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Isabella Pipp

Western Washington University, bellap46@gmail.com

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**EXCAVATING ARCHAEOLOGICAL KNOWLEDGE: AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL
ETHNOGRAPHY OF INDIGENIZING PRACTICES WITHIN A COLLABORATIVE
FIELD SCHOOL LANDSCAPE**

By

Isabella Pipp

Accepted in partial Completion
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

ADVISORY COMMITTEE:

Dr. Natalie Baloy, Chair

Dr. Jerald Ek

Dr. Kathleen Young

GRADUATE SCHOOL

Dr. David L. Patrick, Dean

Master's Thesis Statement

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Isabella Pipp
March 4th, 2024

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By

A Thesis Presented to The Faculty
of Western Washington University

In Partial Fulfillment Of the Requirements
for the Degree Master of Arts

by
Isabella Pipp
March 2024

Abstract

This thesis outlines the results of the ethnographic archaeological research on the community-based participatory field school program undertaken in partnership between the Stillaguamish Tribe of Indians and Western Washington University—the Stillaguamish-WWU Collaborative Archaeological Field School. The use of an ethnographic reflection of Indigenous and university collaboration offers lessons for institutions teaching archaeology that transform pedagogical practices, uphold Tribal sovereignty, and challenge academic standards to archaeological field schools and research. Goals of this research include exploring the efficacy of methodology implemented within the field school and to create a body of work about the field school that is relevant to the Stillaguamish Tribe and Western Washington University co-directors, along with the field of archaeology and its practitioners. The analysis and application of participant experience supports designing a tribally-minded program and praxis of archaeology the *Stillaguamish Way*.

Acknowledgements

I am only allowed a page to give my acknowledgements—a limit too short to encompass everyone who has supported me along this thesis journey. While my name is on this thesis as the author—I would not have been able to do any of this work without the people I care for. I will try my best in this section, first by thanking my teachers.

I would like to thank the Stillaguamish Cultural Department as a whole, but also the individuals who taught me so much within this collaborative relationship. Bea Franke, you have so much love and care for the work you do and the people you interact with. I am so appreciative that that care has extended to me. Thank you for being such a wonderful person, amazing craft teacher, and supportive friend. Raymond Rehaume, you have a relationality and wisdom I will always cherish. You are a role model to so many. Kerry Lyste, I appreciate your eclectic music taste and your love for frequenting music venues. I am always excited to hear about the latest concert you've attended. Samuel Qol7ánten Barr, your patience, communication, and knowledge always leaves me with a better understanding than before. Thank you for your support in this field school and thesis project. Tayna Greene, it has been amazing getting to know you this past year and I am thankful for the relational knowledge and responsibility you have helped instill in me.

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I would now like to thank my family. To my mom, Angel, you are such a strong woman and I appreciate you instilling in me a work ethic that has helped me through life and this thesis. Thank you for empowering me to be the person I want to be—always loving me for who I am. To my sister Ana, thank you for always having an open ear and always supporting me through my higher education experience. I know I can always count on you to help me through any situation with an open mind and open heart. To my partner, Chris, you are my best friend and I can't thank you enough for the support and love you provide me every day. To my cat, Jethro, your constant need for snuggles always warms my heart. As I write this acknowledgement, you are on my lap—happy to just spend time with me. Thank you to all my family and friends for providing me the foundation that I bring with me into life and research.

Table of Contents

ABSTRACT	IV
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	V
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	VI
LIST OF FIGURES	VIII
LIST OF TABLES	IX
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCING THE RESEARCH AND AUTHOR.....	1
INTRODUCTION	1
AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL ETHNOGRAPHY OF THE STILLAGUAMISH-WWU COLLABORATIVE ARCHAEOLOGICAL FIELD SCHOOL	3
PROTOCOL & POSITIONALITY: WHO I AM, WHERE I COME FROM, AND WHY I’M HERE	6
THESIS OVERVIEW	10
CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL TOOLBOXES	12
RESEARCH ETHICS & THE FOUR R’S	12
TRANSPARENCY IN RESEARCH	14
THEORETICAL FRAMES	15
RESEARCH AND METHODOLOGICAL FRAMES	22
METHODS IN PRACTICE	26
CHAPTER 3: ACADEMIC AND UNIVERSITY CHANGE STARTS AT HOME	29
BRIEF OVERVIEW OF WESTERN WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY	32
HERBERT C. TAYLOR JR.: ANTHROPOLOGICAL KNOWLEDGE IS NOT NEUTRAL	32
JAMES W. BOSCH: ANTHROPOLOGICAL INVALIDATION OF NATIVE CRITIQUE.....	37
MARTHA SMITH: NEGATIVE EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCES	39
THE GOOD IN ANTHROPOLOGY	41
CHANGE BEGINS AT HOME.....	43
CHAPTER 4: BY TROWEL AND ERROR—CONTINGENT COLLABORATION AND RELATIONSHIP BUILDING.....	51
EASTERN PEQUOT TRIBAL NATION-UMASS BOSTON ARCHAEOLOGICAL FIELD SCHOOL	54
TLA’AMIN FIRST NATION-SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY STEWARDSHIP AND ARCHAEOLOGY PROGRAM	56
CONFEDERATED TRIBES OF THE GRAND RONDE-UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON FIELD METHODS IN INDIGENOUS ARCHAEOLOGY PARTNERSHIP	59
TESTING THE WATERS OF PARTNERSHIP	62
ARCHAEOLOGY AS A LABOR OF LOVE.....	66
MEASURING SUCCESS WITH TEARS	71
CHAPTER 5: TRANSFORMING ARCHAEOLOGICAL EDUCATION WITH INDIGENIZING AND ANTICOLONIAL PEDAGOGIES	75
CRITICAL PEDAGOGY	76
UN-SETTLING THE SETTLER WITHIN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS.....	77
UN-DISCIPLINING ARCHAEOLOGY	79
WHO ARE OUR TEACHERS AND WHAT DO WE LEARN?	81

REBALANCING TIME WITH EXPERIENTIAL LEARNING	85
PLANTING A SEED: FROM EXCAVATING TO PLANTING AS CRITICAL PEDAGOGY IN ARCHAEOLOGY	88
CHAPTER 6: TO BE TRIBALLY-MINDED: TRANSFORMING ARCHAEOLOGICAL PRACTITIONERS.....	92
CHALLENGES TO COLLABORATIVE WORK AT THE GRADUATE LEVEL	97
ARCHAEOLOGISTS AND RESEARCH ETHICS	101
SPIDER WEBS OF RELATIONAL CONNECTIONS	106
CHAPTER 7: CONCLUDING REMARKS.....	109
SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH	112
ENDING RESEARCH IN A GOOD WAY.....	113
REFERENCES CITED	115
APPENDIX A: WWU IRB APPROVAL DOCUMENTATION.....	127
APPENDIX B: WWU IRB AMENDMENT APPROVAL DOCUMENTATION.....	129
APPENDIX C: WWU AI/AN SUPPLEMENTAL FORM FOR THE IRB.....	130

List of Figures

FIGURE 1: STILLAGUAMISH-WWU FIELD SCHOOL LOGO.....	4
FIGURE 2: PICTURE OF ME ENJOYING THE SALISH SEA SUN	6
FIGURE 3: MAP OF TRIBAL NATION' TERRITORIES IN WISCONSIN	7
FIGURE 4: AERIAL PHOTO OF UWM CAMPUS.....	8
FIGURE 5: ALICE IN CHAINS CONCERT.....	9
FIGURE 6: VISUAL REPRESENTATION OF CODEBOOK	27
FIGURE 7: HERBERT C. TAYLOR	33
FIGURE 8: TLA'AMIN TERRITORY MAP	56
FIGURE 9: RADAR GRAPHS FROM THE TLA'AMIN FIRST NATION-SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY STEWARDSHIP AND ARCHAEOLOGY PROGRAM	59
FIGURE 10: MAP OF GRAND RONDE RESERVATION AREA.....	60
FIGURE 11: DRAWING FROM STUDENT FIELD JOURNAL.....	63
FIGURE 12: ACTIVITIES OF THE STILLAGUAMISH RIVER DAY	75
FIGURE 13: CAMANO ISLAND CANOE PADDLE	86
FIGURE 14: ATLATL THROWING	87
FIGURE 15: EXCAVATION FIELDWORK.....	89

List of Tables

TABLE 1: TABLE OF SURVEY AVERAGES FROM THE TLA'AMIN FIRST NATION-SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY STEWARDSHIP AND ARCHAEOLOGY PROGRAM	59
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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCING THE RESEARCH AND AUTHOR

Introduction

As collaborative efforts between Tribal nations, cultural resource management (CRM) firms, and academic researchers become more common, it is increasingly important that the next generations of archaeologists are trained to do work that is collaborative and community-based. Calls for this work, grounded in an ethic and practice of considering colonial histories and decolonizing futures, come from many—especially in settler states like Australia, New Zealand, and throughout the Americas (Allen et al. 2002; Atalay 2006; Clark 2002; Colwell 2016; Green et al. 2003; Schneider and Hayes 2020; Smith and Jackson 2006; Wilson 2007). The focus of this thesis will be in North America, particularly western Washington State on the lands and waters of Coast Salish nations.

Collaboration has been an avenue to close the gap between heritage studies monopolized by anthropologists and the local communities whose landscapes are designated archaeological sites and the subject of heritage research. In North America, literature and action involving archaeological collaboration has often been in partnership with Indigenous communities, especially since the passing of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) in 1990 (Atalay 2006, 2012; Colwell-Chanthaphonh et al. 2010; Lyons 2013; Nicholas 2008; Silliman 2008; Watkins 2011), with an overall goal of active participation and cooperation from both archaeologists and descendant communities. Community-based participatory research is one approach to collaborative studies. Community-based archaeology has been argued to bring opportunities of transcultural, beneficial, and accessible research which also redesigns how institutional systems teach and practice archaeology (Atalay 2019b).

Collaborative and community-based archaeology are bolstered in educational spaces when current and future archaeologists are aided with tools to deconstruct the settler colonial systems that are embedded within the discipline.

Archaeological education conventionally incorporates two curricular spaces: the classroom and field school. Field schools are educational programs which teach participants about specific field research methods (Bernadini 2012, 39). Most archaeological field schools in the United States provide basic training in skills required for field technician jobs in cultural resource management. These skills include surface and subsurface survey, excavation, and documentation. What is overwhelmingly missing is collaborative curriculum and field practice. Most archaeology students miss out on this experience, and early-career field technicians are not commonly (if at all) involved in collaboration until they advance beyond entry-level positions. Consequently, anthropology departments and faculty offer training in field methods but do not provide skills in contributing to collaborative work that is important for CRM-related compliance and consultation reform.

The purpose of this thesis is to investigate how the Stillaguamish-WWU Collaborative Archaeological Field School creates tribally-minded¹ archaeological practitioners. This is supported as the field school experience and archaeological training develops students' toolkits by providing practice not only with technical methods but also with building relational and cultural knowledge and skills. Assessing current archaeological training in general and

¹ Capitalization follows the Indigenous style guide (see Younging 2018) where Indigenous, First Nation, Native, Tribe, and Tribal are all capitalized. I do not capitalize 'tribally' as it is broadly encompassing and conveys aligning with a specific Tribal nation, i.e. Stillaguamish-minded, doing archaeology the *Stillaguamish Way*. Tribally-minded will be further defined and developed in Chapter 6.

collaborative archaeological field schools in particular offers reflexive opportunities to consider power dynamics, decision-making, and pedagogy.

I have three audiences in mind for this thesis. First, I write this thesis to the academic and professional archaeologists as a culture and community that focus on education and research in relation to the human past. Second, I write to anthropology departments in educational institutions as they are the primary places where archaeological practice is conceptualized and taught. In particular, I write to the Anthropology Department of Western Washington University (WWU) as they are one community partner in the field school, though the information within this thesis is accessible to other universities. Third, I write to Indigenous communities as they are sovereign nations, the primary holders of their past (including their archaeological heritage and lands), and primary collaborators for archaeologists conducting their research and teaching in North America. In particular, I write to the Stillaguamish Tribe as they are the community who partnered with WWU in the field school. I also hope the information within this thesis is accessible to other Tribal nations who are interested in conducting collaborative field schools.

An Archaeological Ethnography of the Stillaguamish-WWU Collaborative Archaeological Field School

The first season of the Stillaguamish-WWU Collaborative Archaeological Field School (Figure 1) occurred over six weeks during the summer of 2022 in partnership with WWU faculty Jerald Ek and Stillaguamish Cultural Department staff Samuel Qol7ánten Barr (Samish), Kerry Lyste, Bea Franke, and Raymond Rehaume (Yakama), with Tayna Greene (Tulalip Tribes) joining the project for the second season in 2023². The archaeological site where the field work took place is named ǰ^wiǰ^wiǰ^walq^wu?, Lushootseed for Blue Water. The Stillaguamish Tribe of

²Attribution of co-directors granted for this thesis. Further discussed in Chapter 2.

Indians includes descendants of the Stoluck-wa-mish River Tribe, with land extending from the Stillaguamish River to what is now Arlington and Stanwood, Washington (Stillaguamish Tribe 2023). The Stillaguamish Tribe is currently reacquiring traditional territory from private ownership, and knowing how heritage material or cultural landscapes are part of these territories is important in future decision-making processes. Driving factors of the field school include assessing traditional territory, supporting the Stillaguamish Cultural Department’s facilitation of archaeological work, and a desire from WWU faculty and Stillaguamish Cultural Department staff to conduct a field school with Tribal interests in mind.



Figure 1: Stillaguamish-WWU Field School Logo

Like many collaborations, the Stillaguamish-WWU Collaborative Archaeological Field School bloomed from personal connections, similar intentions, and a willingness to try something new. At the time, Stillaguamish Cultural Department staff recognized the benefits of a field school due to the amount of archaeological work taking place in Stillaguamish territory and western Washington in general. With this in the back of her mind, Bea Franke attended a spring 2021 Association of Washington Archaeology (AWA) meeting in Bellingham where she was happily surprised to see Jerald Ek attending as well. Bea had been a Teaching Assistant for Jerald’s previous field schools at WWU and as the two caught up, the status of the field school was talked of. Jerald expressed a hope of transforming the field school into a collaborative project and was actively looking for ways to make this experience a reality. Bea, knowing the Cultural Department’s interest in a field school, went back to the department with Jerald’s

intentions. After the idea was considered by the Cultural Department staff, Jerald came to visit and discuss potential goals and ideas. For the next year, Jerald Ek, Samuel Qol7ánten Barr, Kerry Lyste, Bea Franke, and Raymond Rehaume got to know each other more, worked out intentions, negotiated the partnership, and decided on a field site.

During the fall quarter of 2021, I was enrolled in Jerald Ek's ANTH 506 *Archaeological Method* class where he discussed the upcoming Stillaguamish-WWU collaboration. My interests were sparked and I began to discuss with Jerald about the potential of my participation as a Teaching Assistant. It was not my intention of weaving the field school as part of my Master's research at first, but as my position was negotiated and the first year continued, I hoped to provide a project that would be useful to the co-directors and program. There was, unsurprisingly, hesitation about inserting my research into the field school. Throughout these three years, I have been determined to demonstrate to my collaborators with words and actions my mind, heart, and intentions. By making the research an archaeological ethnography on the field school, my hope was to not only produce a body of work that would be useful to the co-directors but to also critically evaluate anthropological and archaeological education and praxis utilizing the discipline's own methodology.

This archaeological ethnography investigates how the Stillaguamish-WWU Collaborative Archaeological Field School inspired and trained tribally-minded archaeological practitioners—a research shift into exploring the anthropological self instead of the ethnographic Other. By examining this process and pedagogy ethnographically, I aim to share practical and conceptual insights that are applicable to future field schools in ways that influence how institutional departments practice archaeology and train future generations. As expressed before, field schools are the curricular spaces where students learn archaeological methodology to enter the CRM

workforce. Cultural resource management entities, by law, must consult with Indigenous communities when development occurs that could impact their land, cultural landscapes, and/or heritage material. How students are taught to do archaeology at the university level influences how they will use that knowledge in CRM or academic archaeology. This entails teaching students that archaeology is more than just the study of past human behavior using material culture. Indigenous partnership in collaborative archaeological field schools become vehicles for change in academic and university standards, spaces for trust building, and transformations in archaeological education. But, before the research is further discussed, it is necessary to introduce myself—to position who I am, where I come from, and how and why I am involved in this research.

Protocol & Positionality: Who I am, Where I Come From, and Why I'm Here

Working with the Stillaguamish Tribe has taught me that knowing and being able to position oneself is an important cultural protocol to conduct. Settler anthropologists have a history of being able to walk into any culture without questioning their background and position.

It is because of this that the following section expands on the person I am, where I come from, and how I hope to contribute to the future.

My name is Isabella Lucille Pipp (Figure 2), and I was born in Brookfield, Wisconsin. My name derives from my great-grandmothers'; Lucille was my father's maternal grandmother and Isabelle was my mother's. I come from a line of German and Austrian settler immigrants who came to Wisconsin, like many other German migrants, during the 19th and early 20th century. My



Figure 2: Picture of me enjoying the Salish Sea sun

paternal great-grandfather Joseph was a baker, something I attribute to my love for doughy sweets. He was known as the “Cream Puff King” of the Wisconsin State Fair—an event that my family attended almost every year and a pastry I hold dearly in my heart.

I grew up on the traditional lands of the Ho-Chunk, Menominee, and Potawatomi Tribal nations (Figure 3). I was raised in Hartland, Wisconsin—a village with a population of approximately 9,000 people situated along the Bark River in the southeastern part of the state. I possess a strong affinity for lakes and could not imagine living anywhere where there wasn’t a fresh body of water nearby. I have cherished memories of boating along Lac La Belle and spending weekends at lake cabins in northern Wisconsin during summertime. The Great Lakes also have an important relationship to Wisconsinites as Lake Michigan and Lake Superior mark the northern and eastern borders of the state.



Figure 3: Map of Tribal nation territories in Wisconsin (“Tribal Lands Map.” n.d.)

I believe I was born with a love of the past. This is part of the reason why I have devoted so much time and care into the study of it. But I can’t help reflecting on how cringe-worthy my introduction to the past, particularly Indigenous past, of North America was. I am not immune when it comes to falling for the romanticization and fetishization of Indigenous history. The movie *Pocahontas* (1995) and the American Girl Doll Kaya were particular favorite figures of mine when I was younger. I sought out books on Indigenous heritage and people, like most little white girls are privileged to do. Sacagawea’s story, in particular, was inspirational to my young eyes. As I have grown to have more of a critical mind, I can obviously see now what I did not as

a kid. These stories not only relegate Indigenous people to the past but they rewrite histories which ignore settler colonialism, ethnocide, and genocide. I continue to try to unsettle the education I grew up with, the present manifestations of it, and the future possibilities of how I practice it— a lifelong process that I continue to learn from with the relationships I establish and sustain.

My first year of college involved a lot of change. I was a History major the first semester, but felt the major and campus were not a good fit. Part of me feared I would not find work with a History degree and instead, I decided to pursue something in business. That decision brought me to accounting. I figured hey, I’m good with numbers. Why not? At the time, it seemed like the safe option. I now see this ‘safety net’ ethos as relating to settler colonialism as settler expansion through capitalistic business ventures are always desired and expanding. My second semester of freshman year, I transferred to a two-year program, with the intention to live at home, save money, and then attend the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee (UWM) sophomore year.

I started UW-Milwaukee (Figure 4) as an accounting major; however, by the end of the year I lost all interest. My love for learning about the past could no longer be ignored. I found myself watching *Unearthed*—a show that explores archaeological sites with immersive CGI— to escape from my accounting “existence,” and soon began imagining a world where archaeology was a part of my life. After months of contemplating—and many tearful calls to my older sister for encouragement—I made one of the best decisions of my life. One week before the start of Junior year, I changed my degree to



Figure 4: Aerial photo of UWM campus (“About UWM.” n.d.)

Anthropology. Life has somehow fallen into place since starting my anthropological journey. I truly believe this is what I am meant to do with my life, and I was able to establish that at UW-Milwaukee. There were two professors at UWM that influenced me greatly. Dr. Jason Sherman became a mentor and was the faculty advisor for my independent study on Indigenous archaeologies, which was later published (Pipp 2021). The other is Dr. Bernard Perley (Maliseet Nation) who was the only Indigenous faculty member of the Anthropology department at the time and cemented in me the need for revitalizing, reparative, and regenerating anthropological research.

