agency to the social relations that link objects, persons, environments and memories. As Solanilla argues, what has been described as cybermuseology may further transform the museum landscape and provide an opportunity to challenge some of the problems identified above (e.g. essentialising practices). Or to quote the museologist Langlais: "The communication and interaction possibilities offered by the Web to layer information and to allow exploration of multiple meanings are only starting to be exploited. In this context, cybermuseology is known as a practice that is knowledge-driven rather than object-driven, and its main goal is to disseminate knowledge using the interaction possibilities of Information Communication Technologies" (Langlais qtd. in Solanilla 108). One thing which shows promise and merits further exploration is the idea of transforming the act of exhibiting ethnographic objects accompanied by texts and graphics into an act of cyber discourse that allows Indigenous peoples through their own voices and gestures to involve us in their own history. This is particularly the case since Indigenous peoples are using technologies, such as the Internet, as a new medium through which they can recuperate their histories, land rights, knowledge and cultural heritage (Zimmerman *et al.*). As such, new technology has played a significant role in the contestation and formation of Indigenous peoples' current identity by creating new social and political spaces through visual and narrative cultural praxis (Ginsburg).

Online Museums

It has been acknowledged for some time that a presence on the Web might mitigate the effects of what has been described as the "unassailable voice" in the recovery process undertaken by museums (Walsh 77). However, a museum's online engagement with an Indigenous culture may have significance beyond undercutting the univocal authority of a museum. In the case of the South African National Gallery it was charged with challenging the extent to which it represents entrenched but unacceptable political ideologies. Online museums may provide opportunities in the conservation and dissemination of "life stories" that give an account of an Indigenous culture as it is experienced (Solanilla 105).

We argue that in engaging with Indigenous cultural heritage a distinction needs to be drawn between data and the cognitive capacity to learn, "which enables us to extrapolate and learn new knowledge" (Langlois 74). The problem is that access to data about an Indigenous culture does not necessarily lead to an understanding of its knowledge. It has been argued that cybermuseology loses the essential interpersonal element that needs to be present if intangible

heritage is understood as "the process of making sense that is generally transmitted orally and through face-to-face experience" (Langlois 78). We agree that the online museum does not enable a reality to be reproduced (Langlois 78).

This does not mean that cybermuseology should be dismissed. Instead it provides the opportunity to construct a valuable, but completely new, experience of cultural knowledge (Langlois 78). The technology employed in cybermuseology provides the means by which control over meaning may, at least to some extent, be dispersed (Langlois 78). In this way online museums provide the opportunity for Indigenous peoples to challenge being subjected to manipulation by one authoritative museological voice. One of the ways this may be achieved is through interactivity by enabling the use of social tagging and folksonomy (Solanilla 110; Trant 2). In these processes keywords (tags) are supplied and shared by visitors as a means of accessing museum content. These tags in turn give rise to a classification system (folksonomy).

In the context of an online museum engaging with an Indigenous culture we have reservations about the undifferentiated interactivity on the part of all visitors. This issue may be investigated further by examining how interactivity relates to communication. Arguably, an online museum is engaged in communicating Indigenous cultural heritage because it helps to keep it alive and pass it on to others (Langlois 77). However, enabling all visitors to structure online access to that culture may be detrimental to the communication of knowledge that might otherwise occur. The narratives by which Indigenous cultures, rather than visitors, order access to information about their cultures may lead to the communication of important knowledge. An illustration of the potential of this approach is the work Sharon Daniel has been involved with, which enables communities to "produce knowledge and interpret their own experience using media and information technologies" (Daniel, *Palabras*) partly by means of generating folksonomies.

One way by which such issues may be engaged with in the context of online museums is through the argument that database and narrative in such new media objects are opposed to each other (Manovich, *New Media* 225). A new media work such as an online museum may be understood to be comprised of a database and an interface to that database. A visitor to an online museum may only move through the content of the database by following those paths that have been enabled by those who created the museum (Manovich, *New Media* 227). In short it is by means of the interface provided to the viewer that the content of the database is structured into a narrative (Manovich, *New Media*: 226). It is possible to understand online museums as constructions in which narrative and database aspects are emphasized to varying

degrees for users. There are a variety of museum projects in which the importance of the interface in creating a narrative interface has been acknowledged. Goldblum *et al.* describe three examples of websites in which interfaces may be understood as, and explicitly designed for, carrying meaning as well as enabling interactivity: *Life after the Holocaust*; *Ripples of Genocide*; and *Yearbook 2006*.