Within informal conversations with UWM faculty, it had been discussed that collaborative efforts with Tribal nations were more common in the Northwest Coast than in Wisconsin, and I was encouraged to move to the Pacific Northwest to continue my interest in collaborative work. I also love Alice in Chains and Pearl Jam, so the idea of being close to the birthplace of grunge was a no-brainer (Figure 5). I moved to Bellingham, WA to attend graduate school at Western Washington University (WWU), not knowing how much my life would change over the next three years. Collaborating with the Stillaguamish Tribe, working with the field school participants, and making all



Figure 5: Alice in Chains concert 2019

sorts of friendships along the way has given my life a different sense of purpose than I could have ever expected. My whole committee, Dr. Natalie Baloy, Dr. Jerald Ek, and Dr. Kathleen

Young, have become mentors, help me rethink the potential of anthropology, and I appreciate their presence in my life every day.

My collaborative experience has taught me that knowledge is not a solo enterprise: relationality is central and it shapes my everyday life and ways of knowing. How I understand the world is based on the relationships I have. These relationships include other humans, but also land, water, flora, fauna, and objects (Hodder 2012; Schaepe et al. 2017; Schaepe 2018). All these elements influence and interact with one another to help shape the way I move through the world. I often visualize this understanding with a spider web. The world is a web of networks and connections that are understood and reenforced through different ways of knowing which influence us all through life.

All this information is important to know about me as it influences how I walk through life and approach the research that I do. How I approach the world, its evidence, and its research are connected to the relationships I have been exposed to and my own understanding of teachings given. Being explicit in my positionality makes transparent who I am, where I come from, and where I want to go. I also hope that providing a positionality statement encourages others to reflect on who they are as people and what they bring with them into their everyday lives.

Thesis Overview

Now that you know a bit about who I am, it's time to lay out what to expect from this thesis. In Chapter 2, I share my guiding research values along with theoretical frameworks and methodological processes. In Chapter 3, I examine themes of university standards of harm to Indigenous peoples and how institutional change starts at home. In Chapter 4, I explore field schools as contingent collaborations and spaces of emotional transformation. Chapter 5 further

considers transformation with anticolonial and Indigenizing approaches to archaeological education. In Chapter 6, I conclude that Indigenous partnerships within field schools remodel how archaeology is taught and practiced. Chapter 7 provides an overall summary of this thesis with discussion of future research and practice possibilities stemming from this research.

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL TOOLBOXES

Emotionless, passionless, abstract, intellectual, academic research is a goddamn lie, it does not exist. It is a lie to ourselves and a lie to other people.

—Eber Hampton, “Memory Comes Before Knowledge” .

Research Ethics & the Four R's

While ‘toolbox’ is one analogy I like to use, my methodological structure can also include a metaphorical tree. I view my research ethics like the earth—the soil and nutrients which sustain the research and support its healthy growth just as the earth supports the growth of life. Key guiding values in my research include ‘r-words’ identified by Indigenous scholars in Indigenous Studies: **respect**, **relevancy**, **reciprocity**, and **responsibility** (Hayward et al. 2021; NOAA 2021; Thorne 2019; Tsosie et al. 2022; Wagner 2021). **Respect** goes beyond not doing harm by starting from the premise that Indigenous communities have knowledge, ethics, and practices that guide their understanding of how to work together in a good way. Respect is upheld through abiding by community protocols, guidance, and ongoing consent processes.

One way I have tried to apply respect to my research is by gifting Cultural Department members when asking them to participate in interviews, as it was expressed to me this is proper protocol when asking knowledge keepers to volunteer their time. Other ways I have tried to apply respect include continual consent and transparency in research along with respecting the everyday needs of the Cultural Department when organizing interviews and disseminating information.

Relevancy in research is creating knowledge that isn't just for the benefit of the university or broader academia. Research and its products should be wanted by, useful for, and applicable by the Tribal nations involved. Relevancy should be intergenerational—what we do

should be relevant today and for future generations. A way I have tried to accomplish relevancy is through the inclusion of Cultural Department questions in the interview guide including:

- What do you like about archaeology?
- What were your initial feelings when you found an artifact?
- Why did you join the field school?
- What was interesting/boring/challenging about the field school?

For relevancy to be possible, relationship-building has to take place to allow for communication about what matters for the community and research partners. This archaeological ethnography is also able to ask questions that can help shape future practices of the field school as the relationship continues to grow.

Reciprocity engages mutually beneficial exchanges of currencies (Harris et al. 2021) like knowledge, ideas, actions, time, gifts– among many others. For this research, I conducted interviews with Cultural Department staff, WWU faculty, and WWU students to make the range of participants inclusive so as many people could be heard. Before this thesis went out for defense, a draft was given to the Cultural Department for review. This strategy ensures that the representatives believe the Tribal nation is portrayed fairly and positions the Stillaguamish Tribe as rightful reviewers of information that involves them. This research also participates in reciprocity by contributing to the change in relationships between Tribal nations and academic institutions by transforming how archaeology is taught and practiced.

Responsibility entails being accountable to decisions and relationships. Ways that I have tried to act upon responsibility is by staying present and open with the participants throughout this research journey. I prioritize attending the Stillaguamish craft night hosted at their Community Center each week and try to attend community events when invited. The Stillaguamish Cultural Department, WWU faculty, and I also presented about and publicly

supported, along with WWU students, the Stillaguamish-WWU Collaborative Archaeological Field School at the 2022 Cultural Resource Protection Satellite Summit hosted by the Stillaguamish Tribe. This is an annual conference hosted by Washington Tribes to:

“...facilitate amongst all affected parties an open, frank discussion about the intersection between cultural resources and land use. The Summit is designed to promote collaborative cultural resource planning as an effective means of finding resolution to issues before they escalate into emotionally-charged, divisive, and expensive stalemates or lawsuits” (The Leadership Series 2023).

Being accountable to the field school students has been an important part of this work as well. I have accompanied students to events to support them in networking and keep in touch with them to continue to support them in a friendship and mentorship capacity. These research ethics help frame how I have practiced transparent research.

Transparency in Research

As part of this archaeological ethnography, I submitted an IRB application, which was approved (Appendix A), as I would be working with human subjects and data like interview transcripts—methods I explain later in this chapter. To start my own IRB process, a Clearance Document from the Stillaguamish Cultural Department stated that I had consulted with them about my research prior to the IRB application and that they gave permission for research to take place. This agreement, along with continual consent, must be done with any research for, with, or about Indigenous peoples.

Stillaguamish Cultural Department participants had the opportunity to review their transcript, to clarify, correct, remove their responses, and/or withdraw from the study. Cultural Department participants also received a copy of their transcript and audio to keep, and received summary documents to review which contained my findings. After the summary of findings was sent out, a presentation of findings was presented to the Cultural Department along with an open

discussion about any comments, questions, or concerns about my findings. As stated above, before the defending and publication of this thesis, the Cultural Department reviewed the thesis.

As part of my initial WWU Institutional Review Board application and related consent forms, I had stated I would use pseudonyms for the field school and research participants. Anonymity is sometimes a way to protect research participants and mitigate negative impact, but it does not address other ethical considerations, such as attribution and co-production of knowledge. In May 2023, WWU's IRB approved an amendment (Appendix B) which would allow for real names to be used upon request as part of my research procedures, but this was after I interviewed the Cultural Department staff and WWU faculty member, who all had signed consent forms stating that pseudonyms will be used. After I provided a summary of findings document, presentation of findings, and thesis review to the Stillaguamish Cultural Department before defense and final submission, Cultural Department staff stated that they would like to be named in the final thesis instead of being given pseudonyms. The WWU Anthropology Department faculty co-director also agreed to be named. In February 2024, I created a Consent Form Addendum which recorded explicit permission to use the names of the Stillaguamish Cultural Department and WWU co-directors. While the co-directors have decided to be named within this thesis, WWU student participants were given pseudonyms. My intent in centering these ethics and transparency in research connect to the theoretical frames I engage with as part of this research.

Theoretical Frames

I view my theoretical frames like the root system of a tree. Roots help anchor the tree just as these theoretical frames are sets of principles which my research is rooted in. A goal of this section is to go over tentative understandings of the following concepts which are explored

within this research: archaeology, settler colonialism, decolonization, anticolonialism, and Indigenizing research. My interpretations are not and should not be considered rigid or totalitarian. My hope in providing these frameworks is to position this research and to make transparent the lens that I take when going over and discussing the field school case study.

Any one definition of archaeology will never encompass all the intents, approaches, and practices the discipline has to offer. **Archaeology** is understood for this thesis as the study, management, and stewardship of human cultural heritage within the recent and deep past represented through material culture, more-than-human beings like flora and fauna (cf. Larsen and Johnson 2017), human remains, and participation with living communities. Post-processual archaeology has greatly impacted my understanding of anthropological research, with key themes including accepting evidence not as empirical facts but interpretations made by the researcher, rejection of the separation between method and theory, as well as being critical on how a researcher's beliefs, goals, and culture impact their study (cf. Hodder 1985; Shanks 2008). A complementary and connected frame to post-processualism includes an activist and revisionist position to archaeology:

“Revisionist [archaeological] practice seeks to be inclusive, redresses colonial legacies embedded in archaeological conventions and is quick to acknowledge the broader implications of practice in contemporary society, and the overtly political nature of making meaning from the past in the present. A clear focus of this research is a reflexive understanding of the implications of archaeology as the contemporary act of engaging with the material heritage of place” (Ferris and Welch 2015, 72).

Part of this revisionist position, as described by Ferris and Welch (2015, 73), can incorporate an acceptance of non-archaeological understandings of the past—including the conception of archaeological material as heritage. Cultural heritage includes tangible (material) and intangible (ideals, values, traditions, etc.) expressions of human life that are passed down from one generation to the next (cf. Blake 2000). The obvious area of overlap (and often conflict) between

archaeology and heritage studies is that the subject matter of archaeological research—what archaeologists call ‘data’—can be considered cultural heritage by descendant communities.

The archaeological record is given significance through law, policy, and research; and archaeologists further sustain this significance as they mitigate, steward, and make decisions for archaeological material--whether it be through CRM compliance or academic-related work. How archaeologists think about and talk about the archaeological record impacts how they relate to, care for, and participate with cultural resources. How I understand archaeology is as important as how I talk and relate to the material heritage being studied. Traditionally, excavated materials in archaeology have been assigned sterile terminology like objects/artifacts, resources, ecofacts, remains, data etc. This type of vernacular and relationality comes from a position where materials and beings are inanimate facts studied by objective archaeologists. These categories and relationships imposed by archaeologists onto excavated materials can be and often are incompatible with how descendent communities view and relate to these same materials. Within Coast Salish country, ‘archaeological material’ is also referred to as belongings, more-than-human beings, ancestors, *schay'ten-le7* (Samish, ‘tools of the past’), *syayus təd ə tə yəl'yəl'ab* (Lushootseed, ‘tools of our ancestors’), and *schelángen* (Samish, all-encompassing term for culture, history, and teachings)³. This type of vernacular brings life back to these materials and beings and archaeologists are encouraged to participate in this unsettling relationality.

There are many forms of colonialism; as historian Nancy Shoemaker (2015) identifies 12 different types: planter, extractive, trade, transport, imperial power, not-in-my backyard, legal, rogue, missionary, romantical, postcolonial, and settler colonialism. **Settler colonialism** is local

³ Listed terms should not be considered exhaustive but rather demonstrates how archaeological material can be described in both English and Indigenous languages/dialects

and systemic. Its conceptualization, structure, and practice are dependent on the people and places that are impacted and those who are settling. Settler colonialism is a structure, not an event (Wolfe 2006, 388)—moving and transforming through time and space. Land access and resource exploitation are key elements of settler colonialism and are succeeded through the destruction and replacement of Indigenous peoples with settler life (Wolfe 2006). Settler colonialism is destructive, forceful, and extractive homemaking (Tuck and Yang 2012). If the structural makeup of settler colonialism is taken seriously, the practice of it cannot be relegated as something of the past.

The project of Native elimination by settler colonialism is not complete (Wolfe 2006) and as Native Hawaiian scholar J. Kēhaulani Kauanui emphasizes, the incompleteness of settler colonialism means Indigenous peoples continue to endure and refuse settler domination as the structure modifies (2016). In the Salish Sea, the area where this work takes place, there are recent settler attempts to eradicate Coast Salish peoples' access, decision making of, and connection to lands and waters. Two examples include the Gateway Pacific Terminal and Roberts Bank Terminal 2 industrial projects.

Gateway Pacific Terminal (GPT) was originally proposed by SSA Marine in 2011 to be constructed at Cherry Point, Washington—an area also known to the Lummi as Xwe'chi'exen. Gateway Pacific Terminal, if built, would be the largest export of coal in North America (Friends of the Earth 2017) and would connect railways from Wyoming transporting coal to then be shipped using marine vessel transport from the Salish Sea (Burgesser et al. 2011). Opposition to GPT was immediate and raised questions over Tribal nation treaty rights and ecological impact. In 2015, the Lummi Nation requested the Army Corps of Engineers to deny the permits to GPT as the construction would negatively impact their ability to fish in usual and accustomed waters

(Allen 2016)—rights protected by the Treaty of Point Elliott (1855) and affirmed with the Boldt Decision (1974). The Lummi Nation, putting their inherent and acquired rights on the line, were successfully able to stop the project from proceeding.

Roberts Bank Terminal 2 (RBT2) is an expansion project operated by the Vancouver Fraser Port Authority which would create a new island adjacent to existing cargo container terminals. After a decade-long environmental impact assessment in which 48 Canadian First Nations were consulted, the project was approved in April 2023⁴. Since then, the Lummi Nation have filed a challenge stating the Canadian government has a duty to consult with them citing *R. v. Desautel* (2021 SCC 17) —the Canadian court case which ruled non-citizens and non-residents can claim an Aboriginal right under the Canadian Constitution (Lerner 2023). At the writing of this thesis— the Lummi's challenge to RBT2 continues to be under review.

Removal is also performed through the destruction of Indigenous connection to heritage and past which is how anthropological archaeology relates to settler colonialism. Anthropology has long ignored the role of settler colonialism within the discipline and is slow to become critical and acknowledge the political impact of research (Cattelino and Simpson 2022). In North America, the salvage anthropological practices of the 20th century, promoted by settler colonialism, set standards in extracting heritage and knowledge away from Native peoples to be understood without them (Corntassel and Gaudry 2014). Cultural resource management (CRM), born from salvage anthropology, is the everyday practice of archaeology and directly relates to legislation that establishes a settler legal structure—mandating the destruction and appropriation of cultural patrimony by [mostly] white settlers over Indigenous peoples (Ferris 2003).

⁴ Environment and Climate Change Canada, *Decision Statement Issued under Section 54 of the Canadian Environmental Assessment Act, 2012*

Anthropological archaeology has been and continues to be utilized as tool for settler colonialism, however, instead of taking this critique as something that cannot be changed, myself and other researchers (Martindale et al. 2016) believe that anticolonial, decolonial, and Indigenizing archaeology is the step in the right direction towards unsettling the field.

My approach to **decolonization** relates to the work of Tuck and Yang who define decolonization as the repatriation of Indigenous land and life (2012, 1). Tuck and Yang critique the ways in which frames of decolonization are used as a theoretical, ideological, and metaphorical instrument instead of a material practice, experience, and reality. This is causing an obfuscation and dilution of what decolonization means for Indigenous peoples—something settlers need to watch out for in their quest to rid themselves of guilt. Strategies to rid settler guilt through moves of innocence are identified by Tuck and Yang (2012, 9-28) and include:

1. *Settler nativism*: trying to relate and be native to lay claim to land and homemaking without guilt
2. *Settler adoption fantasies*: to fantasize and allow oneself (settler) to be native while retaining all the beneficial qualities of being a settler
3. *Colonial equivocation*: lumping different peoples together as colonized because of similar experiences without critically evaluating different lived realities people face(d)
4. *Free your mind and the rest will follow*: liberation is a reality—decolonization is words and actions; thoughts and experience. Decolonization is not social justice, though there are social justice elements within decolonization. Decolonization is the repatriation of land and life
5. *A(s)t(e)risk people*: Settler colonial apparatuses are discussing Indigenous people like they are pawns that can be moved by academics. Indigenous peoples are consistently overlooked and operationalized as theoretical enigmas
6. *Re-occupation and urban homesteading*: Anti-capitalistic and social justice movements like the Occupy movement leave out Native peoples' experience of settler colonialism. When decolonization is called for by settlers, becoming landless through repatriation is not talked of. Decolonization by settlers for settlers is the re-occupation of stolen land

Decolonization is supposed to be unsettling because it disrupts the structural mechanisms that colonialism operates. My interpretation of decolonization recognizes that there are various approaches to this term and the way I view it is not the only valid position to think of and act

upon. In the spirit of ‘decolonization is not a metaphor’ (Tuck and Yang 2012), I see it as political action.

Anticolonialism differs from decolonization and is interpreted broadly as the disrupting and overcoming of colonial/imperial structural power (Liboiron 2021). If the path of decolonization is a goal of the researcher, then anticolonialism is a stepping stone for change to take place. “Academics who are to be true allies to Indigenous Peoples in the protection of our knowledge must be willing to step outside of their privileged position and challenge research that conforms to the guidelines outline by the colonial structure and root their work in the politics of decolonization and anticolonialism” (Simpson 2004, 381). Anticolonialism and decolonization do not oppose one another, but I believe anticolonial thoughts and actions to be the initial breakthrough that can lead to a pathway of decolonization. Anticolonial transformation, especially in the settler academy, is contextualized and bolstered with Indigenizing action.

Indigenizing research is the centering of Indigenous presence, participation, voices, ideas, needs, wants, and determination within research processes (cf. Smith 2021). Indigenizing research also coincides with the process of academic indigenization—the increase of Indigenous faculty, staff, students within the academy; the reconciliation of Indigenous knowledge and peoples in relation to academic institutions; and the rebalancing of power in the creation and use of knowledge (Gaudry and Lorenz 2018, 218-219). All of these Indigenizing practices intersect with the goal of moving Indigenous life out of the margins where the state and academy have purposefully pushed them.

In the context of this research, I prefer to engage with an anticolonial instead of a decolonial frame. In settler educational settings, decolonization is practiced little and when called for, is often aspirational. Decolonization is part of academic vocabulary and scholarly vernacular

which is great, as it means conversations are happening and academics feel comfortable imagining a world with decolonization. But disrupting colonial language and thoughts does not take down the structural web of colonization. Anticolonialism is this disruption and should always be put into a context and relationality. Anticolonialism turns our backs to colonialism, but what we look towards matters. We cannot turn to nothing, as this only returns us to colonialism. Disrupting colonialism towards an Indigenizing world puts anticolonial thoughts and actions into context. For this research, I favor anticolonial intersected with Indigenizing approaches and practice because the work is not decolonial in the way I understand it—the research does not outright repatriate Stillaguamish land or life. It does, however, disrupt colonial structures of anthropological research through the archaeological work and relationship with the Stillaguamish Tribe. These theoretical frames, braided with my ethics, are part of the research and methodological approaches I incorporate into this archaeological ethnography.

Research and Methodological Frames

I view the use of an archaeological ethnography like the trunk of a tree. Trunks are the foundational structure and for research, ethnographies take many shapes, so the use of an archaeological ethnography is my basic structure from which my “research tree” grows. Archaeological ethnographies involve creating thick descriptions of archaeological practices as cultural expressions (Hamilakis and Anagnostopoulos 2009, 66), which allow or “...force us to ‘excavate’ our own collective subjectivity and disciplinary culture” (Hamilakis 2016, 680). This approach emphasizes research into the anthropological self instead of the ethnographic Other. Archaeological ethnographies open spaces for discussions about the role or place of archaeology in the present world (Meskell 2005, 84). Archaeologists are no longer able to assume that ‘knowledge for knowledge’s sake’ will be wanted by local communities whose landscape

includes designated archaeological sites. For researchers conducting collaborative work with local stakeholders, archaeological ethnographies provide a toolbox for understanding how archaeology is perceived (Meskell 2005, 2007), what is wanted from archaeological work (Hollowell and Nicholas 2009), and how archaeological work can or does impact local communities (Hollowell and Nicholas 2008). The application of ethnographic methods within archaeological practices can also shape relevant work in collaboration with Indigenous communities. As critical archaeologists Julie Hollowell and George Nicholas explain (2009, 153, emphasis in original), [i]n one sense, this is an emancipatory use of ethnography for Native groups and not of Native groups—one that offers a means by which they may be empowered to articulate and put forth their own principles of heritage law and heritage management.” This approach to anthropology puts Indigenous voices and determination at the forefront of research and deconstructs the distancing and othering of Indigenous peoples from their own heritage by an assertion of outsider archaeological expertise.

Within this archaeological ethnography, I incorporate community-based participatory research (CBPR) and rapid ethnographic assessment (REA). These research frames are like the branches of a tree. Branches grow from the trunk and can overlap, but are distinct in their own way. Community-based participatory research is an umbrella term for interdisciplinary work with variable intents and practices. In broad terms, “CBPR entails academic-community collaboratives in which power is shared among partners in all aspects of the research process—the doing, interpreting and acting on science” (Balazs and Morello-Frosch 2013, 9). As Anishinaabe-Ojibwe archaeologist Sonya Atalay explains, “CBPR methodologies emerged from critiques of conventional researcher-driven approaches and from scholarship and activism that names and problematizes the power imbalances in current practices” (2012, 9). How community-

based participatory research is designed and the methods utilized are dependent on the type of study being conducted.

Within archaeology, community-based participatory research opens opportunities to engage with different publics and local communities (Clark 2002; Green et al. 2003; Kerber 2008). Community-based participatory research in the context of Indigenous partnership in archaeology enhances "...reciprocal benefits to each partner, and it allows communities to build capacity in many ways. Another tenet is to value information and ways of knowing contributed from diverse knowledge systems" (Atalay 2012, 4). Community-based archaeology moves archaeological inquiry away from extractive research designs and praxis. "Research is considered extractive when it becomes clear how the researchers benefit from the project – publications, funding, tenure, respect as a knowledgeable person – while the community's gains remain elusive" (170). Traditional archaeology can be characterized as extractive in nature, with the primary goal being the extraction of data for academic research. This has contributed to a standardized form where the Principal Investigator pitches the research, receives funding, goes to the field to extract data, goes back home, and writes works that are only of interest to other academic (i.e. Western/white settler) communities. Turning away from this extractive design moves towards research where trust, respect, and relationality are forged and underscore the rights of Indigenous groups.

Community-based participatory research can be and is complemented with rapid ethnographic assessment (REA) as part of this research. "REA is primarily a qualitative research method that focuses on the collection and analysis of locally relevant data" (Sangaramoorthy and Kroeger 2020, 3). Originally rooted in international health and development during the 1970's, models of rapid ethnographic assessment have moved towards considering social and intellectual

hierarchies (Sangaramoorthy and Kroeger 2020, 4-5). Investigating social and intellectual hierarchies is a goal of this research when studying collaborative archaeological field schools.

Rapid ethnographic assessment is employed within this research study as the frame can be utilized, "...as preliminary research to establish an understanding of how best to proceed in further studying an issue or what more needs to be done to gather information" (Sangaramoorthy and Kroeger 2020, 35). With limited time or before long-term research takes place, rapid ethnographic assessment collects information that provides researchers a better understanding on how to move forward. "REAs emphasize the importance of applied knowledge as a foundation for theoretical development through the conduct of research that is applied, action-oriented, critical, and decolonial" (Sangaramoorthy and Kroeger 2020, 8). This emphasizes a mode of research that is practical and useful not just for academics but also for partners and participants involved.

Rapid ethnographic assessment was applied during the course of the six-week field school in 2022, with a second, six-week long field season occurring in the summer of 2023. Conducting an archaeological ethnography of the first field school engages with information that can be applied to transform future field school practices. Rapid ethnographic assessment is apt to, "...elicit rich description about the context in which things occur, and about the processes, systems, motivations, and relationships" (Sangaramoorthy and Kroeger 2020, 3). This ethnography about the Stillaguamish-WWU Collaborative Archaeological Field School explores institutional legacies and hierarchies, motivations behind field schools, and how trust and relationship building is bolstered with anticolonial and Indigenizing practices. My research ethics, theoretical frames, research design and methodological frames are all entangled within the methods that I practice as part of this research.

Methods in Practice

I view my methods like the leaves of a tree—they are a product of all its foundational support. Just as leaves flower from a tree, methods flower from the ‘body’ of the research. Methods operationalized in this archaeological ethnography include the analysis of **WWU field journals**, **observational TA notes**, and **semi-structured interviews**. As part of their field school assignments, WWU students wrote in **field journals** five days a week to detail their archaeological work regarding surface surveys, shovel test probes (STPs), excavation, soil types, etc. Students also shared their personal reflections in their field journals, including emotional experiences and connections to key concepts.

Through the consent process for this research, I asked student research participants for permission and consent to read and analyze their field journal contents. In total, I reviewed 15 student field journals. I developed a codebook (Figure 6) to analyze the field journals, organizing and labeling excerpts from student field journals to identify themes and connections within and between them. Some codes used as part of this thesis include *person, power, and determination* [explicit and implicit power, positionality, mutualism]; *information flow* [i.e. how, where, quality, quantity]; *transformative suggestions* [what worked, what could be changed]; *emotions* [positive, negative, other]; and *values* [i.e. respect, reciprocity, sharing, trust]. Analyzing the field journals complement the data collected through interviews as I gained insights into students’ learning journey in real-time and in a formative way versus the kind of retrospective reflection that can occur in interviews.

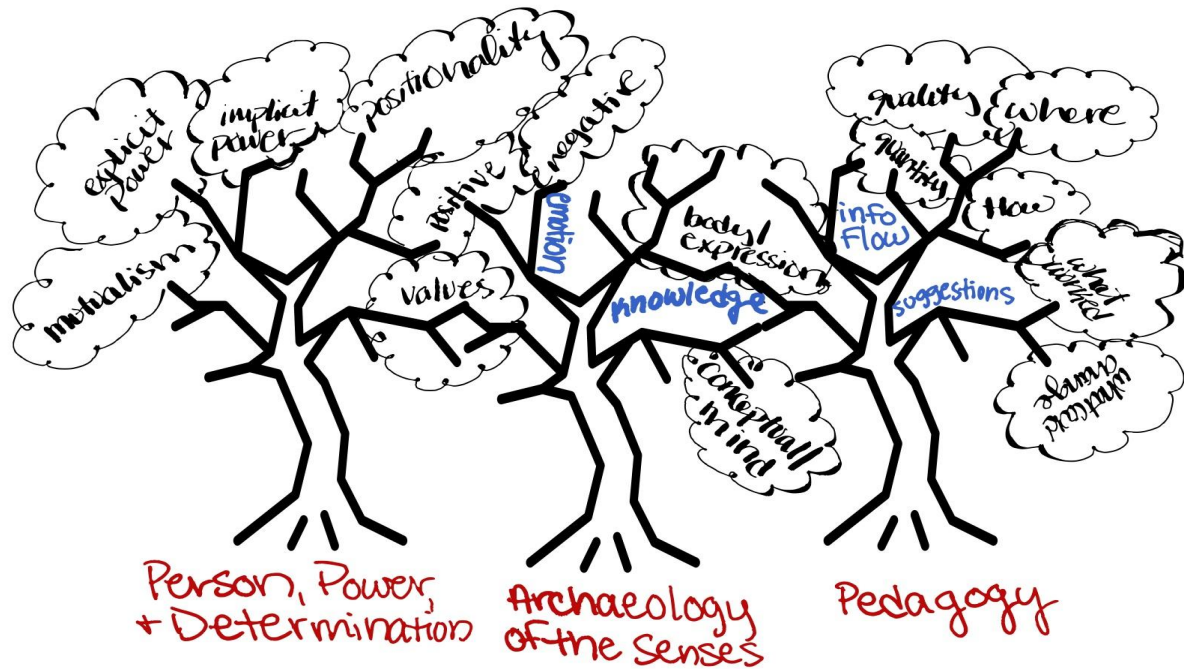


Figure 6: Visual representation of codebook. Each 'tree' represents a specific category in descriptive coding. Each category contains codes and subcodes represented by branches and leaves that can overlap

As a **Teaching Assistant (TA)** to the field school, I also possessed a **field journal** to keep my own reflections and observations. My position as the TA provided more of a supervisor role so my own field journal lacked detailed information about archaeological work like surveys, STPs, excavation, soil types, etc. However, I was able to write about what I was experiencing and what I saw with the other participants in the moment. Analyzing my own field journal is complementary to the student field journals and the interviews because I am able to examine if how I thought about the field school matches what students were experiencing and what participants express within the interviews. This encourages checks and balances between my perception of the field school and the perceptions of the WWU students, faculty, and Stillaguamish Cultural Department.

In total, I conducted 20 **semi-structured interviews** with participants including WWU students, WWU faculty, and Stillaguamish Cultural Department staff. I conducted interviews after the field school took place to assess the summative impact of the collaborative experience on participants involved. This included reflecting on the archaeological field in general, goals and benefits of the field school, what worked well in the field school, and what could be changed. Interviews were predominantly structured, meaning participants were all asked the same questions, though outside questions were prompted as conversations occurred and different subjects were brought up. There were semi-structured elements to the interview guide depending on the position of the participant. The wording of the questions had to be slightly altered when speaking with WWU faculty and Cultural Department staff due to their leadership roles. While language changed when speaking with faculty and the Cultural Department, the intent behind the questions were the same. All interviews were transcribed and coded—again meaning information was organized and labeled to identify themes and connections within and between them. The same codes used for the field journal analysis were applied to the interviews.

Braiding methods of interviews, field journals, and observational TA notes together forms the basis of my ethnographic data set for this research. These methods, entangled with the ethics, theoretical, and methodological frames discussed before, are utilized to explore how the Stillaguamish-WWU Collaborative Archaeological Field School inspired and trained tribally-minded archaeological practitioners. By exploring this program and curriculum through ethnographic storytelling, I hope to create a body of information that is both applicable to future Stillaguamish-WWU Field School practices and creates insight into how the WWU Anthropology Department trains future archaeological practitioners in an Indigenizing way.

CHAPTER 3: ACADEMIC AND UNIVERSITY CHANGE STARTS AT HOME

In Chapter 1, I describe how I majored in anthropology as an undergraduate and everything clicked. I have learned throughout my anthropological training and research, however, that anthropology does not always inspire positive emotions, especially for communities who have been the subject of anthropological research. As Māori scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith explains in her foundational text *Decolonizing Methodologies*, [t]he word itself, ‘research,’ is probably one of the dirtiest words in the Indigenous world’s vocabulary” (Smith 2021, 1). For those labeled the ‘Other,’ systematically dehumanized, and manipulated like pawns in chess, the word anthropology can bring a sour taste to the tongue. Anthropology dominates the creation and study of the ‘Other’ as an apparatus of European colonization and over-determination of heritage studies (Atalay 2006; Smith 2021). Through time, the field of anthropology has possessed cultures of standards, backed by policy [or lack of], in what is considered ethical, right, or good work.

Around the world, academia and the individuals who make up and represent institutions have harmed Indigenous peoples (Dover 2013; Drahos 2011; Heller and McElhinny 2017). Anthropologists, as imaginers and practitioners of anthropological knowledge, embody the academy as it is the space and culture which asserts authority over Indigenous heritage. Anthropologists who perpetuate harmful behavior operate within institutional systems and standards that permit and protect this conduct. Institutional harm, both past and present, is often talked about within broad subjects like Euro-centric, racist, and disciplining education, but it is enforced by individuals upon others. Harm like this can be localized—it is practiced by particular people within specific places.

The intention of this chapter is to connect institutional harm to local people and places. Within my positionality statement, I discuss accountability and how I try to practice it within my own research. Included in this accountability is to the institution where I do this work. As a student at Western Washington University, I inherit their legacies as I choose to attend and represent this institution. It is not always easy finding information about past departmental behavior unless people decide it is worth bringing to light. Sometimes this knowledge is not welcomed. I would not have been able to learn about or acquire the materials necessary if it weren't for Dr. Kathleen Young who helped guide me through our department's past by sharing her scholarly work examining the department's formation, history, and impacts on local communities. While these are stories from just one university, similarities are found across the country and globe. Every institution has skeletons in their closets and unfortunately for many anthropology departments, this is not just a metaphor.

The following discussion is not meant to 'air out dirty laundry' for the sake of critique alone. I examine three past faculty members at Western Washington University: Herbert C. Taylor Jr. (Department of Anthropology 1951-1986), James W. Bosch (Department of Anthropology 1966-1982), and Martha Smith (Woodring School of Education; pseudonym). This list of faculty should not be considered exhaustive in nature. Rather than a biographical or historical analysis of these three figures, I consider the legacies of their professional conduct on current relationships between my home institution and local Indigenous communities. I recognize that people's intentions, words, and actions are much more complicated than the historical record is able to enlighten us on, but my hope is that this chapter can shed light on how individuals contribute to institutional-level systems, including institutional inequity, injustice, and harm.

I relate academic individuals to the subsequent critiques: anthropological knowledge is not objective, neutral, or apolitical [Taylor]; anthropologists have a history of invalidating Native critiques [Bosch]; and educational and teacher training practices have intergenerational impacts on Native people and communities [Smith]. While all these actions happened before the year 2000, to say ‘it was a different time’ is another way of saying that there weren’t repercussions for damaging, racist, and ignorant behavior. Institutions cannot hide their departments’ history, but instead, they must be accountable to them. Distancing from how faculty of our own institutions have inflicted harm onto Indigenous communities is a move to settler innocence (Tuck and Yang 2012), as it relegates harm to the past and ignores how these individuals helped shape the department and institution that current faculty participate with. If we lack the ability to admit what our institutions have done, how are we supposed to move forward towards a reconcilable future?

Anthropologists cannot look towards a hopeful future if there is no actual change within the present. Acknowledging how WWU institutional faculty have harmed Indigenous communities contextualizes the path that reparative work should follow and provides important local specificity to the work ahead. If decolonization is the aspirational future in academia, transforming institutions cannot be confined to discourse and theory—it is produced when people within departments take on the responsibility of change. Just as decolonization is not a metaphor (Tuck and Yang 2012), neither is it placeless (Dang 2021). Mending burnt bridges and conducting reparative research between Tribal nations and universities starts at home. Western Washington University is not an isolated institution to institutional harm but rather reflects a web of training in academia wherein faculty trained elsewhere come to work at WWU and bring with them their own training. Contextualizing the intent and impacts of the Stillaguamish-WWU

Collaborative Archaeological Field School within a broader institutional and academic history is an important offering of this archaeological ethnography. The following sections address each faculty member, their conduct within and outside WWU, and how the Stillaguamish-WWU Collaborative Archaeological Field School endeavors to create a reparative partnership against the backdrop of these reverberating legacies.

Brief Overview of Western Washington University

The origins of Western Washington University began in 1893 when land ownership and settler legislation established the New Whatcom Normal School on the traditional lands of the Lhaq'temish (Lummi) people. The New Whatcom Normal School was Whatcom County's second normal school and the third public teaching training school (Woodring College of Education n.d.). The construction of the first building of the New Whatcom campus began in 1895, and still stands today as the Old Main building. Most students at the New Whatcom Normal School during the late 19th and into the 20th century were white women training to become teachers. Over time, the institution has gone through several name changes as the institution has grown in size, departments, and academic status. Arntzen Hall, the building where the Anthropology Department is located in, was named after Edward Arntzen (1894-1971) who was a social studies faculty member from 1924-1962, and hired as chair of the Social Studies Department in 1933 until 1960. It was Arntzen who hired Herbert C. Taylor, the first anthropology faculty member I address.

Herbert C. Taylor Jr.: Anthropological Knowledge is Not Neutral

Herbert C. Taylor Jr.'s (1924-1991; Figure 7) story at WWU starts in 1951 when he was hired as the college's first anthropologist. Taylor was a World War II veteran and received his

PhD in Anthropology from the University of Chicago where he investigated cultural change and death among Norse Greenland and Pecos Rivers peoples (Taylor 1951). Shortly after his hire, Taylor began researching and testifying before the Indian Claims Commission as an expert witness for various Northwest Coast Indigenous communities, including but not limited to, the Chinook (1974b), Chehalis (1974a), Tillamook (1974e), and Medicine Creek Tribes (1974d) in 1953, and the Makah (1974c) in 1955, despite not having any prior experience working in the region with these Tribal nations or any other local Indigenous communities.

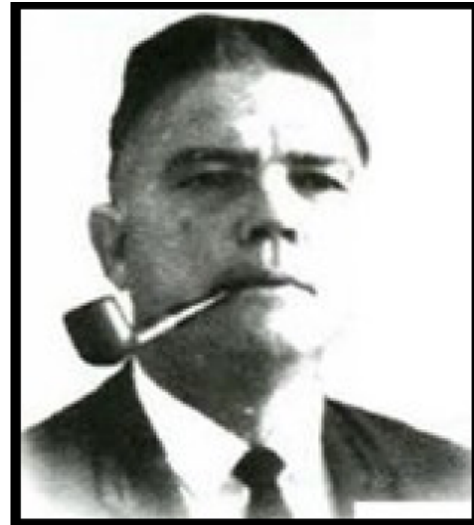


Figure 7: Herbert C. Taylor (Sheehan et al. 2004)

In 1946, the Indian Claims Commission Act (ICCA) was passed by Congress as, "...a statute authorizing *Indian tribes* to sue the United States for breach of treaty obligation, such as for the taking of tribal land" (Pevar 2012, 324). The Indian Claims Commission (ICC) was created from the ICCA to settle Tribal claims. The ICC process was reinforced with settler modes of information gathering, expertise, and ways of knowing. "The Indian Claims Commission needed to be informed of the events that had transpired since contact, especially loss of land and resources in the wake of treaties and the creation of reservations, and descriptions of these events had to be supported by documentary evidence" (Boxberger 2007, 70). Anthropologists, with their institutional validation, spoke on Tribal nations' territory, identity, and cultural continuity instead of the Tribal nations themselves. Expertise was (and still is) given to anthropologists because they are considered the scholarly group which possess the authority to 'objectively' study, understand, and 'know' culture.

“Generally, rather than get testimony directly from the Indians, it was simpler and more persuasive to trot out white scholars with impressive credentials, degrees and publications, to speak about evidence from the Indians” (Lurie 1985, 371). These testimonies had legal impacts concerning whether the Indigenous communities seeking justice were *identifiable groups* who had the right to seek compensation from the United States (Pevar 2012, 324). Those not considered identifiable groups or communities who had “fully assimilated” (according to anthropologists) could be denied compensation.

Taylor was approached by attorneys-at-law Malcolm Stewart McLeod, E.L. Crawford, Frederick W. Post, and James E. Sereault to testify for the ICC; yet, he had no ethnographic experience with Salish Sea and surrounding groups (Boxberger 2007, 69). As an anthropologist, however, Taylor conducted research about these groups that would then be used to understand their lifeways within the court systems. In his ICC reports, he developed lines of evidence using ethnographic, archaeological, and historical data (1974a, 119-120; 1974b, 105-106; 1974c, 30; 1974d, 404; 1974e, 29-30). Taylor favored archaeological and historical data over ethnological data, including information shared by contemporary Indigenous peoples (1974e, 78):

“1) Before any major conclusions is reached, it must be checked against other forms of data (i.e., Tillamook informants’ claims that they hunted elk, bear and deer in the Coast Range were corroborated by an archaeological excavation, the Journal of David Douglas, and inferential evidence from Tillamook mythology).

2) Oral tradition alone may not be used in reaching a major conclusion. If the datum is not borne out by archaeological, historical or linguistic data, then a Scotch verdict⁵ must be returned.

3) Of all data available to the investigator, archaeological data is the most trust-worthy—no man lies to his garbage heap.

⁵ A Scotch verdict is a verdict of not proven which is allowed by Scottish criminal law in particular cases instead of a guilty or not guilty verdict (Duff 1999, 173). In the Tillamook case for Taylor, if evidence does not derive from archaeological, historical, or linguistic data then the verdict of not proven must be given.

4) However, archaeological evidence is inarticulate and sheds light on only a limited number of problems (i.e., diet, village, location, population, etc.). Therefore, primary historical data from reliable writers is the most trustworthy. If oral tradition is in conflict with reliable written record—than oral tradition is probably incorrect”

Archaeological, historical, and ethnographic evidence have largely become the dominant and validated sources of knowledge about Indigenous peoples within Eurocentric legal systems (Boxberger 2007, 70). Taylor’s own conception of archaeological and historical records as more reliable than oral tradition and personal knowledge connects to the conceptualization of archaeological data as empirical (i.e. objective) evidence which is embedded within broader settler colonial notions of knowledge and relationality. Settler legal systems require(d) ‘objectivity’ and ‘materiality’ to understand Tribal lifeways—requirements that settler legal practitioners believe oral tradition did not achieve compared to evidence from physical sciences and historical records (Miller 1998). Oral tradition and material-based evidence like historical records do not have to be pitted against one another, but often are in scholarly or legal proceedings which understand documentation as ‘fact’ and oral tradition as ‘subjective’ (Hanson n.d.). The reliance of anthropological mediators like Taylor, who promoted Eurocentric modes of research, relates to the lack of settler engagement with Tribal nations as valid knowledge keepers and settler validation of Indigenous life.