As with these examples, we suggest that it is important there be an explicit engagement with the significance of interface(s) for online museums about Indigenous peoples. The means by which visitors access content is important not only for the way in which visitors interact with material, but also as to what is communicated about, culture. It has been suggested that the curator's role should be moved away from expertly representing knowledge toward that of assisting people outside the museum to make "authored statements" within it (Bennett 11). In this regard it seems to us that involvement of Indigenous peoples with the construction of the interface(s) to online museums is of considerable significance. Pieterse suggests that ethnographic museums should be guided by a process of self-representation by the "others" portrayed (Pieterse 133). Moreover it should not be forgotten that, because of the separation of content and interface, it is possible to have access to a database of material through more than one interface (Manovich, *New Media* 226-7). Online museums provide a means by which the artificial homogenization of Indigenous peoples may be challenged.

We regard an important potential benefit of an online museum as the replacement of accessing material through the "nassailable voice" with the multiplicity of Indigenous voices. A number of ways to do this are suggested by a variety of new media artworks, including those that employ a database to rearrange information to reveal underlying cultural positions (Paul 100). Paul discusses the work of, amongst others, George Legrady. She describes how it engages with the archive and database as sites that record culture (104-6). Paul specifically discusses Legrady's work *Slippery Traces*. This involved viewers navigating through more than 240 postcards. Viewers of work were invited to "first chose one of three quotes appearing on the screen, each of which embodies a different perspective--anthropological, colonialist, or media theory--and thus provides an interpretive angle for the experience of the projects" (104-5). In the same way visitors to an online museum could be provided with a choice of possible Indigenous voices by which its collection might be experienced.

We are specifically interested in the implications that such approaches have for the way in which online museums could engage with film. Inspired by Basu's work on reframing ethnographic film, we see the online museum as providing the possibility of a platform to experiment with new media art in order to expose the meta-narrative(s) about the politics of

film making. As Basu argues, in order to provoke a feeling of involvement with the viewer, it is important that the viewer becomes aware "of the plurality of alternative readings/navigations that they might have made" (105).

As Weinbren has observed, where a fixed narrative pathway has been constructed by a film, digital technology provides a particularly effective means to challenge it. It would be possible to reveal the way in which dominant political interests regarding Indigenous cultures have been asserted such as for example, in the popular film *The Gods Must Be Crazy*. New media art once again provides some interesting examples of the way ideology, that might otherwise remain unclear, may be exposed. Paul describes the example of Jennifer and Kevin McCoy's project *How I learned*. The work restructures a television series *Kung Fu* by employing "categories such as 'how I learned about blocking punches,' 'how I learned about exploiting workers,' or 'how I learned to love the land'" (Paul 103) to reveal in greater clarity, than otherwise might be possible, the cultural stereotypes used in the visual narratives of the program (Paul 102-4). We suggest that such examples suggest the ways in which online museums could work to reveal and explore the existence not only of meta-narratives expressed by museums as a whole, but also the means by which they are realised within existing items held in museum collections.

Conclusion

We argue that the agency for such reflective moments between the San, who have been repeatedly misrepresented or underrepresented in exhibitions and films, and multiple audiences, may be enabled through the generation of multiple narratives within online museums. We would like to make the point that, first and foremost, the theory of representation must be fully understood and acknowledged in order to determine whether, and how, modes of online curating are censorious. As such we see online museums having the potential to play a significant role in illuminating for both the San and multiple audiences the way that any form of representation or displaying restricts the meanings that may be recovered about Indigenous peoples.

References

Appadurai, Arjun. *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*. Cambridge: Harvard U P, 1986.

Bal, Mieke. 'Exhibition as Film.' *Exhibition Experiments*. Eds. Sharon Macdonald and Paul Basu. Malden: Blackwell Publishing 2007. 71-93.

Basu, Paul. 'Reframing Ethnographic Film.' *Rethinking Documentary*. Eds. Thomas Austin and Wilma de Jong. Maidenhead: Open U P 2008. 94-106.

Barringer, Tim and Tom Flynn. *Colonialism and the Object: Empire, Material Culture and the Museum*. London: Routledge, 1998.

Baxandall, Michael. 'Exhibiting Intention: Some Preconditions of the Visual Display of Culturally Purposeful Objects.' *Exhibiting Cultures.* Eds. Ivan Karp and Steven Lavine. Washington: Smithsonian Institution P. 1991. 33-41.

Bell, Joshua. 'Promiscuous Things: Perspectives on Cultural Property Through Photographs in the Purari Delta of Papa New Guinea.' *International Journal of Cultural Property* 15 (2008): 123-39.