For example, within the Chinook and Tillamook reports, Taylor included historical evidence like “...records of Spanish, French, English, American and Russian explorers, the account of Hudson’s Bay Company officials and Officers of the Crown, and reports of United States Governmental Officers, who were in the areas between 1603 and 1860” (1974b, 105-106; 1974e, 29). Similar records were also used as primary sources of information for the Makah and Chehalis cases (1974a, 119; 1974c, 30). By relying on these sources as the highest order of authority on the past, Taylor reified European, colonial/imperial, and capitalist recorders as more

dependable and accurate accounts of Indigenous life than oral tradition and the peoples' own knowledge. Taylor emphasized the use of Eurocentric documentation while simultaneously containing a lack of trust in Indigenous authority about their own communities, lands, and waters. For the Medicine Creek Tribes, when establishing boundaries, Taylor reported that he, "...ignored the boundary claims of the living Indians and attempted to establish through the various sources of data available to him, what lands had *actually* been hunted by these people, where they had gathered their food and where they fished" (1974d, 473; emphasis added). The distrust Taylor possessed of contemporary Medicine Creek peoples to claim territory is obvious and connects to a settler narrative in which Indigenous peoples will tactically claim more territory than in 'necessary' or 'true' (cf. Thom 2014). To undermine Indigenous rights, settlers invalidate(d) Indigenous ontology (theory of the nature of reality), epistemology (the study of the nature of thinking and/or knowing), axiology (the ethics and morals that guide research), and methodology (the theory of how knowledge is gained) (cf. Wilson 2008, 33-34)—replacing it with imposed standards based on colonial observation and research methods.

While Taylor assumed the reliability of colonial records, he also argued for the devaluing of ethnographic information: "it should be pointed out that modern Tillamook informants are almost completely Americanized, and further are the product of two or three generations' attempts to destroy 'Indian-ness' and to emphasize 'American-ness.' Such a process has inevitably destroyed much of the potential value of ethnographic importance" (1974e, 63). This argument put forward by Taylor is not sympathetic to assimilation and asserts that the use of ethnographic data about the Tillamook is of no use because they are "culturally dead." Since Taylor was the anthropologist to comprehend Tribal life and culture—utilizing legally and anthropologically 'valid' research methods—he simultaneously invalidated Indigenous oral

tradition, traditional knowledge, and personal histories, including in boundary/territory claims, so settler accounts of Indigenous life could be given precedence. The elimination of the Native (Wolfe 2006) is further implemented with the declaration of Indigenous groups as culturally dead. If a Tribal nation is considered culturally dead, the use of ethnography is not needed to understand “living” cultures because, according to Taylor, they don’t exist—further weaponizing and relegating ‘real’ Indigenous culture and people to the past. What is missing from Taylor’s own discussion is the direct responsibility of settler colonialism for this ‘destruction’ which impacts his views on social continuity—something that goes into the ruling of ICC claims. Taylor does try to indulge this responsibility with a favorite catchphrase, repeated in multiple reports, where he claims rum, syphilis, gun power, and smallpox to be “civilization’s blessings” which culturally and physically eliminated Indigenous peoples—impacting their continuity into the present (1974a, 123; 1974b, 142; 1974c, 69; 1974d, 428; 1974e, 62). This position on genocidal settler colonialism cannot be overlooked or ignored as it was an inherent part of how he viewed Indigenous peoples and their court cases. The following section expands more on the turbulent relationship between anthropology and Native peoples with the invalidation of Indigenous critique by anthropologists.

James W. Bosch: Anthropological Invalidation of Native Critique

The second anthropologist I will discuss is James W. Bosch (1919-1982). He received his PhD in 1966 from Stanford University in Anthropology, was hired as an Anthropology professor at WWU in 1967, and served as the department chair from 1976-1981. Bosch’s teaching tenure at WWU overlapped with prominent Indigenous critical scholar Vine Deloria Jr., who taught at the WWU College of Ethnic Studies from 1970-1972. Before starting his position at WWU, Deloria published the classic polemic *Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto* (1969),

which included the chapter “Anthropologists and Other Friends” that pilloried anthropologists of the time. In 1971, Bosch attended the WWU Book of the Quarter panel about *Custer Died For Your Sins* and publicly rejected Deloria’s critiques of anthropology. In this section, I summarize Deloria’s arguments and situate Bosch’s response as a way to examine non-Indigenous anthropologists’ reactions and responsibilities in relation to Indigenous criticism.

In the chapter “Anthropologists and Other Friends,” Deloria depicts anthropologists flocking to Indian Country to conduct their research in summertime—almost like ceremony (1969, 83). Summertime is convenient for anthropologists—most faculty and students aren’t participating in classes. This ritualistic time period is used for the study of the ‘Other,’ where researchers practice the colonial protocols they learned in the academy to understand the way of people. The archetypal anthropologist researches about Indigenous people to teach other anthropologists and to bolster anthropological expertise, thereby creating knowledge that is beneficial for the academy, not to Native peoples. Information is taken from Indigenous people, discussed without them, taught without them, and this “knowledge” is then used to further understand them (1969, 86). This creates discourse and schools of thought within anthropology where researchers fight over their position. “Thus go the anthropological wars, testing whether this school or that school can endure longest. And the battle-fields, unfortunately, are the lives of Indian people” (Deloria 1969, 85). Anthropological authority includes the dehumanizing of people so they can be manipulated into theory and research. The anthropologist creates the character of the “real Indian” to distance people from their own heritage and to control the narrative of Indigenous peoples as an anthropologically created and enforced trope.

Bosch did not welcome Deloria’s critiques or humor about anthropology during the Book of the Quarter panel. According to a school newspaper reporter who covered the event, “James

Bosch, associate professor of anthropology, refuted most of Deloria's comments and stood up for the anthropologist. He said he felt that the entire book and chapter about anthropologists were full of nonsense" ("Western Front-1971 February 19"). The invalidation of Deloria's critiques did not stop there. Bosch declared that, "...if the Indian didn't want to be studied then the Anthropologist wouldn't study them. 'We do not run out to the reservations every summer and wear ridiculous costumes. We become participants in your society'" ("Western Front-1971 February 19"). Bosch implies that Indigenous peoples became research subjects by choice and wanted anthropologists to take their belongings, knowledge, language, resources, tools, and ancestors away so that they can be measured, theorized, and even discredited without them. Deloria's critiques in *Custer Died For Your Sins* specifically addresses the extractive nature of research and how anthropological practice has emphasized anthropological expertise in ways that shape policy and Indigenous lives (1969). Unable to appreciate the humor and pointed critiques of Deloria, Bosch took a public position on his view of the relationship between Native peoples and anthropological research. This is a stance that ignores the implicit and explicit connection anthropology and its practitioners have to white supremacy, settler colonization, extractive research, and institutional harm. The following sections further details harmful relationships and positions at WWU with a case study of racist education.

Martha Smith: Negative Educational Experiences

Native students are often confronted with disrespect, racism, and academic authority when entering the university (Bradford 2021; Guillory and Wolverton 2016). Western Washington University is no exception to this. Education scholar Michael Marker (1951-2021) has investigated institutional racism within the education system, focusing on Ferndale High School and Western Washington University during and after the "Fish Wars" of the 1960's and

1970's (1995; 2000). During this time, WWU in particular had a strong influence on surrounding educational systems, including Ferndale High School, where many teachers were employed after graduating from the WWU's educational program and where many Lummi students (still) attend (Marker 1995; 2000).

Marker focused especially on Martha Smith, a professor who supervised student teachers during the 1970's. Martha Smith is a pseudonym given by Marker, though he had notes which contained her real name. Smith taught education students false and racist information about the Lummi people throughout her time at Western (Marker 1995; 2000). Specifically, she taught education students that Lummi people were genetically inferior and could not achieve success, especially academically, because they were "descendants of slaves" (Marker 2000, 406). At a civil rights hearing about these concerns in the late 1970s, Sam Cagey, the Lummi Tribal chairman at the time, spoke of the harm in these teachings:

"I would just like to make this one point and leave it with the Commission: this is part of the education problem that we face. This is in the old Western Washington State College, which is now a university, but one of its tenured professors, who was teaching up in that school, a subject on Indians—she said, "Well, I have been teaching about other Indians." The thing she was teaching her students was that Lummis cannot achieve beyond a certain point, because they're descendants of slaves and that they held slaves is the reason they couldn't achieve" (United States Commission on Civil Rights 1977, 133).

If students disagreed about Smith's "teachings," they had the potential to be blacklisted as is discussed by one of Marker's informants: "...those were the days when you had to say everything was fine and just grin—if you wanted a job. Anything that went into your file stayed in your file permanently. So a bad word from Martha Smith meant down the tubes. She had a lot of clout in this state" (Marker 2000, 408). Power over occupational opportunities and fear of stirring the pot led to complicity. Her infusion of self-possessed racism with her teachings

created a generational stream of white teachers who held erroneous and racist assumptions about Lummi and other Native peoples.

WWU did nothing to stop this racist behavior and allowed it to continue for over a decade. When a hearing occurred at WWU after numerous complaints, Martha Smith claimed academic freedom and the committee decided no action would take place (Marker 1995, 167). After this hearing, Smith continued to oversee student teachers. Other professors were complicit and did nothing to stop the spread of racist information. Situations like this were quietly pushed under the rug when faculty members finally retired or left the university. “When I [Marker] told the Western faculty that there were many stories told by Lummis and other Indian people about the university they shrugged it off as if it was useless to talk of such things” (Marker 2000, 411). This case study conveys how racist behavior becomes institutionally reinforced, silenced, or forgotten, even as the people who have been most impacted continue to live with the emotional, mental, and physical scars (cf. Sharpe 2011; Hanson 2009). These conditions create intergenerational lack of trust between universities and local communities. These stories are a part of a broader narrative and experience of education systems as expressions of white, settler colonial policies and social norms.

The Good in Anthropology

Taylor and Bosch, in particular, are representatives of WWU and the field of anthropology during significant social, academic, and policy shifts within Washington and the broader United States. Taylor participated in claims commissions to which had material effects on Indigenous peoples and their land holdings—impacts that are still experienced into the present. Deloria addressed and critiqued anthropological research, a position embodied by Taylor, emphasizing how anthropological expertise has shaped policy, Indigenous peoples’ lives, and

their governmental relations to the settler state. Taylor, as the archetypical anthropological character of WWU, was defended by Bosch. But after discussing these negative legacies, I want to restore balance by acknowledging that not every anthropologist was or is destined to be an untrustworthy anthropological practitioner. Anthropologists make decisions—decisions they are accountable and responsible for—on the type of anthropology they want to practice. Two WWU anthropologists, Barbara Lane and Sarah Campbell, broke the destructive and exploitative relationship between anthropology and Native communities with trust-building and sovereignty-bolstering work.

Barbara Lane (1927-2013) received her PhD from the University of Washington in 1953 and was a Fairhaven College faculty member at WWU starting in 1972. Throughout the 1970's, Lane was prolific in voicing and practicing a political anthropology and ethnohistory that made accountable the settler colonial structure which impacts Indigenous lifeways and the endurance of Indigenous sovereignty in spite of the structure. Barbara Lane's work is starkly different when compared to Taylor because she too was called as an expert witness for more than 40 court cases but was an advocate to Native rights in both the United States and Canada. The use of anthropological mediators like Taylor and Lane in legal proceedings still relates to a settler colonial structure validating anthropological knowledge, but Lane's testimonies bolstered and affirmed Native peoples' rights to utilize and access their lands and waters. "Her work was instrumental for the Quinault and other Washington Tribes in numerous treaty fishing rights cases related to the 1974 Boldt Decision (U.S. vs Washington) and for the Quinault in Mitchell vs U.S. in 1977" (Fletcher 2014). Her relationship with Native communities is representative of sovereignty-bolstering work which recognizes inherent rights (i.e. *Indigenous/Tribal law*, see

Organization of American States 2016, 4) and complements that position with the promoting of acquired rights (i.e. *Aboriginal law*, see Ochman 2008).

Sarah Campbell (1951-2023), after receiving her PhD in Anthropology from the University of Washington with a particular focus in Northwest Coast archaeology, joined the WWU Anthropology Department in 1988 and continued to work with the Department until 2022. Campbell set a precedent as the first female archaeology professor hired by the Anthropology Department, helped update the archaeological lab, and was a driving force for repatriation at WWU. Campbell's relationship-building with Tribal nations translated into her teaching. She possessed a willingness to be educated by Indigenous people and braid cultural values into her diligent archaeological research. Sarah was a mentor and demanded a standard of care into collaboration and archaeological research which continues to be acknowledged by so many today (see Ek and Koetje 2024).

Barbara Lane and Sarah Campbell both made decisions on how they wanted to conduct anthropological research and how they wanted their research to relate to Native communities. These decisions have supported Indigenous sovereignty, knowledge, values, and protocols as part of, not separate from, anthropological and archaeological research. So while not every anthropologist at WWU has an unfavorable relationship with Native communities, it does not take away from how WWU faculty have contributed to harm.

Change Begins at Home

This is why I argue that institutions and the people who represent them need to do work that promotes trust-building with Indigenous communities. Western Washington University, and the Anthropology Department in particular, needs to address its role in settler colonial systems and harm. Taylor, Bosch, and Smith all had roles to play in reinforcing these institutional

problems. If there are going to be broad calls for decolonization and repair, they need to be localized to be practiced. Institutions must look within for this transformation and acknowledge that this change starts at home. The Stillaguamish-WWU Collaborative Archaeological Field School is a way for WWU, particularly the Anthropology Department, to participate in reparative work.

On the WWU campus, calls for decolonization are rare and how change is implemented comes off as superficial. This is reflected in the 2016 letter from the WWU Native American Student Union to the president and Board of Trustees which called for the university to uphold efforts to make WWU accountable for policy changes that benefit Indigenous students and communities. Solutions to issues offered by NASU for WWU included (Vendiola et al. 2016):

1. Implementation of a Tribal Liaison Position who will connect WWU with the local Tribal Nations
2. A traditional Coast Salish Longhouse
3. Requiring students to verify Tribal enrollment or descendance when applying to WWU and scholarships that are allocated for American Indian/Alaskan Native students housed within WWU
4. Full funding for the Annual Spring Powwow
5. Government-to-Government Training between WWU government and the local Tribal Governments facilitated by the Governor's Office of Indian Affairs

Progress has been made on these solutions. In 2019, Laurel Ballew (Swinomish) became WWU's first executive director of American Indian/Alaska Native and First Nations Relations and Tribal Liaison to the President. The Annual Spring Powwow was also revived in 2019 with the latest powwow occurring in 2023. As of the writing of this thesis, the Coast Salish Longhouse project has been funded and approved, architectural designs are in place, and Legacy Anthropology LLC has performed an archaeological survey and report of the construction area. While these efforts are monumental and stepping stones for future change on the WWU campus, the university still falls behind compared to other I-5 corridor universities in addressing its role

in settler colonialism and support in Native students and local Native communities (Vendiola et al. 2016). Transformation of the WWU campus needs to happen on the land and structurally, as is referenced by the NASU request, while also being supported with faculty education and research practice.

If anticolonial, Indigenizing, and/or decolonial rhetoric is going to be made a reality, WWU faculty must take on the personal responsibility and accountability in being part of this change. One particular WWU Anthropology faculty member, Kathleen Young, has begun to actively engage in departmental accountability and her unsettling work has made the Anthropology Department come to terms with the reality and legacy of institutional harm inflicted by the Department's previous faculty members. This work has not been without pushback. Recognition, accountability, and decolonial action within settler colonial academic institutions, including WWU, tend to be objectives talked of, but when unsettling action is implemented, often is uncomfortable and elicits negative feelings in changing the status quo. As WWU field school student Tobias acknowledged in their interview, anthropological curriculum tends to reflect decolonization as metaphor instead of a unsettling reality:

“Well, I was really stressing about archaeology and its decolonizing practices. And it’s lack of...and being like alright cool, saying land recognition at the beginning of a class is valuable. But it’s also really lazy and really not that effective anymore. It’s kinda like to decolonize, you have to constantly be pushing the envelope of uncomfortableness...to find what that next thing that’s uncomfortable.”

This uncomfortable or unsettling feeling stems from vulnerability. Uncomfortableness is an emotion that can be overcome as trust is built and work continues to be done in the right way. This vulnerable feeling can be a strategic tool to disrupt the colonial structure that operates within educational settings. A pedagogy of discomfort, a self-reflective curriculum that centers uncomfortableness as a teaching tool, is an “invitation to inquiry,” and “a call to action” within

bodies and educational systems (Boler 1999, 176). This type of pedagogy pushes settler comfort zones in a way that encourages the recognition of colonial realities and settler responsibilities in dismantling colonial structures (Corntassel and Gaudry 2014, 169; Regan 2011, 52). Indigenous-partnered archaeological field schools can put forward this form of pedagogy to teach practitioners about the legacies of the field and the present-day role and feelings of archaeology within Native communities.

The role of archaeology elicits discomfort for both Indigenous peoples and its settler practitioners (Carter 1997; Martindale and Lyons 2014), however, this discomfort is not equal. While settler anthropologists have anxiety over being the bad guy, Native communities' discomfort stems from harm. This discomfort can be reflected in hesitation and anxiety for starting a collaborative research journey. Trust-building is a mutual endeavor, but until policies reflect Indigenous positions of archaeological management, stewardship, research, and care—universities and the faculty who represent them need to go beyond what is expected to prove themselves as allies.

This centering of trust- and relationship-building can be promoted by reorientating the basic structure and intent of archaeological field schools. The Stillaguamish-WWU Collaborative Archaeological Field School takes an explicit stance to be centered on Stillaguamish Cultural Department's wants from an archaeological pursuit—a transition away from an academically-motivated field school to a community driven one. For the Stillaguamish-WWU Collaborative Archaeological Field School, the Stillaguamish Tribe Cultural Department determined the place of the field school, approved methods taking place, and maintained stewardship over the curation of heritage while also providing Indigenizing approaches to education for field school students.

This reorientation of field school intent and practice was reflected in an interview with WWU student Elizabeth:

“I feel like the Western wants were more of what the Tribe wanted. And the Tribe wanted to work together so it was this mutual wanting to help each other. And, you know, move forward from things in the past being destroyed, or you know, misplaced, or labeled in boxes or not labeled in boxes.”

The objectives of the Stillaguamish-WWU Collaborative Archaeological Field School were explicit in foregrounding Stillaguamish concerns and priorities of an archaeological pursuit. This creates a field school where the model of research bolsters Stillaguamish sovereignty of heritage studies. Within this process of centering Stillaguamish needs and wants from research, traditional academic results and benefits are decentralized (i.e. accumulating collections or publishing results in academic journals). As is referenced by WWU co-director Jerald Ek:

“It was different than most archaeological research projects in the sense that there was no kind of big, overarching research goal... it wasn't driven by a question. It was driven by the need to create a meaningful relationship... The big goal was, again, well at least my goal—I shouldn't say that that's for the whole project cause I know different people involved probably had different goals, but my goal was to, well, break a monopoly. That was the big picture goal. And that's not something that, you know, that's not something you just check off a list... I think the most straightforward way I can state it is to.... I think of archeology as a means to learn about the past, and my goal was to create a situation where that tool would be accessible to Indigenous communities, accessible to the Stillaguamish Tribe.”

Archaeologists monopolize the understanding and determination of the past through institutional power and standards. This enforcement is complemented through policy which prioritizes these institutional standards by including and validating archaeological knowledge. For the Stillaguamish-WWU Collaborative Archaeological Field School, the positioning of the field school relinquished academic institutional domination—ceding control over the project by shifting power from the lead academic to Tribal determination.

Despite decades of engaging with Deloria's critique and shifts in anthropological training and practice, the reputation of anthropology continues to be dubious in many Indigenous communities. Archaeology, along with the past, elicits variable positions and there is no one perspective or understanding of it. During the introduction day of the field school at the Stillaguamish Administrative Building, co-directors discussed with the students that while they are welcomed in this collaboration by the Cultural Department, not every Indigenous person or community is going to want to work with archaeologists and anthropologists. As WWU student Hazel recalled on this experience:

"[H]e prefaced it like, 'we're really excited that you guys are here, but there are gonna be a lot of people that you interact with not only now, but in your future, that are of Indigenous ancestry that are not gonna be happy to interact with you.' And I remember that being like, yes, exactly. And being extremely intimidated, but also like, this is such a great time to just shut up and listen."

Students had to understand and respect that Native peoples may not want to work with the anthropological outsider. This distrust must always be acknowledged, but also means that it is up to students as future archaeological practitioners to be better and be accountable to Indigenous communities, including their critics. A start for this progressive reflection and action is teaching field school students how to listen in the right way. For the Stillaguamish-WWU Collaborative Archaeological Field School, a part of the process included learning when *not* to take notes—to take a step back and to listen to what people are saying to you. Sometimes this included moments of refusal (cf. Simpson 2007), when limits and expectations were set:

"Refusal, and stances of refusal in research, are attempts to place limits on conquest and the colonization of knowledge by marking what is off limits, what is not up for grabs or discussion, what is sacred, and what can't be known" (Tuck and Yang 2014, 225).

There were times during the Stillaguamish-WWU Collaborative Archaeological Field School when certain topics were asked not to be brought up or questions going unanswered

purposefully. Students learn there are things they don't have the right to know (Tuck 2009)—that knowledge isn't always theirs for the taking. As part of the Stillaguamish-WWU Collaborative Archaeological Field School pedagogy, the next generation of non-Native anthropologists learn to decenter their own authority and right to know in favor of other forms of relationality and knowledge making.

Bridging past and present departmental behavior, the field school changes academic and university standards by moving Stillaguamish needs and wants from archaeology to the center of research, valuing the Stillaguamish teachings and critiques, and creating an academic environment that promotes trust-building and a reciprocal nature between anticolonial classroom education and departmental action. Herbert C. Taylor promoted Westernized anthropological knowledge about various Northwest Coast Indigenous groups and used it to further understand colonial impact within the ICC. The use of this knowledge by Taylor demonstrates that anthropology is not neutral in its creation and not neutral when it is being utilized. The Stillaguamish-WWU Collaborative Archaeological Field School contrasts this behavior by conducting field work that is responsive to Stillaguamish needs, including their use of information in future land decisions.

James W. Bosch refuted Vine Deloria Jr.'s critiques about anthropological research, even though at the writing of this thesis, there are still similar themes being addressed within the anthropological field (Anderson et al. 2017; Atalay 2006; Cattelino and Simpson 2022; Downer 1997; Smith and Jackson 2006). Learning to acknowledge and actively engage critique is an important part of thinking differently about anthropology. In the Stillaguamish-WWU Collaborative Archaeological Field School, students could not shy away from the legacy they inherit as current and future archaeological practitioners. WWU participants were encouraged to

listen in the right way to what is being said and uphold Stillaguamish values about heritage studies by practicing them in the field school.

Martha Smith was able to teach racist education about the Lummi people, and even with numerous complaints, WWU did nothing to stop this behavior. The ignoring of racist teaching and training of future teachers within this pedagogy contributed to generations of harm local to the Bellingham and Ferndale areas. The Stillaguamish-WWU Collaborative Archaeological Field School pushes back on institutional harm by taking on the responsibility of changing how future archaeological stewards are trained in archaeological field schools.

During the 2023 Vine Deloria Jr. Symposium, Brian Cladoosby discussed in length about breaking cycles of generational and historical trauma through education. I believe the Stillaguamish-WWU Collaborative Archaeological Field School is an example of breaking the cycle—a cycle exemplified by Taylor, Bosch, and Smith. The Stillaguamish-WWU Collaborative Archaeological Field School is the start of a new generation of archaeological education and practitioners that is local to the Stillaguamish Tribe and WWU Anthropology Department. With respect, relevancy, reciprocity, and responsibility—collaboration can be sustained into and for the future. I explore next how contingent field school collaborations can be the stepping stones for this reparative research relationship-building to take place.

CHAPTER 4: BY TROWEL AND ERROR—CONTINGENT COLLABORATION AND RELATIONSHIP BUILDING

Archaeological Culture and Collaboration

Speaking in metaphor lets us imagine

In a way other words can't do.

A medicine, a connection

A way I'd like to explore collaboration with you.

Laughter, smiles, reflection, and tears

Collaborative work alleviates our disciplinary fears.

Of a legacy of hurt, destruction, and despair

A culture archaeologists all inherit and share.

Archaeology, possessing culture?

Some say this can't be true.

Maybe a researcher is like a vulture

If culture is too scary of a position to view.

A hope to research differently

Then how our predecessors did before.

But what does this look like?

Can a field school create change at its core?

I gaze around me

At the cedar, mountains, rivers, birch.

*And I say to myself, if we knew what we were doing,
then we wouldn't call it research.*

–Isabella Pipp

This chapter goes over three examples of Indigenous partnership with universities in collaborative field schools: the Eastern Pequot Tribal Nation-UMass Boston Field School, the Tla'amin First Nation-Simon Fraser University Stewardship and Archaeology Program, and the Confederated Tribes of the Grand Ronde-University of Washington Field Methods in Indigenous Archaeology Partnership. These field schools expand on the intersection between healing and

creating applicable archaeological knowledge, that is relevant in Tribal and First Nation efforts toward federal recognition, treaty or land negotiations, and THPO capacity-building. Indigenous partnerships with universities in field schools have the potential to provide opportunities for healing of historical trauma perpetuated by institutions while also learning archaeological methodology. I chose the Grand Ronde and Tla'amin partnerships with universities as they occurred in the Northwest Coast, the same region as the Stillaguamish-WWU Collaborative Archaeological Field School. The Eastern Pequot partnership was chosen as it connects practices that are occurring on the West Coast to the East Coast and the Eastern Pequot field school, in particular, is an example of long-term, community-based collaboration.

Critical archaeologist George Nicholas has defined Indigenous archaeology as, "... an expression of archaeological theory and practice in which their discipline intersects with Indigenous values, knowledge, practices, ethics, and sensibilities, and through collaborative and community-orientated or -directed projects, and related critical perspectives" (2008, 1660). There's no one position that Indigenous archaeology is conceived, approached, and practiced—rooting itself in specific community needs or wants from archaeological pursuits. While contextualized to specific communities to undercut universalism—shared experiences, ethics, and values help connect people to ideas and practices (Colwell-Chanthaphonh et al. 2010, 229).

In archaeology, collaboration is an approach to research design and practice. Collaboration, understood broadly, encompasses two or more entities (people representing distinct positions/institutions/organizations/groups, etc.) coming together to work towards an outcome (cf. Colwell 2016). Collaborative archaeologies can coincide with community archaeology as different stakeholders or communities may request to conduct archaeological work. Within the United States, community archaeology is often associated with Indigenous

community partnership, but other work has also been conducted with descendant communities of Chinese railroad workers (Peterson 2019) and Japanese-American internment camp survivors (Burton 2017). Community archaeology diversifies the study of the past with communities, whomever they may be, by including them in the arrangement and practice of archaeology (Nicholas et al. 2011). Collaborative and community archaeology are often used interchangeably, and while possessing approaches to archaeology that overlap, there are qualities that make them distinct from one another. Archaeological work can participate in collaborative work with individual people—biologists, ethnographers, individual Tribal members—but this does not inherently mean that the collaborative project is community-based. Likewise, archaeological work can be with a specific community, but this does not mean that the archaeological research design and implementation will be collaborative. The Stillaguamish-WWU Collaborative Archaeological Field School intersects collaborative and community archaeology—as the Stillaguamish Tribe, specifically the Cultural Department, were active contributors to the archaeological design and practice of the field school alongside WWU faculty.

I examine the Stillaguamish-WWU Collaborative Archaeological Field School in relation to the Eastern Pequot, Grande Ronde, and Tla’amin field school examples to argue that *contingent collaborative* archaeological field schools—fluid relationships which are dependent on the needs or wants of partners for a goal of a better archaeology—have the potential to establish a foundation where trust and relationships are built within and between communities. The Stillaguamish-WWU Collaborative Archaeological Field School is an opportunity to reflect and recognize the different currencies partners bring to collaboration (Harris et al. 2021), including financial resources, labor, emotions, and knowledge.

Eastern Pequot Tribal Nation-UMass Boston Archaeological Field School

The field school between the Eastern Pequot Tribal Nation and the University of Massachusetts (UMass) Boston began in 2004 on reservation land in North Stonington, Connecticut (Silliman and Dring 2008, 69). Directors of the field school included Stephen W. Silliman representing UMass Boston and Katherine H. Sebastian Dring of the Eastern Pequot Tribal Nation (2008). Along with university students, Eastern Pequot Tribal members engage(d) in the research process—both on and off the field site. Since the field school started in 2003, it has continued for 12 field seasons with the most recent season occurring in 2022. While starting off as a collaboration for preservation and political needs, the field school has continued into long-term collaboration that explores survivance of the Eastern Pequot.

The initial purpose behind the field school included utilizing archaeological evidence to bolster Eastern Pequot claim to federal recognition (2008, 71). In 1978, the Eastern Pequot sent a letter to the U.S. Department of Interior stating their intent to start the federal recognition process (2008, 70). In 2000, they received a preliminary positive finding on their federal acknowledgement and in 2002 were issued a final federal acknowledgement (2008, 70). Within months, public officials appealed this inherent and acquired right to self-determination.

As part of their strategic response, the Eastern Pequot decided they would utilize archaeology as a tool, among others, to bolster their claim of continuity and to create a body of information that could be applied for their own stewardship needs (2008, 71). Archaeology was used to complement what they already knew and was also understood as an accepted line of evidence for legal proceedings—like in the Indian Claims Commission discussed in Chapter 3 and federal recognition processes. In 2005, the Internal Board of Indian Appeals revoked the Eastern Pequot Tribal Nation's federal recognition status (2008, 71). The Eastern Pequot Tribal

Nation has appealed this decision, but as of 2015, the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) has instituted a federal ban on Tribes reapplying for federal recognition if they have previously been denied (U.S. Department of the Interior Indian Affairs n.d.). In 2021 and 2022, Tribes were ‘invited’ by the BIA to discuss whether this ban should be reconsidered (U.S. Department of the Interior Indian Affairs n.d.). Until there is a successful appeal or the BIA updates/redacts the ban, a legal avenue for regaining federal recognition does not exist.

In the first two seasons of the collaborative archaeological field school (2003 and 2004), the directors were explicit in centering an archaeological survey that would create knowledge which would be applied to the Eastern Pequot claim (2008, 71). Archaeological methods of the field school include, “subsurface survey, excavation, artifact processing, material culture identification, and archival research” (Archaeological Institute of America 2022). After federal recognition was revoked in 2005, a third field season took place to connect how studies of the past are linked to the survivance of the Eastern Pequot people today (2008, 71). Anishinaabe scholar Gerald Vizenor (White Earth Nation) has defined Native survivance as the “...active sense of presence over absence, deracination, and oblivion; survivance is the continuance of stories, not a mere reaction, however, pertinent. Survivance is greater than the right of a survivable name” (2008, 1). As the field school continued, the study of survivance within reservation life has grown into a core purpose (Archaeological Institute of America 2022). Students work alongside Tribal elders, members, and youth to build the capacity of Eastern Pequot stewardship and teach participants practical archaeological methods that can be used in personal and professional contexts. The field school has been able to collect and document over 99,000 artifacts, incorporate land-based education, and drive political commitments by educating

local politicians on the history, survivance, and contemporary Eastern Pequot peoples (Nguyễn 2020).

Tla'amin First Nation-Simon Fraser University Stewardship and Archaeology Program

The field school between the Tla'amin First Nation and Simon Fraser University (SFU) began in 2008 on Tla'amin territory in British Columbia (Welch et al. 2011). The Tla'amin (formerly Sliammon) are a Coast Salish First Nation residing along the Gulf of Georgia in the northern Salish Sea (Figure 8). Directors of the field school included SFU faculty John Welch and Dana Lepofsky along with Tla'amin representative Michelle Washington of the Sliammon Treaty Society.

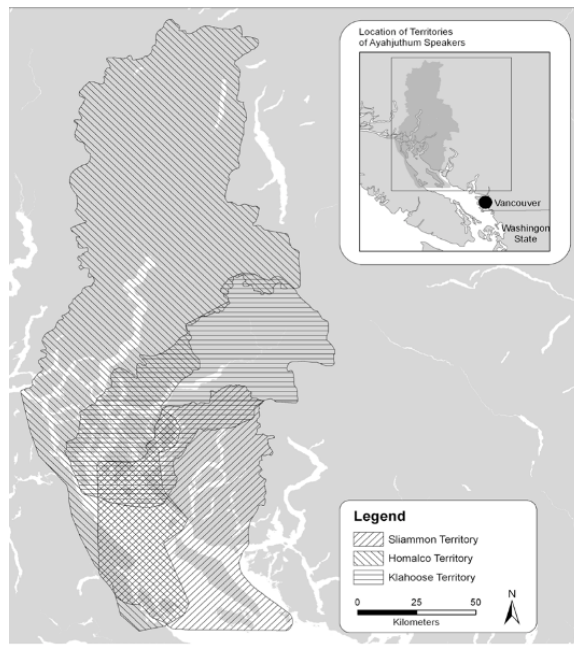


Figure 8: Tla'amin territory map (Welch et al. 2011)

The field school occurred between 2008 and 2013 with a total of six field seasons. A prime driver in the development of a collaborative partnership between the Tla'amin Nation and Simon Fraser University was the Tla'amin Nation's want and need of practical information about Tla'amin past that could be used in post-treaty negotiations and stewardship future. Six overarching goals—formed, negotiated, and managed together between the Tla'amin Nation and Simon Fraser University representatives—of the field school program included (Lepofsky et al. 2008):

1. “To sustain a meaningful partnership between Tla'amin First Nation, the SFU Department of Archaeology, and other partners;
2. To explore and enhance knowledge about Tla'amin lands and heritage through heritage site identification, documentation, and investigation;

3. To train Tla'amin youth and SFU students in archaeology and heritage stewardship;
4. To increase awareness and knowledge about Tla'amin history both within the Tla'amin community and in regional, academic, and resource management communities;
5. To facilitate exchanges of information and experience among Tla'amin Elders, youth, and SFU;
6. To advance to Tla'amin goals of self-governance, self-determination, and self-representation”

The Tla'amin at the time were to be one of ten First Nations in British Columbia preparing for treaty signing with British Columbia and federal Canadian governments (2011, 174-5). In Canada, the modern treaty era began in 1973 with the Supreme Court decision in *Calder et al. v. Attorney-General of British Columbia* which recognized Indigenous rights (Aboriginal title) of land for the first time. The first modern treaty to be signed in Canada occurred in 1975 with the James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement. Treaties have been the tool for setting up a path of reconciliation between Indigenous peoples and the Canadian government. As of 2023, there have been 26 treaties signed between Canada and Indigenous peoples—including with the Tla'amin Nation.

As part of the first three field seasons of the Tla'amin First Nation-Simon Fraser University Stewardship Program, the collaboration was ‘unpacked’ to engage in a critical and reflexive process that analyzed participant experiences qualitatively and quantitatively. Their analysis acknowledged the good work done in collaboration but also produced knowledge on how the program needed to change. Using a guiding collaborative framework established by the Raymond Kane (White Mountain Apache), the researchers established eight dimension of collaboration (2011, 180-181):

1. *Ownership*: the level of mutualism in establishing the partnership objectives and terms of reference
2. *Information Flow*: quantities and qualities of information moving through the partnership
3. *Engagement*: depth and breadth of participation
4. *Reciprocity*: parity among partner’s inputs and benefits
5. *Alignments with community values*: interest overlap between program and descendant community

6. *Alignments with Regional Values*: how the program aligns itself with regional values of collaboration (i.e. how has collaboration, or lack of, been imagined, practiced, and valued by conventional archaeological standards on Tla'amin territory? Does the field school align with or differentiate from these conceptions, practices, and values of collaboration?)
7. *Alignments with Province Values*: how the program aligns itself with provincial values of collaboration (i.e. how has collaboration, or lack of, been imagined, practiced, and valued by conventional archaeological standards in British Columbia? Does the field school align with or differentiate from these conceptions, practices, and values of collaboration?)
8. *Alignments with National Values*: how the program aligns itself with national values of collaboration (i.e. how has collaboration, or lack of, been imagined, practiced, and valued by conventional archaeological standards in Canada? Does the field school align with or differentiate from these conceptions, practices, and values of collaboration?)

To unpack the collaborative field school, quantitative and qualitative methods included the creation of a 10-point grading scale for each of the designated dimensions of collaboration. “We designed an interactive meeting to encourage program participants to compare the program's formative season (2008-2009) with the season in progress (2010) by assessing a score from 0 to 10 for each of the eight dimensions” (2011, 181-182). An interactive workshop could not occur in 2010, so instead surveys were sent out, accompanied with follow-up meetings and the same dimensional score opportunity of the previous field seasons (2011, 182).

Scores were averaged, set into percentages (see Table 1), and plotted on radar graphs (Figure 9). Ideally, each one of these dimensions would reach 100% on average (2011, 183), however, this was not the case. Radar graphs provide visuals of the extent to which collaborative objectives were met, but also demonstrate where the program can transform to fill in the dimensional gaps. This process also pushes back on Marina La Salle and Richard Hutchings'

critique that collaboration is not critically evaluated (2016, 165; 2018, 223).

Similarly to the goal of my own thesis, utilizing reflections of the collaboration were then applied to future field school practices. The field school curriculum, braiding archaeology, ethnohistory, and oral history, created an understanding of place which compliments what Tla’amin

people know about their cultural landscapes and helps reimagine how generations of Tla’amin people lived through time.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Avg.
1. Ownership – Goal Setting	8 / 8	8 / 9	8 / 8	8 / 9	9 / 10	8 / 8	6 / 7	7.9/8.4
2. Information Flow – Type and Amount	7 / 8	6 / 7	7 / 8	8 / 9	8 / 9	7 / 8	6 / 7	7 / 8
3. Engagement – Depth and Breadth	7 / 8	7 / 7	7 / 8	7 / 9	7 / 8	7 / 8	6 / 8	6.9 / 8
4. Reciprocity	7 / 8	7 / 7	7 / 9	8 / 9	10 / 10	7 / 9	7 / 8	7.6/8.6
5. Alignment with Community Values	7 / 8	8 / 9	6 / 7	7 / 8	8 / 9	9 / 9	9 / 9	7.7/8.4
6. Alignment with Regional Values	5 / 6	3 / 4	4 / 5	5 / 6	6 / 8	8 / 9	5 / 6	5.1/6.3
7. Alignment with Provincial Values	4 / 6	4 / 5	2 / 2	5 / 5	6 / 6	7 / 8	6 / 7	4.9/5.6
8. Alignment with National Values	3 / 4	1 / 1	2 / 2	5 / 5	5 / 5	6 / 7	6 / 7	4 / 4.4
Averages	6 / 7	5.5 / 7	5.4 / 6.1	6.6 / 7.5	7.4 / 8.1	7.4 / 8.2	6.4 / 7.4	6.4 / 7.3

Table 1: Columns 1-7 represent the seven respondents of the survey. Rows 1-8 represent each dimension of collaboration. Each response is formatted as 2008-2009 field season / 2010 field season. Average column (far right) represents average for each collaborative dimension. Each respondents' average represented by bottom row.

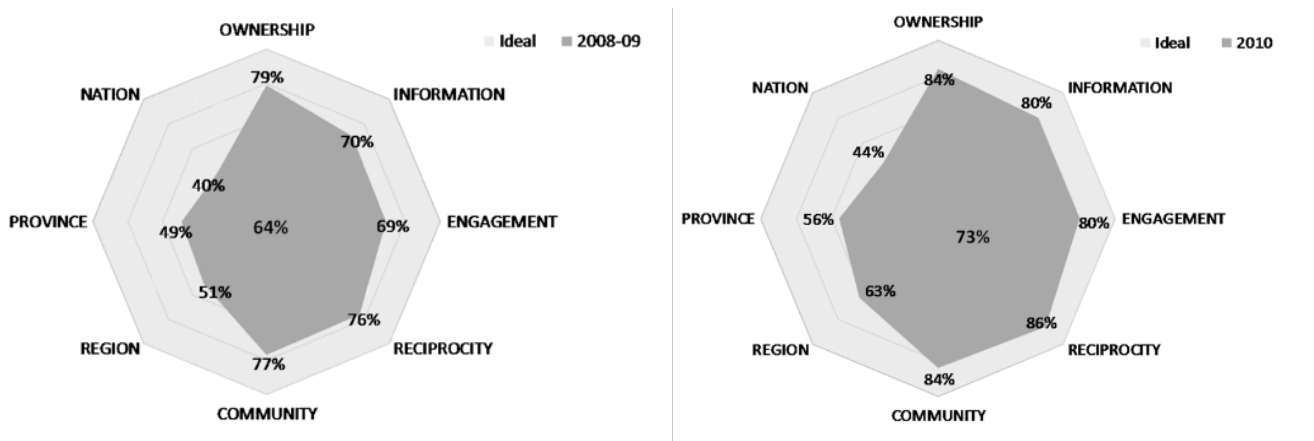


Figure 9: Radar graphs from averaged results of Table 1. Left radar graph represents averaged results of 2008-2009 field seasons. Right radar graph represents averaged results of 2010 field season

Confederated Tribes of the Grand Ronde-University of Washington Field Methods in Indigenous Archaeology Partnership

Field Methods in Indigenous Archaeology (FMIA) was a CBPR partnership between the Confederated Tribes of the Grand Ronde in northwestern Oregon and researchers from the

University of Washington in Seattle (Gonzalez et al. 2018, 87; Figure 10). The field school project was co-directed by University of Washington faculty Sara Gonzalez and Grand Ronde Deputy Tribal Historic Preservation Officer Briece Edwards (Gonzalez et al. 2018, 89). Additional decision-making representatives also included Director of the Department of Culture David Harrelson, Department of Culture staff, and Grand Ronde Historic Preservation Office (HPO) members (2018, 89).