Bennett, Tony. 'The Political Rationality of the Museum.' *Continuum: The Australian Journal of Media & Culture* 3 No.1 (1990). 8 Oct. 2008.
http://wwwmcc.murdoch.edu.au/ReadingRoom/3.1/Bennett.html

Bolton, Lissant. 'The Object in View: Aborigines, Melanesians and Museums.' *Emplaced Myth: Space, Narrative and Knowledge in Australia and Papua New Guinea*. Eds. Alan Rumsey & James Weiner. Honolulu: U of Hawai`i P. 2001. 215-32.

Bush, Martin. 'Shifting Sands: Museum Representations of Science and Indigenous Knowledge Traditions.' *Open Museum Journal* 7 (2005). 8 Oct. 2008.
http://archive.amol.org.au/craft/omjournal/volume7/docs/MBush_ab.asp?ID=

Busse, Mark. 'Museums and the Things in Them Should Be Alive.' *International Journal of Cultural Property* 15 (2008): 189-200.

Butts, David. 'Māori and Museums: the Politics of Indigenous Recognition.' *Museums, Society and Inequality*. Ed. Richard Sandell. London: Routledge, 2002. 225-43.

Casey, Dawn. 'Culture Wars: Museums, Politics and Controversy.' *Open Museum Journal* 6 (2003). 8 Oct. 2008.

http://archive.amol.org.au/omj/volume6/casey.pdf

Carter, J. 'Museums and Indigenous Peoples in Canada.' *Museums and the Appropriation of Culture*. Ed. Susan Pearce. London: Athlone P, 1994. 213-33.

Carolin, Clare. and Cathy Haynes. 'The Politics of Display: Ann-Sofi Sidén's Warte Mal!, Art History and Social Documentary.' *Exhibition Experiments*. Eds. Sharon Macdonald and Paul Basu. Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2007. 154-74.

Cooper, Jonathan. 'Beyond the On-line Museum: Participatory Virtual Exhibitions.' *Museums and the Web 2006: Proceedings*. Eds. Jennifer Trant and David Bearman. Albuquerque: Archives & Museum Informatics, 2006. 8 Oct. 2008. www.archimuse.com/mw2006/papers/cooper/cooper.html

Daniel, Sharon. 'The Database: An Aesthetics of Dignity.' *Database Aesthetics: Art in the Age of Information Overflow*. Ed. Victoria Vesner. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 2007. 142-82.

Daniel, Sharon and Casa Segura. 'Need_ X_ Change.' 8 Oct. 2008. http://arts.ucsc.edu/sdaniel/need/

Daniel, Sharon. 'Palabras' 8 Oct. 2008. http://palabrastranquilas.ucsc.edu/

Daniel, Sharon and Erik Loyer. 'Public Secrets.' *Vectors.* Winter (2007). 8 Oct. 2008. http://vectors.usc.edu/index.php?page=7&projectId=57

Dietz, Steve. 'Curating (on) the Web.' *Museums and the Web 1998: Proceedings*. Eds. Jennifer Trant and David Bearman. Toronto: Archives & Museum Informatics, 1998. 8 Oct. 2008 http://www.archimuse.com/mw98/papers/dietz/dietz_curatingtheweb.html

Dietz, Steve. 'Telling Stories: Procedural Authorship and Extracting Meanings from Museum Databases.' *Museums and the Web 1999: Proceedings*. Eds. Jennifer Trant and David Bearman. New Orleans: Archives & Museum Informatics, 1999. 8 Oct. 2008. http://www.archimuse.com/mw99/papers/dietz/dietz.html

Gell, Alfred. *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory*. Oxford: Clarendon P, 1998.

Geismar, Haidy. (2008) 'Cultural Property, Museums, and the Pacific: Reframing the Debates.' *International Journal of Cultural Property* 15: 109-22.

Ginsburg, Faye.'Resources of Hope: Learning from the Local in a Transnational Era.' *Indigenous Cultures in an Interconnected World*. Eds. Claire Smith & Graeme Ward. St Leonards: Allen & Unwin, 2000. 27-47.

Goldblum, Josh; Adele, O'Dowd; and Traci Sym. 'Considerations and Strategies for Creating Interactive Narratives.' *Museums and the Web 2007: Proceedings*. Eds. Jennifer Trant and David Bearman. Toronto: Archives & Museum Informatics, 2007. 8 Oct. 2008. www.archimuse.com/mw2007/papers/goldblum/goldblum.html

Guenther, Matthias. 'Contemporary Bushman Art, Identity Politics, and the Primitive Discourse.' The Politics of Egalitarianism: Theory and Practice. Ed. Jacqueline Solway. New York: Berghahn Books, 2006. 159-88.

Harding, Sarah. 'Culture, Commodification, and Native American Cultural Patrimony.' *Rethinking Commodification: Cases and Readings in Law and Culture*. Eds. Martha Ertman and Joan Williams. New York: New York U P, 2005. 137-63.

Herle, Anita. 'Relational Objects: Connecting People and Things Through Pasifika Styles.' *International Journal of Cultural Property* 15 (2008): 159-79.

Hoopes, John. 'The Future of the Past: Archaeology and Anthropology on the World Wide Web.' *Archives and Museum Informatics* 11 (1997): 87-105.

'South African National Gallery.' Iziko: Museums of Cape Town. 8 Oct. 2008. http://www.iziko.org.za/iziko/ourname.html

Jones, Anna. 'Exploding Canons: The Anthropology of Museums.' *Annual Review of Anthropology* 22 (1993): 201-20.

Kelly, Lynda and Phil Gordon. 'Developing a Community of Practice: Museums and Reconciliation in Australia.' *Museums, Society and Inequality*. Ed. Richard Sandell. London: Routledge, 2002. 153-74.

Kopytoff, Igor. 'The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process.' *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*. Ed. Arjun Appadurai. Cambridge: Harvard U P, 1986. 64-91.

Kreps, Christina. *Theorising Cultural Heritage. Indigenous Curation as Intangible Cultural Heritage: Thoughts on the Relevance of the 2003 UNESCO Convention*. Washington: Smithsonian Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage, 2005.

Langlois, Dominique. 'Cybermuseology and Intangible Cultural Heritage.' *Intersection Conference* 2005. York U: Toronto, 2005. 8 Oct. 2008.
http://yorku.ca/topia/docs/conference/langlais.pdf

'Life after the Holocaust.' United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. 8 Oct. 2008.
http://www.ushmm.org/museum/exhibit/online/life_after_holocaust/

Manovich, Lev. *The Language of New Media.* Cambridge: MIT P, 2001.

Manovich, Lev. *Making Art of Databases.* Rotterdam: V2_Publishing/NAi Publishers, 2003.

Martin, George and Saskia Vermeylen. 'Intellectual Property, Indigenous Knowledge, and Biodiversity.' *Capitalism Nature Socialism* 16 (2005): 27-48.

Martínez, David. 'Re-visioning the Hopi Fourth World: Dan Namingha, Indigenous Modernism, and the Hopivotskwani.' *Art History* 29 (2006): 145-72.

McGee, Julie. 'Restructuring South African Museums: Reality and Rhetoric Within Cape Town.' *New Museum Theory and Practice: An Introduction.* Ed. Janet Marstine. Oxford: Blackwell, 2006. 178-99.

McTavish, Lianne. 'Visiting the Virtual Museum: Art and Experience Online.' *New Museum Theory and Practice: An Introduction.* Ed. Janet Marstine. Oxford: Blackwell, 2006. 226-45.

Morphy, Howard. 'Elite Art for Cultural Elites: Adding Value to Indigenous Arts.' *Indigenous Cultures in an Interconnected World*. Eds. Claire Smith and Graeme Ward. St Leonards: Allen & Unwin, 2000. 129-43.

Paul, Christiane. 'The Database as System and Cultural Form: Anatomies of Cultural Narratives.' *Database Aesthetics: Art in the Age of Information Overflow*. Ed. Victoria Vesner. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 2007. 95-109.

Pearce, Susan. *Museums and the Appropriation of Culture*. London: Athlone P, 1994.

Pieterse, Jan Nederveen. 'Multiculturalism and Museums: Discourse about Others in the Age of Globalisation.' *Theory, Culture & Society* 14. 4 (1997): 123-46.

'Ripples of Genocide: Journey through Eastern Congo.' United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. 8 Oct. 2008. www.ushmm.org/museum/exhibit/online/congojournal

Salvador, Mari Lyn. "'The Kuna Way': Museums, Exhbitions, and the Politics of Representation of Kuna Art.' *Museum Anthropology* 18 (1994): 48-52.

Samis, Peter. 'Artwork as Interface' *Archives and Museum Informatics* 13.2 (1999): 191-98.

Sandell, Richard. 'Museums and the Combating of Social Inequality: Roles, Responsibilities, Resistance.' *Museums, Society and Inequality*. Ed. Richard Sandell. London: Routledge, 2002. 3-23.