The overall purpose of the project was to meet Grand Ronde Historic Preservation Office capacity-building needs for heritage preservation (2018, 91). The first goal was to develop a Tribal historic preservation plan which would bolster sovereignty in heritage management, create reciprocal and meaningful knowledge production, and expand epistemology and knowledge. The second goal was to restore survivance within archaeological research, which allows for the integration of negotiations, pluralism, and agency within archaeological narratives. The third goal was to fill an institutional gap in collaborative field

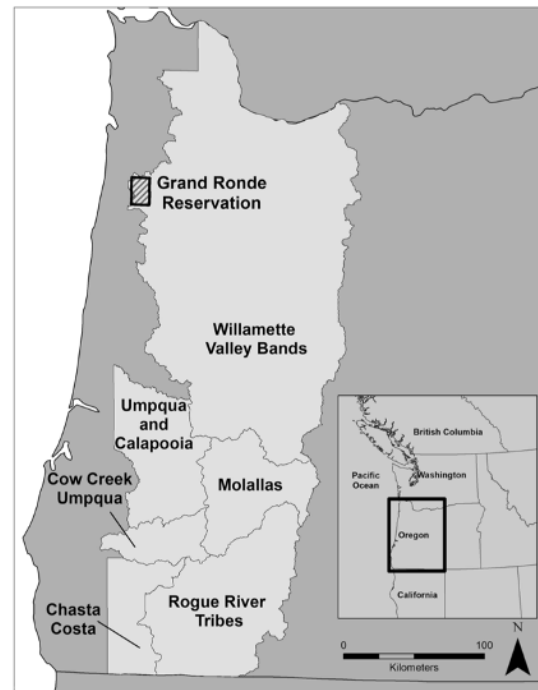


Figure 10: Map of Grand Ronde reservation area (Gonzalez et al. 2018)

schools to teach undergraduate and graduate students' responsible archaeological methodologies. This coincided with teaching students and Tribal members archaeological methodologies that they can use for the benefit of their own community and represents an archaeology in which they actively help shape and mold.

Field work began in 2015 with a total of three field seasons which occurred on reservation land of the Grand Ronde (2018). Leaders of the program employed an Indigenizing and participatory framework for the conception and practice of the field program. Methodology for the project includes protocols and approaches to the FMIA, and secondly, methods utilized in the field. Tentative protocols of the FMIA project included, but were not limited to, Grand Ronde HPO final approval of grants, budgets, and research; supervising roles in any archaeological or ethnographic work; consistent updates; and meaningful engagement with the Grand Ronde community (2018, 90). Archaeological fieldwork entailed low impact methods like, “archival research, planimetric and topographic mapping, geophysical survey, aerial photography and survey, intensive surface collection, and interviews with cultural advisors and elders” (2018, 95). The methods explored in the FMIA braid together transdisciplinary lines of evidence, create a more holistic approach to the understanding of the past, and conduct non-destructive archaeology which is guided through tribally-led heritage protocols.

Outcomes of the FMIA project include utilizing alternative forms of archaeological field work, engaging in new ways to learn from the past, and creating a more democratic process in archaeological research and training (2018, 107-108). Developing field methods to best fit Grand Ronde concerns meant incorporating interdisciplinary lines of inquiry which would be both effective and culturally relevant for the community. This included oral histories and traditions which were able to relate the belongings recovered back to the people and community who steward and remember through the materials. Democratizing archaeology and its training created knowledge with the Grand Ronde, not just a field school about them.

There are many more examples of Indigenous partnership in collaborative field schools than is explored by this thesis (Bendremer and Thomas 2008; Kerber 2008; May et al. 2017;

Mills et al. 2008; Rahemtulla 2020)—all with their own unique goals and methods. The Grand Ronde field school expanded on the beneficial use of low impact archaeological methods on reservation land while simultaneously supporting capacity building of Grand Ronde stewardship. The Tla'amin Nation utilized a field school for treaty negotiations while also using this opportunity to critically evaluate collaborative efforts. The Eastern Pequot field school participated in decolonial action by using archaeology as complimentary evidence to bolster federal recognition claims and has now transformed into a study of survivance through time. While the purpose and intent of conducting field schools varies between these examples, all were able to establish trusting and working relationships between Tribal nations and universities. For the Stillaguamish-WWU Collaborative Archaeological Field School, conducting a field school established a contingent collaboration to achieve an archaeological goal while simultaneously building care, trust, and relationships between the Stillaguamish and WWU communities.

Testing the Waters of Partnership

The inspiration behind the chapter title comes from a drawing in WWU student Kelly's field journal (Figure 11). It is of a duckling with a trowel; a tattoo on its wing stating, 'by trowel and error'—an archaeological spoof to 'trial and error.' I have gone back to this drawing throughout my research process as it expresses collaboration wonderfully. With a trowel in our toolbox, archaeological collaboration is trial and error.

There is not one way to practice collaboration so fluidity is necessary—in a way collaborative research is much like improvising music. For improvisation, a foundational knowledge is needed to move around effectively and create something beautiful. This idea can also be applied to research. Tribal nations and institutions have ideas and knowledge on how to do archaeology. While “playing research,” there are various approaches that collaborative

archaeology can take just as there are numerous notes, scales, or chords to play. If part of a band, it's not solely focused on an individual sound—you have to work together and communicate to match up. In collaborative archaeology, the study isn't exclusively what the archaeologist wishes to do—there are subtle cues, conversations, and negotiations with partners about how to proceed. None of these actions can take place without practice.

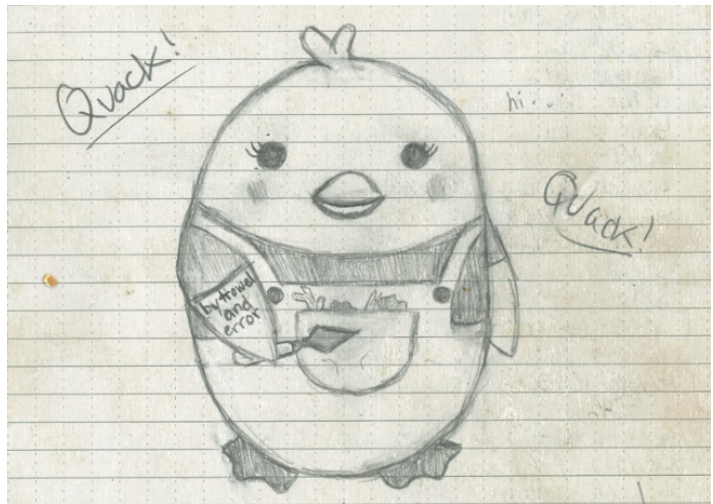


Figure 11: Drawing from student field journal. Picture is of a duck in overalls with a tattoo on its wing stating the words 'by trowel and error'

In conventional archaeology, the archaeologist is like a solo artist playing with an unnamed band. In an improv ensemble, there isn't a center but a collaborative process that involves attunement to one another. When improvising, how you play and what you play is impacted by who you're with, what has been done, the current position, and where you want to go—a process that intersects past, present, future. In collaborative archaeology, approaches and methods of research are impacted by who the partners are, what anthropological work has been conducted, the current need for archaeological pursuits, and how this work can then be accessed by future generations. There has to be a level of trust for these types of conversations and improvisations to take place, but archaeologists no longer get the benefit of the doubt because the discipline's legacy is so destructive. Trust and relationships have to be created and sustained in order for healing to occur. Archaeological field schools localize and ground these trust-building collaborations.

Archaeological field schools provide opportunities for contingent collaborations (Tuck et al. 2014) between institutions and Tribal nations. Contingent collaborations separate themselves from other forms of collaboration as the partnership is formed not with the intention of long-term collaboration (Tuck et al. 2014). Contingency in collaboration means the interaction is dependent on the needs or wants of partners involved. It also invokes that collaboration is subject to change and coming together for a goal of something better. In an Indigenous-partnered archaeological field school setting, this includes archaeological conception, education, and practice.

As demonstrated with Chapter 3, relationships between academics and Tribal nations are historically negative and it is the responsibility of academic institutions to provide reparative work. Archaeological field schools have potential to be collaborative spaces where healing begins, and trust is built. Because there exists a discomfort about the role of archaeology, alleviating these fears with collaborative studies has to start somewhere. But when it comes to collaboration, we learn to crawl before walking down the path of long-term partnership. This is why I argue archaeological field schools as contingent collaborations are educational opportunities to ‘test the waters’ of partnership and collaboration.

Field schools are relatively short term in nature—for instance the Stillaguamish-WWU Collaborative Archaeological Field School was a six-week program. For ‘testing the waters’ of collaboration, having short-term work can be relatively low stakes if the relationship is not a good fit. On the other hand, if collaboration is a success, more work can be done if needed or wanted. Even if collaboration is successful and either partner does not or cannot continue, good work was done and an archaeological goal was met. This is the nature of contingency in collaboration—it’s dependent on the relationship between partners and what needs to or can be done. Long-term collaboration, a type of partnership that is often called for (Angelbeck and Grier

2014; Nicholas et al. 2011), must start from a point where participants take on the personal responsibility of making the initial relationship successful. When partnership is rooted in good work, trusting relationships, and the availability of archaeological work, contingent collaboration can transform into long-term partnership.

Collaborative field schools like the Stillaguamish-WWU Collaborative Archaeological Field School are also opportunities for archaeology to be a beneficial tool for universities to share resources with Tribal partners. Universities and faculty can share time, education, student labor, and economic resources with the Tribal nation while also teaching and learning collaborative archaeology. Providing and sharing resources is part of the reciprocal relationship in field schools. For the Stillaguamish-WWU partnership, Western's field school program provided and shared transportation, archaeological supplies, knowledge, economic resources, and student labor. The Stillaguamish Cultural Department equally provided and shared time, knowledge, labor, and economic resources to bolster the relationship and field school experience. It's important, however, that academic partners do not over expect or add too much pressure onto Tribal and/or THPO collaborators. A collaborative field school should not be a social or economic burden to the everyday capacity and demands of the THPO.

The resources partners bring to a collaborative relationship depends on the position in the collaboration. The WWU Archaeological Field School is a self-sustaining program, with enrollment fees supporting project costs. The WWU Anthropology Department is in a position to share financial resources and labor to conduct archaeological field work. These two resources or 'currencies' (Harris et al. 2021, 4) are the backbone for archaeological projects to take place. There are obviously budgetary limitations for the WWU Archaeological Field School but the fact

that the program can allocate these resources is a positioning of privilege that bolsters, instead of undermines, a collaboration with the Stillaguamish Tribe.

The use of any labor, but student labor in particular, provides an opportunity to reflect on the intent behind why participants are performing fieldwork. In the case of the Stillaguamish-WWU Collaborative Archaeological Field School, participant labor went towards collaborative archaeological effort instead of research that would solely benefit WWU faculty and the Anthropology Department. The Stillaguamish-WWU Collaborative Archaeological Field School provides the Stillaguamish with an archaeological survey with tangible benefits, as was discussed by Kerry Lyste in his interview:

“I think the main benefit was working with the younger generation of both students and possible students, to introduce them to best practices—the way to do archaeology the right way. Another tangible benefit to the Tribe was having a site recorded, no doubt. Quite frankly...and getting that work done, you know. Otherwise, it may have not gotten done or the Tribe would’ve had to pay a CRM [firm] to do it.”

Not only is an archaeological site recorded but the field school can also be a program where field methods and areas of interest can be explored beyond guidelines of compliance mandated by law. The providing and sharing of resources to bolster a collaborative archaeological goal earns trust and makes WWU a better ally to the Stillaguamish Tribe. The Stillaguamish-WWU Collaborative Archaeological Field School designed as a collaborative, trust-building relationship is sustained with resource reciprocity and maintained with care and love.

Archaeology as a Labor of Love

As archaeological practitioners, we contain within ourselves a connection and devotion to archaeology. How should practitioners be able to express this devotion? This question has been posed in the book *Archaeologies of the Heart* (Supernant et al. 2020), and puts forward the argument that archaeologists should express this dedication with love. What happens, then, when

we conceptualize collaborative archaeology as a labor of love? This invokes participating in archaeological collaboration for the pleasure of doing it and the care that the work generates. The love and care we want to put in archaeology can and should be shared with others. Collaborative archaeological pursuits, including field schools, are vehicles for practicing a labor of love for and with our partners.

When the heart is centered in archaeology, it transforms the way it is conceived, practiced, and how practitioners relate to others. But how do heart-centered practices fit within an archaeological curriculum?

“We envision a heart-centered practice to be drawn together from many different theoretical and methodological veins of archaeology and other disciplines, like the entwined runners shooting out from one strawberry plant to another, creating life and vitality and interconnection. We see an archaeology of the heart centered around care and emotion, rather than dispassion and rationality, and operating within a rigorous and relational framework” (Lyons and Supernant 2020, 5).

Anthropology students often learn what archaeology is and how it is practiced initially from the classroom—an intellectual engagement. Archaeological field schools teach the hands-on methods that students need to enter professional archaeology like CRM—a trade-based approach focused on technical qualifications and marketable skills. This physical engagement is what many CRM firms look for when hiring archaeological field technicians (culturally and so lovingly known as ‘shovel-bums’). Collaborative field schools incorporate intellectual and physical elements but can also braid in relational, emotional, and spiritual strands to the archaeological curriculum (Atalay 2019a).

Historically, the heart in archaeology has not been valued in practice or pedagogy (Surface-Evans 2020, 69), though the heart can strengthen connections with people and the archaeological work that is done. And so, as archaeology brings together the mind and body with classroom education and field school practice, the curriculum needs to incorporate the heart to

restore balance between these experiences of being. The restoration of this balance can be practiced by living a love ethic (hooks 2000, 88), and, “is essential to transform the way we do science into a community-grounded and culturally aware practice” (Surface-Evans 2020, 69). Practicing a love ethic in archaeology includes reaching out to people we respect and care for, being accountable to the relationships that we establish, and accepting that this relationality of care must include people of the past, present, future, and the more-than-human beings who shape our world. Teaching this type of archaeology is strengthened through practice. Heart-centered archaeological field schools are the spaces where teaching and field action intersect.

It is important to consider who we do work for and the greater purpose the work is connected to in archaeology. Settlers, in academia and beyond, have accountability and responsibilities to implement anticolonialism, indigenization, and decolonization (Snelgrove 2014; Bell 2022). This unsettling responsibility is increasingly important when relating the intent and purposes of archaeological work—is archaeology being conducted in response to settler colonial infrastructure or potential unsettling practices? The Stillaguamish-WWU Collaborative Archaeological Field School represents not just a field school, but archaeological practices that’s significance is formed and sustained with collaborative care. As WWU student Erin reflected in their field journal:

“This entire field school has been amazing and something I’ll never forget. Realistically it was a lot of hard work but that all seems to fade into the background and the important parts come out, such as the friendships I have created with the crew and people from the Tribe.”

Participating in collaborative relationship-building nourishes participants’ hearts and puts into perspective why the work is important. The Stillaguamish-WWU Collaborative Archaeological Field School opens participants’ minds and hearts to archaeological curriculum—an emotional engagement both in the present and with the past.

Care and relationality should be part of, not separate from, archaeological field work and curriculum. In relation to the Stillaguamish-WWU Collaborative Archaeological Field School, WWU faculty and Cultural Department members imagined a world where archaeology and archaeological field schools are practiced in a collaborative way. Co-directors built a practice of alliance through collaboration for this dream to become reality. By connecting to people and caring about how archaeology is practiced and taught, the start of a contingent collaboration was established. The Stillaguamish-WWU Collaborative Archaeological Field School partners each had individual and collective goals to be achieved through establishing a working relationship. These include influencing the next generation of archaeological practitioners, supporting the Cultural Department's capacity to conduct a field school, assessing the field site, and testing the waters of collaboration. These goals are strengthened with love, respect, and care. This emotional relationality takes time and can include discomfiting accountability. Heart-work doesn't always make people possess good feelings—it includes vulnerability, talking about difficult topics, and being comfortable expressing negative emotions like anger or disappointment. Allowing the practice and practitioners of archaeology to be emotional is not something that inhibits the study of the past. Emotional skill development is necessary for building more robust and resilient communities, sustaining connections, and participation in reparative work.

As is established in Chapter 3, there have been academic standards practiced by WWU faculty that do not care for or create trust with Native peoples. One prominent example is how archaeologists understand and handle materials during and after excavation. Archaeology has been conceptualized and sterilized as physical science with the archaeological record made up of inanimate (lifeless) objects (Armstrong and Anderson 2020). This inanimate relationality is often

found in resource management (Armstrong and Anderson 2020), including cultural resource management– the majority of archaeological practice within the United States.

In archaeological field schools, how can people and archaeology be cared for? This question, in a collaborative setting, is not singular. How Tribal nations care for their heritage should be respected by archaeologists who potentially encounter it within the field or engage with it in lab settings. This relationality to archaeological artifacts, or ancestral belongings, was brought up throughout the Stillaguamish-WWU Collaborative Archaeological Field School and referenced by WWU student Ron in their field journal:

“Lots of love, spiritual power, craft, and artistry put into crafted objects because they were made to last. This also shows respect for materials.”

Care was put into the materials and more-than-human beings that are managed, studied, and stewarded in archaeology so it is necessary for archaeologists to have care and respect for our work, who we imagine and create with, and how we practice it.

The management of materials cannot be separated from people because management is related to how people understood and participate in their world. The material and more-than-human beings archaeologists engage with must connect back to the social and environmental protocols which are woven into heritage (Armstrong and Anderson 2020, 40; Whyte et al. 2016).

This kind of relational worldview was expressed within Cultural Department staff Samuel Qol7ánten Barrs’ interview:

“...the people were so connected to nature, and archaeology comes from people, and so, you can’t separate those things at all. And they’re so cool when you understand them and are able to put them together. And same with finding sites and stuff, too. You have to be able to read the landscape and know the culture and what things they would have been using.”

The world is entangled so it is necessary for archaeologists to not separate human and more-than-human beings which are connected to archaeological “stuff” (Armstrong and Anderson

2020, 40). As reflected in current literature (Hunter 2008; Mills et al. 2008; González-Ruibal 2018), and the field school practice, archaeological training and toolboxes need to include social and environmental ethical codes and protocols to rebalance the meaning that is given to heritage. Collaborative efforts in field schools centered with care help realign how archaeology is taught, how practitioners relate to people both past and present, as well as how success can be measured.

Measuring Success With Tears

In traditional academic archaeology, success has largely been bestowed upon the educational institution and/or researchers they represent—tangibly manifesting as articles, chapters, books, and accumulation of collections. When relationship-building is centered within archaeological field schools and participating in a labor of love, success isn't measured (only) by an academic product but also with emotional relationality. The Stillaguamish-WWU Collaborative Field School's success is a process of trust and relationship building that was then expressed by participants at the end of the 2022 field season during the closing ceremony, something reflected on by Samuel Qol7ánten Barr in their interview:

"I was surprised that it was successful as it was like...logistics-wise and kinda holistic delivery of message kind of thing...and that was really apparent at the closing ceremony. I was surprised at how many people cried...that's a real measure of success. That really is. That was like, wow, oh my gosh! This was successful beyond our wildest dreams to have that many of young students who were like...not even these crazy old sentimental elders who have lived this long life. They are young optimistic people that are crying about how meaningful it was."

If the field school was going to start right, it had to end right. The closing ceremony was an event, protocol, and experience of reciprocity and care to be shared with the WWU and Stillaguamish communities. Part of this ceremony was to bring gifts, along with the reasons we chose them, to be shared with the other field school participants, witnesses, and community

members. The Stillaguamish-WWU Collaborative Archaeological Field School participants learned archaeology, but also formed relationships with the Stillaguamish Tribe and each other. This was an opportunity to give back and share how deeply meaningful the relationship became. For many WWU participants, this ceremony was the most powerful experience of the entire field school, as was expressed by WWU student Hazel:

“I loved afterwards [after the closing ceremony], the feeling I felt afterwards, I couldn’t shut up about it. I told everybody. And I still tell everybody that’ll listen about the work that we did and the experience and importance of it. I’ll tell anybody that can listen.”

Field school participants experienced and witnessed archaeology done in a good way and were learning to ‘be of good mind’ (Miller 2007). The role of a witness is to spread the word that good work was accomplished and performed in the right way (Simons et al. 2021; Thom 2014)—a responsibility that Hazel reflects in their interview. WWU as an institution can provide financial resources to the collaboration but field school students equally provide currencies (cf. Harris et al. 2021) as active participants. A student’s position in the archaeological field school meant currencies included a good mind, care of labor, gifts, emotional transformation, and taking on the responsibility of being a witness to good work. These culturally appropriate currencies were exchanged during field work and within the closing ceremony.

I experienced my own emotional transformation during the closing ceremony. As discussed above, part of the protocol included sharing gifts with participants and the reasoning behind them. My anxiety was through the roof when it was my turn to speak. I was nervous my explanation and gift would not be good enough or that I would start crying. Of course, as fate would have it, I cried right away. I tried so hard to hold my tears in but the waterworks came. To cry in front of all these people felt wrong. I feared it was a show of weakness or that people would roll their eyes and think, ‘oh boy, here we go. Another white woman crying’ (cf. Accapadi

2007). But after I spoke and shared my gifts—feeling utterly embarrassed—I hugged Cultural Department staff member Bea Franke and she expressed to me that crying was a good thing in this setting. While at first just a statement that brought me initial relief, my appreciation for tears have grown with time and I now see them not as weakness but how I am able to express care to others. These tearful expressions come from a place of vulnerability, and a willingness to be challenged and held accountable. I also now recognize tears as a culturally relevant and a significant way to show care in a form that has not historically been conveyed by people from westernized institutions and disciplines like archeology. The intent behind these tears confronts and intervenes a habit of white women's tears to be used as a tool of victimhood, weaponization, and a move to innocence (Accapadi 2007) and instead my tears and other settler students' tears represent a culturally transformative and critical reevaluation of self and relationality with others.

As is demonstrated through this chapter, there is no one way to conduct Indigenous-partnered, collaborative field schools: a significant part of this pedagogy involves specificity in the conception and practice of the field school that reflects the Indigenous nation partners' needs and cultural protocols. Needs can include federal recognition claims, treaty negotiations, capacity building, and beyond. Cultural protocols can include the naming and handling of archaeological materials, participating in cultural and relationship-building activities, and ceremonies like the Stillaguamish-WWU Collaborative Archaeological Field School closing ceremony.

Field schools as contingent collaborations test the waters of partnership—a relationship contextualized by people, places, and the work that is needed to be done. Field schools as relationships need to include care for and by our partners. Reimagining ethical frameworks employed in Western education systems and archaeological practice makes space to prioritize culturally-relevant practices. This includes relational ethics like care, love, and work done in a

good way with a good mind. The Stillaguamish-WWU Collaborative Archaeological Field School lets co-directors imagine an ethical relationship as a process without a destination but rather a series of small and big moments of learning with each other.

CHAPTER 5: TRANSFORMING ARCHAEOLOGICAL EDUCATION WITH INDIGENIZING AND ANTICOLONIAL PEDAGOGIES

Learning Along a River⁶

*After a morning of field work
With the sun beating down
We walk to the river
For some gifted time to lounge*

*The beach is flat
And scattered with small, pale rocks
On the far side of the river,
A grassy bank slopes up*

*Trees cluster the bank,
Creating shady pockets along the way
The water is calm,
Vastly different from Elger Bay*

*A small fire burns,
With two salmon perched above.
We are welcomed with smiles
And a general feeling of love.*

*A love for the day
And the activities we can do.
Swimming. Socializing.
Paddling the river canoe.*

*Her name is ʔəs̓x̓icil kayə
Angry Grandma in the English word.
I introduce myself to show respect
Relationality I am lucky to have learned.*

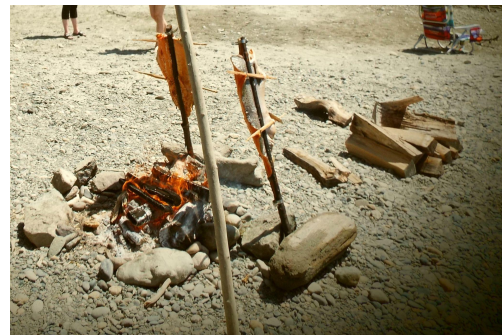


Figure 12: Activities of the Stillaguamish River Day. (top): paddling; (middle): smoking salmon; (bottom): paddling and standing on river canoe

⁶ This poem was inspired by the Stillaguamish River cultural day. Along with the poem, Figure 12 compliments the words with a visual representation of activities and knowledge experiences of the day.

*I learn much from my paddle
A sense of balance being one.
Others bail out water,
Tipping over for informative fun.*

*At the end of the day
We are asked to circle around.
A song starts our protocol
Feet tap to the drum beat sound.*

*We discuss our reflections
What we liked and gained from the day.
A learning experience like no other,
Pedagogy the Stillaguamish way.*

–Isabella Pipp

Critical Pedagogy

Critical pedagogy encompasses questioning and evaluating intents, approaches, knowledge, and practices of teaching and learning—encouraging the transformation of educational systems from within the minds of students and teachers, the collective institutions they engage with, and the approaches applied to real-world critical pedagogical practice (Wallace 2011, 165). Critical pedagogy also equips those who teach and learn to consider systems of power and power dynamics in the world, along with research, teaching, and learning. Throughout the Americas and across the globe, colonial educational systems have established links to imperialism, assimilation, and continue to support the structure of ongoing colonialism (Smith 2021, 73). Critical pedagogy attempts to counteract this legacy and continuation of colonial, white supremacist, and patriarchal education by centering reflexiveness, ethics, and relationality within teaching and learning (Hoodfar 1992; Lee 2006; Reyes 2013).

The power behind critical pedagogy is its actionability. To acknowledge and talk about critical pedagogy with others is an important part, but it is the practice which produces change within and beyond educational systems. Critical pedagogy is a framework that non-Indigenous allies can take when teaching and learning in educational settings. Learning to be an ally or accomplice to Indigenous peoples necessitates participating in ongoing struggles against settler colonialism. “While an ally is willing to stand in support of a marginalized voice, risk is rarely involved. An accomplice uses the power and privilege they have to challenge the status quo, often risking their physical and social well-being in the process” (University of Pittsburgh-Library System n.d.). Being an ally is a stepping stone to becoming an accomplice to a decolonial future. Practices of allyship include accepting critique and a willingness to listen to others; becoming aware of implicit biases; doing research on both self-perpetuated and structural mechanisms of settler colonialism; backing anticolonial words with actions; and bolstering voices and actions of people who don’t share the same privilege as settlers (University of Pittsburgh-Library System n.d.). An approach to critical pedagogy non-Native allies can take within educational systems is through un-settling and anticolonial practice.

Un-settling the Settler Within Educational Systems

Un-settling the settler within education systems (Regan 2011) is directly related to settler colonialism, a specific colonial formation. As I discuss in Chapter 2, settler colonialism is understood as a structure, not an event (Wolfe 2006; Kauanui 2016), and enforced with resource extraction and destructive homemaking (Tuck and Yang 2012). Un-settling is a strategy to critical pedagogy in settler colonial places. Eurocentric and settler-centric pedagogy reproduces a legacy of whiteness, privilege, racism, and lack of accountability (Moreton-Robinson 2004). Un-

settling as a critical pedagogical practice confronts and disrupts this settler legacy within institutions and the people who represent them.

Settler educational systems often do not provide meaningful space for teachers to address settler colonial power systems and Indigenous knowledges within the curriculum (Calderon et al. 2021, 349). Even when these opportunities do occur, it does not mean people are willing to disrupt their settler positions. Un-settling is a feeling and a practice. Confronting settler colonialism creates discomfort, and manifests depending on where and how people have settled. As discussed in Chapter 3, the pedagogy of discomfort offers an opportunity for unsettling feelings to guide us non-Indigenous learners and practitioners to reflect on how settler colonialism is an active part of our lives, education, and relationships in research and life with Indigenous peoples. This unsettling feeling is then matched with material realities like moving power, experiencing epistemic friction, and transforming educational practices (Lees et al. 2021).

Education is a vehicle of knowledge that has been used for both good and harm. Just because there is care for education does not mean that that care is inherently good. In Coast Salish country, where this thesis takes place, education has been used as assimilationist policy with boarding/residential schools, imposed the erasure of Coast Salish people as present peoples in public curriculum, and enforced displacement of Coast Salish knowledge systems and land relations with settler forms and dominance. Part of the reflexive process in un-settling includes exploring the attribution of significance or relevance. It becomes apparent that who we are teaching [with], what we are teaching, where we are teaching, when we are teaching, how we are teaching, and why we are teaching all matters. For anthropological archaeology, white, male-bodied practitioners backing Westernized colonial knowledge systems have historically monopolized the field of archaeology and its teaching—though the gender gap has slowly been

closing. When taking a critical and un-settling pedagogical lens, part of our toolbox for changing the field is through un-disciplining archaeology.

Un-disciplining Archaeology

To state the obvious, archaeology is a discipline. This term, discipline, has multiple meanings. Part of discipline includes the training of people to conduct themselves in a certain manner—something physiological in nature and often entangled with negative connotations. Another side of discipline is in higher education where the term is commonly used to represent a sector of knowledge with a particular history of formation and conventions of practice. In the United States, for example, anthropology is a discipline itself with a four-field (or four sub-discipline) approach, a legacy often called “the Boasian tradition” to reflect the influence of anthropologist Franz Boas on the shape and teaching of the discipline.

Disciplines do not form in a sociocultural vacuum. They inherit, reflect, and reproduce particular ways of understanding the world, including power dynamics. The discipline of anthropology, particularly archaeological archaeology, formed amid (and entangled in) the rise of British imperialism, capitalist nation-state formations around the globe, and debates around race-based science and evolution (cf. Smith 2021). For example, in the Salish Sea, the processual archaeological research which dominated this region in the 20th century used Coast Salish life as data to be manipulated within evolutionary, diffusion, and functionality models (cf. Ames 1981, 1994; Arnold 1993, 1996). Coast Salish and southern Indigenous groups of the Northwest Coast have also been ignored in favor of northern Indigenous groups who possess the traditional ethnographic traits of the ‘Northwest Coast Culture’ (Erlandson et al. 1998, 7; Barman 2007, 20-28), creating gaps in both ethnographic and archaeological research.

Critical scholars have argued that anthropologists must try to unroot or un-settle ontological and epistemological colonialism for archaeology to be practiced differently (Haber 2012, 62). Un-disciplining archaeology takes many shapes but one step is to decenter archaeology within archaeological and heritage studies (Schneider and Hayes 2020, 129). This might sound counterintuitive, or even *unsettling*, but the redistribution of practices and knowledge within archaeological pursuits opens up space for other tools to be incorporated within the study. Academic disciplines relate to Westernized and colonial forms of exploration where learning and studying the world are divided into different sectors (or ‘disciplines’) to be researched separately from each other. This is why if archaeological education is to be un-settled, then it needs to be un-disciplined. If un-disciplining archaeology, as Schneider and Hayes argue (2020), is to decenter archaeology within archaeology, then multiple lines of evidence are to be incorporated to create holistic studies. Archaeological methods are only one set of tools within a toolbox, but others can fill in spaces of knowledge and understanding that archaeological approaches cannot do. The potential of this process is to braid interdisciplinary and transcultural knowledge within archaeology.

Archaeological field schools experientially educate students on archaeological methodology. This educational experience could be one dimensional with a primarily focus on the physical actions of fieldwork. Un-settling and un-disciplining archaeology provides opportunities to teach in a holistic manner that balances interdisciplinary and transcultural knowledges along with physical, emotional, intellectual, and spiritual dimensions. Topics like stewardship, ethics, values, analysis of power, cultural and social relevance, written communication, oral communication, real-world problem solving, and basic archaeological skills can all be incorporated into archaeological curriculum like field schools (Bender and Smith

2000, 32-33; Hunter 2008, 174-175). The braiding (cf. Atalay 2012, 2019a; Kimmerer 2013) or weaving (cf. Driskill 2010) of these tools, truths, and knowledge recognize the interconnectedness of the human experience. This holistic and interconnected relationality can and should be included in archaeological studies and education. I argue that the Stillaguamish-WWU Collaborative Archaeological Field School braided these critical pedagogical lenses and ideals into the archaeological curriculum through anticolonial and Indigenizing approaches to education through three pedagogical strategies: re-evaluating expertise and decentering the archaeologist as expert, emphasizing and making time for experiential learning Coast Salish lifeways, and planting the seed of critical and tribally-minded archaeology.

Who Are Our Teachers and What Do We Learn?

To be archaeological allies in settler states, it requires acknowledgement of how the archaeological field and its education are rooted in colonial enculturation. Within the United States, archaeology has been used to reinforce tropes of the “dying Indian” by teaching archaeological practitioners that “real” Indigenous peoples are of the past and that there is no longer a connection of the past to the living descendent communities. Educational systems also lack in teaching the life and history of Indigenous nations with an emphasis on only discussing settler-Native interactions and atrocities without any approach to survivance. In Washington, this way of teaching is being challenged with the implementation of the ‘Since Time Immemorial’ curriculum which incorporates,

“ [1] Improving the understanding of students and educators about the past contributions of Indian nations and *the contemporary and ongoing* tribal and state government relations); [2] Improving the experiences Indian students have in schools; [3] Helping improve the accuracy of Washington’s history curriculum” (Washington State Professional Educator Standards Board 2023, emphasis mine).

The Stillaguamish-WWU Collaborative Archaeological Field School compliments “Since Time Immemorial” curriculum, disrupts settler positions and knowledge in archaeological field education, and is contextualized/Indigenized with Stillaguamish presence, participation, ideas, needs, wants, and determination within research.

Curricular change is connected to structural standards and individual practices. The disruption of settler academic power in teaching archaeology materializes when settler faculty recognize they are not the only valid teachers of archaeology. The power their positions hold have been promoted and reinforced with colonialism. When settler archaeologists give up their own power, the rebalancing of determination is utilized by Indigenous knowledge holders. WWU co-director Jerald Ek references his own self-reflection and reorientation as an archaeological educator within his interview:

“After doing the field school here [WWU] for a few years, I wasn't sure if I was gonna continue it... And honestly, I just wasn't really sure what the future direction of it was going to be. We kind of wrapped up in 2019... and I wasn't really sure what the next step would be. And I wanted, if I was gonna continue it, I wanted it to be a situation where I would be working with collaborators...and kind of building something that was bigger. Especially, where it wouldn't be kind of focused on me. And just this program.”

The relinquishment of settler power disrupts the colonial power which monopolizes archaeology and the academy. Jerald wished the field school to be an opportunity which wasn't solely focused on personal intentions—an unsettling move which breaks traditions of field schools that are centered around academic reasoning or faculty research. This anticolonial shift in archaeological education can then be grounded in Indigenizing practices. The Stillaguamish Cultural Department equally imagined the field school as an opportunity to not only assess Tribal lands but to contribute to an archaeological field school that is practiced in a localized and

respectful manner. Every participant had something to bring to the collaboration, so everybody gained from the partnership, as was expressed by Hazel within their field journal:

“The Tribe members have taught me valuable lessons in a multitude of things including (but not limited to) respecting nature and treading lightly, staying open and connected, listening and taking a step back. My peers have taught me how to work with others better, appreciation, laughter, and positivity. So while I’m learning how to enter archaeology, I’m also learning lessons that I can take with me in my professional and personal life.”

Participants of the Stillaguamish-WWU Collaborative Archaeological Field School are both teachers and students—there contains a fluidity between these positions and there are moments when they are experienced at the same time. This happens at all levels, including with students, myself, and WWU-Stillaguamish co-directors. This was reflected on by Samuel Qol7ánten Barr in their interview about one of the cultural days, a topic that will be expanded on in the next section:

“I really liked getting out the atlatl, that was really fun. Seeing people just really get excited about that and just be surprised at like, what a cool little tool that is. It’s super cool. And I think...that day was also super cool, cause they just saw...our THPO team really rise to the level of teacher as well, and that was super cool. So I think all the cultural days were really super memorable...[O]ne because I saw how excited the students got, but also, I saw our Tribal THPO team really rising to a new level of sharing and teaching them, you know, really being open-hearted and stuff. And that was super cool, too.”

Cultural Department staff possessed an important role as path creators of an archaeological curriculum which included traditional and revitalizing knowledge along with Department capacity building. When teaching is a shared and collaborative experience, the type of lessons and relationships will also shift.

A connection of ancestral material to the descendant community was a relationality emphasized in the field school and was reflected upon in interviews. Instead of treating archaeological material as static objects, the recovery of belongings was an opportunity to make

a personal connection with the tool. Midway through the Stillaguamish-WWU field school season, after the first ancestral belonging was recovered, WWU students were thanked by the Cultural Department for uncovering the tool. This reciprocity created a relationship not only with the Stillaguamish community in the present, but also with the peoples of the past who live on within these tools. Amy, one of the students thanked, reflected on this emotional and relational experience in their interview:

“[The] THPO member had us stand up and he was like, thank you for finding it. And it’s like that, I felt...it’s, oh you know, it’s not just archaeology. It’s like this is actually connected to people and their history. And I think that made it seem more real. Because finding a lithic it’s like, oh it’s a rock that was modified by humans... you know from class. But then actually to be like, oh this is your history. You know, this is your ancestors.”

Ethics of care, cultural protocol, and embodiment are key takeaways from this quote. In classrooms, archaeology students learn what lithics are and their various types, but the meaningful connections happen when there is an experience with the tools. For Amy, not only was there a sensory (touch, sight) connection to the lithic when it was found, but afterwards, an emotional experience that had her connect the tool to the Stillaguamish community and their ancestors. A lithic does not *just* have to be a rock modified by humans—ancient cultural resources can complement the teachings, lessons, and connections of the past into the present. Historically tools of the ancestors have been perceived by archaeologists as sterile—without life or agency. In this post-find activity, students reflect on how belongings are connected to and the embodiment of ancestors. This is a relationality with the past in the present that future archaeological practitioners can then take with them into academic archaeology, cultural resource management, and future relationships. The movement from materials as inanimate artifacts to tools of the ancestors—belongings that still have life and agency—is an Indigenizing

approach to relating and connecting heritage resources to the people who managed them and continue to steward them.

Rebalancing Time With Experiential Learning

The Stillaguamish-WWU Collaborative Archaeological Field School implemented anticolonial and Indigenizing knowledge and methodology with cultural immersion days. These were times where once a week, the day was dedicated to spending time with Stillaguamish Cultural Department to do activities outside of archaeological field work. This exemplifies undisciplining archaeology. These cultural days were not only times to have fun, but opportunities for the Stillaguamish Cultural Department and community to share knowledge through participation. Cultural days included a Camano Island canoe paddle, an afternoon on the Stillaguamish River (as was detailed in the poem), and a ‘round-robin’ day which incorporated flintknapping, lithic illustrations, atlatl throwing, plant-use talks, and storytelling. Histories, values, customs, Lushootseed language, protocols, and songs were braided together during these days and uniquely mobilized depending on the setting. Unlike a field school solely focused on archaeological training divorced from cultural context, protocols and practices learned from these cultural days are an inherent part of the archaeological curriculum and not something separate from how archaeology *should* be done. The Stillaguamish-WWU Collaborative Archaeological Field School engages participants with holistic toolboxes to utilize in an archaeological pursuit.

The first cultural day was at Camano Island where the Stillaguamish community and WWU participants participated in a canoe paddle around the island's waters (Figure 13). Time was spent singing songs, storytelling, paddling, and participating in protocol. Within their interview, WWU student Ron reflected on the Camano Island canoe paddle as an opportunity to

experientially learn how to paddle a sea canoe and how this paddling was representative of participants moving forward in their collaborative partnership:

“We went on the beach, and we were canoeing and as we’re doing that, I was thinking...you know we’re paddling together. You know, like we’re paddling together as equals. And as friends and made me think a lot about when we give lip service to ideas like all kinds of buzzwords...like equity and progress, or people say things like, oh healing or moving forward and stuff. And I was just thinking like us being in this canoe, paddling together—that’s more moving forward than I’ve experienced in the whole previous 30 years in my life.”

Healing, progress, change. These are key words used in social and academic settings, like this thesis, but as Ron reflected, these actions cannot get lost to discourse. If decolonization isn’t metaphor (Tuck and Yang 2012) or placeless (Dang 2021),



Figure 13: Camano Island canoe paddle

neither are the practices of healing and archaeological progress. These kinds of actions cannot be done without people and places. The Stillaguamish-WWU Collaborative Archaeological Field School brings faces, lands, and waters to the conception and practice of archaeological collaboration.

Another cultural day was the round-robin day at the Community Center where the Stillaguamish Cultural Department began the time with story-telling and a discussion afterwards about the morals emphasized within these stories. Listening to stories was one way students learned values, morals, and protocols that the Cultural Department wanted known, as was reflected by Hazel:

“And I remember someone just kind of generally saying there’s a reason that he’s telling all these stories. All of these stories that he’s saying have purpose and intent behind them... None of these stories are just stories. And that was also really something that stuck with me cause I was like yeah there [are] like layers and layers and layers of teachings within these stories.”