Seaman, Bill. 'Recombinant Poetics and Related Database Aesthetics.' *Database Aesthetics: Art in the Age of Information Overflow*. Ed. Victoria Vesner. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 2007. 121-41.

Sepúlveda dos Santos, Myrian. 'Museums and Memory: The Enchanted Modernity.' *Journal for Cultural Research* 7 (2003): 27-46.

Simpson, Moira. *Making Representations. Museums in the Post-Colonial Era*. London: Routledge, 2001.

Skotnes, Pippa. 'The Politics of Bushman Representations.' *Images and Empires: Visuality in Colonial and Postcolonial Africa*. Eds. Paul Landau and Deborah Kaspin. London: U of London P, 2002. 253-74.

Sledge, Jane. 'Stewarding Potential.' *First Monday* 12.7 (2007). 8 Oct. 2008.
http://www.firstmonday.org/issues/issue12_7/sledge/index.html

Solanilla, Laura. 'The Internet as a Tool for Communicating Life Stories: A New Challenge for Memory Institutions.' *International Journal for Intangible Heritage* 3 (2008): 103-16.

Stalbaum, Brett. 'An Interpretive Framework for Contemporary Database Practice in the Arts.' (2004). 8 Oct. 2008
http://www.cityarts.com/paulc/database/Database_Stalbaum.doc

Suzman, James. *An Introduction to the Regional Assessment of the Status of the San in Southern Africa*. Windhoek: Legal Assistance Centre, 2001.

Stanley, Nick. 'Introduction: Indigeneity and Museum Practice in the Southwest Pacific.' The Future of Indigenous Museums: Perspectives from the Southwest Pacific. Ed. Nick Stanley. New York: Berghahn Books, 2007. 1-37.

Strathern, Marilyn. *Property, Substance and Effect: Anthropological Essays on Persons and Things*. London: Athlone, 1999.

The Gods Must Be Crazy. Dir. Jamie Uys. Mimosa Films, 1980.

Tomaselli, Keyan. 'Rereading the *Gods Must be Crazy* Films.' *Visual Anthropology* 19 (2006):171-200.

Trant, Jennifer. 'Exploring the Potential for Social Tagging and Folksonomy in Art Museums: Proof of Concept.' *New Review of Hypermedia and Multimedia* 12.1 (2006). 8 Oct. 2008.
www.archimuse.com/papers/steve-nrhm-0605preprint.pdf

Vermeylen, Saskia. 'Contextualising 'fair' and 'Equitable': the San's Reflections on the Hoodia Benefit Sharing Agreement.' *Local Environment* 12.4 (2007): 1-14.

Vermeylen, Saskia. 'From Life Force to Slimming Aid: Exploring Views on the Commodification of Traditional Medicinal Knowledge.' *Applied Geography* 28 (2008): 224-35.

Vermeylen, Saskia; Martin, George; and Clift, Roland. 'Intellectual Property Rights Systems and the 'Assemblage' of Local Knowledge Systems.' *International Journal of Cultural Property* 15 (2008): 201-21.

Vermeylen , Saskia. 'Land Rights and the Legacy of Colonialism.' *Community Consent and Benefit-Sharing: Learning Lessons from the San Hoodia Case* Eds. Rachel Wynberg and Roger Chennells. Berlin: Springer. *Forthcoming*.

Vermeylen, Saskia. and Jeremy Pilcher. *Indigenous Cultural Heritage and the Virtual Museum*. Conference Paper. International Conference on the Inclusive Museum. Leiden, The Netherlands. 8-11 June 2008.

Walsh, Peter. 'The Web and the Unassailable Voice.' *Archives and Museum Informatics* 11 (1997): 77-85.

Weinbren, Grahame. 'Ocean, Database, Recut.' *Database Aesthetics: Art in the Age of Information Overflow*. Ed. Victoria. Vesner. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 2007. 61-85.

Weiner, James. 'Televisualist Anthropology: Representation, Aesthetics, Politics [and Comments and Reply].' *Current Anthropology* 38 (1997): 197-235.

'Yearbook 2006.' 8 Oct. 2008.
http://www.y06.org/

Zimmerman, Larry; Karen Zimmerman & Leonard Bruguier. 'Cyberspace Smoke Signals: New Technologies and Native American Ethnicity.' *Indigenous Cultures in an Interconnected World*. Eds. Claire Smith & Graeme Ward. St Leonards: Allen & Unwin, 2000. 69-86.