Students had the opportunity to listen and learn from the Cultural Department in a way that is personal and direct; they were invited to listen, ask questions, engage, and learn from members of the Stillaguamish community and staff. This is not like “learning” from a textbook or lecture—a form of education that dominates Westernized academic institutions.

After these stories, the group was separated into “stations” where participants engaged and learned about different Coast Salish lifeways with the Cultural Department and co-directors. This included flintknapping, which was then complemented with the archaeological practice of lithic illustration; a plant walk-and-talk where students walked around the Community Center grounds discussing local plants, their uses, as well as engaging in nettle cordage making; and atlatl throwing (Figure 14) complemented with a discussion on the history of how the atlatl has been made and used. These cultural days were multifaceted in their impact on participants and exemplify un-disciplining archaeology through anticolonial and Indigenizing approaches to pedagogy.

The rebalancing of work and time commitments relates to an anticolonial shift in archaeological curriculum intersected with



Figure 14: Atlatl throwing

Indigenizing practice. The Stillaguamish-WWU Collaborative Archaeological Field School curricular design reorganizes pedagogy with the intention of teaching archaeological

methodology braided and contextualized with Coast Salish knowledge and values. When the curriculum shifts time commitments, archaeological field work is decentered so time is employed learning about and from the Stillaguamish Tribe. The basic standard for field schools—teaching archaeological methodology—is still present but participants also learn about the Stillaguamish Tribe and Coast Salish lifeways by engaging with them. Prioritizing these cultural days meant fieldwork—the actual doing and experiential learning of archaeological method—was not the center focus of the curriculum. The cultural days are not considered a separate part of the Stillaguamish-WWU Collaborative Archaeological Field School curriculum but knowledge braided in that students take with them into their archaeological work.

Planting a Seed: From Excavating to Planting as Critical Pedagogy in Archaeology

Shifting archaeological practice includes reimagining the very ground we stand on, and the practices and metaphors utilized as part of research. Shifting archaeological research includes reorienting practices from extractive to regenerative relationships established between critical archaeologists and Indigenous partners. Collaborative archaeological field schools experientially teach participants archaeological methodology and plants an ethos within practitioners of an archaeology that aligns with a Tribal nation’s values, needs, and wants. Within this learning and teaching opportunity, multiple generations of people and potential archaeological practitioners have access to and participate in the field school—including Stillaguamish Cultural Department staff, WWU faculty, and WWU students (Figure 15). As was reflected by Samuel Qol7ánten Barr in their interview, generational learning is important because the archaeological work done in the present about the past must be relevant and actionable now and into the future:

“And we wanted Tribal youth and Tribal elders to be involved and wanted it to be like a holistic community event, and we wanted to have the chance to influence young minds. To, you know, be part of lifting up the next generation of cultural resource managers. I mean they’re stewards, in a way, and we wanna make sure that they have an opportunity to learn from the Tribal perspectives of what stewardship means for cultural resources and...I think it was a really good way to blend the academics and the Tribal cultural values together in the way that students got way more...broadly encompassing holistic view of stewardship.”

What does it look like when archaeologists take on the responsibility of stewards—how do we relate ourselves to cultural resources, the past, and the present? Stewardship invokes managing and caring for archaeology—that the work we do is about loving and continuing the past into the present and future. Learning archaeological stewardship from the Tribal point of view, bolstered by generational teaching, is like planting a seed. The Stillaguamish Tribe influences young minds, both within their own community and with the WWU community, as was reflected WWU student Adelaide in their interview:

“I feel like, I don’t know if this is how they [the Stillaguamish Tribe] felt, but they’re kind of influencing a new generation of archaeology, maybe, cause...I know that that experience will, you know, stay with me forever, and probably shaped how I do or view my job.”

For WWU students who go into cultural resource management, the field school is an educational experience they will look on as they do their own work. These ideas and values are the roots of Tribal partnership planted within field schools that can then grow within participants’ minds. The Stillaguamish Cultural Department also receives and learns training in directing archaeological field schools with Stillaguamish values being centered in the pursuit. Different generations of people from both communities come together to teach and learn from each other in the vision of



Figure 15: Cultural Department staff and WWU student participating in excavation fieldwork

what the Stillaguamish hope to see and receive from archaeology. The Stillaguamish-WWU Collaborative Archaeological Field School relates to anticolonial approaches to education as it disrupts the settler colonial techniques that dominate archaeological field schools. The way in which this education is disrupted is with Indigenizing practices. The Stillaguamish-WWU Collaborative Archaeological Field School is an Indigenizing field school as it braids in Stillaguamish ethics, protocols, design, and multi-generational participation as part of the archaeological curriculum.

As this chapter illustrates, the reorientation of pedagogy and practice in the Stillaguamish-WWU Collaborative Archaeological Field School engages with a critical, unsettling, and undisciplining type of archaeology. Critical pedagogy opens space within the mind and world to describe and define colonialism broadly. To contextualize and localize, critical pedagogical experiences situated within settler colonial systems are directed towards un-settling approaches to education. Un-settling the settler encompasses the disruption of settler positions, knowledge, and practices which dominate education systems. Un-disciplining includes the redistribution of time and approaches to include transdisciplinary and transcultural knowledge within the field and curriculum of archaeology.

Within the Stillaguamish-WWU Collaborative Archaeological Field School, there were shared teaching positions and responsibilities between the Cultural Department, Tribal members, and WWU faculty along with the connection of ancestral belongings to place and the Stillaguamish community. Experiential learning involved cultural immersion days where participants engaged in canoe paddles through the Stillaguamish River and landscape, alongside experiencing practices like flintknapping, lithics illustration, atlatl throwing. Most importantly, time for cultural experiences and connections were prioritized, representing a redistribution of

time usually spent in archaeological field schools that focus primarily on archaeological methods. The Stillaguamish-WWU Collaborative Archaeological Field School emphasized a generational curriculum where participants representing different positions, ages, and times in their lives were able to teach in and learn from the field school. Training in archaeological stewardship from the Tribal point of view plants the seed for tribally-minded archaeology, a principle contribution of the field school and this thesis that I explore in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 6: TO BE TRIBALLY-MINDED: TRANSFORMING ARCHAEOLOGICAL PRACTITIONERS

“[What were the goals of the field school?] To...make a tribally-minded field school, and produce tribally-minded archaeologists.” (Bea Franke, Cultural Department staff)

The guiding research question for this thesis is: how do collaborative archaeological field schools create tribally-minded archaeological practitioners? This research question grew out of my ethnographic practice, inspired by the quote above during an interview with Bea Franke. My initial research focus entering the field school was how decolonial words are met with action in archaeological education and as I witnessed the field school unfold, I recognized Bea’s response offered a profound way to ground my analysis of ethnographic data and interviews, as well as to contribute to the growing body of scholarship about Indigenizing archaeology.

To be tribally-minded echoes how the FMIA project described their practice: doing archaeology the *Grand Ronde Way* (Gonzalez et al. 2018, 94). The Stillaguamish-WWU Collaborative Archaeological Field School is doing archaeology in the *Stillaguamish Way*. To be tribally-minded means to practice archaeology and archaeological teaching in relationship with descendent communities in ways that reflect their political nationhood and sovereign decision-making, their cultural protocols for engaging with belongings and ancestors, and their expectations of ethical engagement and relationship-development.

My use of “tribally-minded” in this thesis is an example of grounded theory (cf. Bryant and Charmaz 2007) stemming directly from my collaborator Bea Franke, who coined this term and has given permission for my use of it to analyze the field school and my ethnographic data. It is important to acknowledge that the use of ‘Tribe’, ‘Tribal’, and ‘Tribal nation’ are common in the United States, while settler states like Canada use First Nation, Indigenous, or Aboriginal instead. Likewise, most Indigenous nations prefer the use of their own nation’s name whenever

possible instead of generalizing terms. Learning to be tribally-minded is a broad term that can and should be **localized** to a specific way of practice: the Stillaguamish-WWU Collaborative Archaeological Field School participants learn to be tribally-minded through doing archaeology the *Stillaguamish Way*. This is similar to students and teams learning to be tribally-minded through doing archaeology the *Grand Ronde Way*, the *Tla'amin Way*, the *Eastern Pequot Way*.

Tribally-minded objectives of archaeology connect people to ideas and practice, but are always grounded in relationality to specific community partners. For many Indigenous communities, knowledge is contextual—there is no copy and paste to life or research. When the Stillaguamish community teaches students their protocols to archaeology, participants learn contextual approaches that reflect Stillaguamish cultural, political, epistemological, and ontological specificity. How archaeology is perceived, what is wanted, and what is gained from this work for the Stillaguamish Tribe cannot be generalized or universalized, but the overall *ethos* of being tribally-minded can equip students to prioritize finding out what it means to be tribally-minded in other communities where they may work in the future. The cultural context is specific, and the lesson is generalizable.

What came out of the Stillaguamish-WWU collaboration was a field school conducted in the *Stillaguamish Way* that bolsters tribally-minded archaeological practitioners who relate what they learned to their professional and everyday lives. As has been discussed throughout this thesis, many archaeology students go into cultural resource management. A hope with the Stillaguamish-WWU Collaborative Archaeological Field School is that tribally-minded participants and allies move within these CRM spaces and apply what they learned to their archaeological work. Finding balance between creating tribally-minded archaeological practitioners in settlers and the training of Native archaeologists is crucial and continues to be a

topic and action of interest within the Stillaguamish-WWU Collaborative Archaeological Field School. For WWU, Bellingham, and the CRM field in particular, these spaces are dominated by white settlers so transforming archaeological education and practice in the dominant culture and structure is extremely important in changing local archaeological practice.

For WWU in particular, many archaeological students and graduate students end up working at cultural resource management firms within the western Washington area. Indeed, because the WWU Anthropology Department is one of the primary educational institutions producing archaeological professionals in the region, they often work directly with different Indigenous nations in their daily practice. How the WWU Anthropology Department teaches their archaeological field school students, therefore, has a direct impact on the local CRM workforce. This is a pedagogical bottle-neck, which has the potential to make the Stillaguamish-WWU Collaborative Archaeological Field School especially important for transforming archaeological practice in ways that reverberate for decades to come.

Because the Stillaguamish-WWU Collaborative Archaeological Field School plants the seed to being tribally-minded, promoting tribally-minded archaeological practitioners is an important part of the process of developing immediate and future archaeological stewards who enter the CRM field. Even for field school students who do not pursue a career in archaeology, to learn and have collaborative skills and critical analysis of power dynamics are positive traits especially in work environments that rely on human interactions. To collaborate and develop cultural competency are beneficial tools no matter the work to be done. As was expressed by Stillaguamish co-director Raymond Rehaume in his interview:

“If any of those students didn’t even work in the field of archaeology, but they went to this field school, they will have left with something more than that... just the experience of going to an archaeological field school. They’re gonna leave with actual cultural sensitivity.”

A key aspect of developing cultural competency in relation to Tribal nations and critical examination of settler colonialism involves learning about one's positionality and sense of self. To be in good relation in the *Stillaguamish Way* and more broadly in tribally-minded professions involves developing an understanding of one's relational self. As Raymond further explained:

"[Q: Was there any knowledge that you wanted to give the students?]. Yeah. Just the knowledge of self, really, because...what it takes is learning a little about yourself, not just learning about a Tribe or anything like that. And also learning about yourself in a way where you can relate to other people, no matter how different they are than you."

Part of learning with and from Tribal nations involves bolstering what students learn about themselves and their relationality to others. Tribally-minded archaeological practitioners learn to position themselves within the archaeological field and within the broader landscape of settler colonial relationships (and the possibility of a more anticolonial and/or Indigenizing frame). As Bea Franke discussed within her interview:

"With Indigenous ways of knowing, it's completely contextual... [You] have to contextualize everything and that's why, when you introduce yourself, you have to introduce where you're from, who your family is, you have to provide your context so people can understand where you're coming from."

For archaeological practitioners, this can include positioning the field of archaeology—including the reflection of how the discipline has developed in relation to Indigenous communities, where archaeology is now in relation to Indigenous communities, and how practitioners want to see archaeology in relation to Indigenous communities. Tribally-minded archaeological practitioners can learn to position themselves as movers of archaeological method and theory. This includes asking questions like how the practitioners have done archaeology (or lack of) in the past, how the practitioners are currently practicing archaeology, and what the practitioners want to contribute to the future of archaeology.

Changes to academic and university standards can support tribally-minded archaeological practitioners by generating curriculum and projects that center Tribal ethics, needs, and practices in archaeology. Breaking the cycle of institutional harm comes from an acknowledgement of how our own institutions have inflicted trauma and the practice of reparative relationship building. The Stillaguamish-WWU Collaborative Archaeological Field School accomplishes curricular change with a tribally-minded field school that invites participants to actively engage in a pedagogy of discomfort. This entails a type of teaching and learning that exposes the inherited and unevaluated epistemologies, ethics, and beliefs within and beyond educational settings.

Contingent collaborative and heart-centered archaeological field schools relate to being tribally-minded as they are the spaces and relationality that sustain this mentality and practice. The discomfort surrounding archaeology in Native lands is a reality that archaeologists have the responsibility to change. Archaeological field schools as contingent collaborations start the process of relationship-building and resource sharing. When archaeological curriculum, practice, and practitioners are open to emotional connections, the heart strengthens our relationships and makes meaningful the work and greater purpose a collaborative field school is linked to. This kind of care also includes centering Tribal nations' wishes on how their heritage should be cared for. Curriculum that promotes relationality is a lifeway that future archaeological practitioners learn from Tribal partnership and can move into practice within archaeological field professions.

The Stillaguamish-WWU Collaborative Field School is able to promote Indigenizing and anticolonial archaeological education with the unsettling of settler positions in archaeological education and the sharing of teaching responsibilities with the Stillaguamish Cultural Department. This disrupts the colonial legacy inherited by archaeology and centers the

Stillaguamish Way of conducting archaeological research. These shared teachings and learning opportunities are part of experiential, un-disciplining, and generational approaches to field training. The experience of conducting field schools like the Stillaguamish-WWU Collaborative Archaeological Field School results in learning collaboration—by being involved in Tribal-partnered archaeological field schools, participants learn how to conduct archaeology differently and to be tribally-minded.

Challenges to Collaborative Work at the Graduate Level

As a graduate student learning to be tribally-minded within my own research, there are aspects of research and training expectations at the university and field-wide level that I find inhibit tribally-minded practices. This section and the next elaborates on these challenges and oversights. My hope in discussing these issues is to add to existing conversations on how anthropological graduate studies and academic institutions can better their relationship and research with Indigenous peoples.

I encountered my own collaborative challenges in the process of completing course and thesis requirements for earning a Master of the Arts (MA) in Anthropology. Most U.S.-based Master thesis researchers are expected to finish within a two-year timeline, including at Western Washington University. As is well-documented in academic literature on both community-engaged research and research with Indigenous communities, additional time is often necessary for building authentic relationships of trust, developing collaborative processes, securing community-level consent for research, creating and implementing meaningful systems for Tribal engagement in the research process (including review of research materials), and developing culturally relevant research practices and protocols (cf. Castleden et al. 2012; Mikesell et al. 2013; Supernant et al. 2020; Supernant 2022). For graduate students wishing to conduct

collaborative work with Tribal nations, the two-year timeline leaves little space for relationship-building before or during research.

Within the first year of research, anthropology graduate students are expected to: create a research question and methodology; apply for grants; complete Institutional Review Board application (depending on research); and recruit participants. Meaningful consultation and collaboration calls for Tribal nations to have an active part in this research process, but relationships should be established before and while these steps take place. This can be challenging for graduate students as university and Tribal collaborators' schedules and protocols for research often do not overlap. Being attentive to people's workloads, availability, and timelines is part and parcel of doing community-relevant and -engaged research, and it has significant implications when those timelines are out of alignment with academic timelines, such as Master's degree and thesis requirements (Drahota et al. 2016; Atalay and McCleary 2022).

Consultation and collaboration require extra time than is expected for graduate students to finish within a two-year timeline, including before the research begins, while "data collection" is taking place, dissemination, and post-research. My own research process included creating summaries of how information collected from interviews and field journals is understood and used; presenting research findings to the Cultural Department; and a Cultural Department review of the thesis before defending. These protocols are in place to keep the research process transparent and graduate students should be encouraged to take the extra time needed for them to occur. Just because a student has "all their data" does not mean that the analysis, synthesis, and dissemination can be streamlined for the convenience of the researcher to finish in two years.

When conducting research with Tribal nations, centering sovereignty and nation-specific value systems respects inherit and acquired rights and positions the research toward anticolonial

and Indigenizing protocols. When graduate students center and conduct responsible, reciprocal, and transparent protocols, these actions have significant implications for their short and long-term relationships that stem from research and stretch into their professional work after graduating. These practices and commitments can be difficult to reconcile if a standardized institutional timeline and curriculum is the only pathway to graduation. For institutional change to occur—for repair to start at home—traditional institutional expectations have to be reorganized to support collaborative studies.

There are many reasons why graduate students want or need to finish within a standardized two-year timeline. These can include (but are not limited to) job opportunities, financial means including financial aid eligibility, and/or departmental framing of research and credits. I had to make these considerations myself. In the summer of 2023, in the midst of the second field school season, I was notified by WWU that my financial aid eligibility had been suspended. This was, to say the least, a shock. I *just* finished my second year, but had acquired and exceeded my required credits without graduating. Whiling working full-time and still completing thesis work, I sent out an appeal for financial aid eligibility explaining how my extended timeline into my third year reflected the appropriate amount of training I needed to receive to bridge two subdisciplines (cultural anthropology and archaeology) and to carry out a community-engaged thesis project in meaningful and ethical ways. With the support of my committee, I was able to successfully appeal my financial aid eligibility. Being able to advocate for oneself takes time, labor, and stress. Not everyone has the time or privilege to advocate with material consequences that can impact a student's ability to finish the program. Institutional and policy changes would make it less onerous for people to extend their timelines to reflect good practice in community-engaged work.

Taking extra time should not be considered delaying the research process but acknowledging that community-engaged and tribally-partnered research requires additional time. Anticolonial and Indigenizing protocols create and sustain meaningful relationships between graduate students and Tribal collaborators, and as addressed before, institutions should be supporting graduate students in conducting this work. Some of the protocols described above and in Chapter 2 ensure that my thesis research and findings are accurate, relevant, and meaningful for my research partners. For these to take place, patience is key, empathy is key, and time is necessary.

Expanding expectations within graduate studies and training is an actionable change anthropology departments can implement, and also aligns with the tribally-minded ethos. Graduate students hoping to partner with Indigenous communities in anthropological research should not have the pressure of choosing between unrealistic university standards and conducting work that is transparent and meaningful to Tribal partners. The solution necessitates both personal and departmental responsibility to Indigenizing anthropology. Graduate students and faculty alike can choose the type of research they want to create. When trying to decide between colonial or anticolonial expectations, departments, faculty, and graduate students need to choose Indigenizing and relational accountability for and with their research partners. Settler anthropology faculty and graduate student researchers have responsibilities for curricular change to take place. Anthropology departments in settler dominated universities, to promote collaborative work, need faculty members and students to work together to advocate for and help in decisions which create change in departmental expectations of research studies.

Archaeologists and Research Ethics

It is an academic and field oversight that archaeologists conducting research with the archaeological record are not required to conduct an ethics review of their research, such as through Institutional/Internal Review Board (IRB) applications. There are archaeologists, including at WWU, who have gone their whole careers never being asked to convey or defend the ethical dimensions of their research, even though there is a significant institutional apparatus that requires researchers to apply for ethics review when working with human subjects. Because ancestral remains, ancestral belongings, and more-than-human beings are perceived as not impacting living individuals or descendent/local communities in research, archaeologists are not beholden to institutional review protocols. These protocols often include conducting the Collaborative Institutional Training Initiative (CITI) Program training or submitting an ethics application for review by their IRB. CITI training, required by WWU to do IRB applications, provides researchers with lessons on ethics, compliance, and safety training when conducting research (CITI Program n.d.). With acknowledged legacies of unethical practice in relation to contemporary descendent communities, what reason is there for WWU archaeological researchers not to complete these trainings? Even when archaeologists consider doing an IRB application, unless the research involves living humans or animals, institutions will reject the notion that an IRB process is necessary. For WWU, the Office of Research and Sponsored Programs (RSP) is often understaffed and scarcely has the bandwidth to review projects which are legally mandated. It is not a surprise, then, that the RSP would decline to review a project when IRB compliance is not mandated. This is a structural problem that limits institutional oversight for ethical practice in archaeology, and thereby also limits the potential for archaeological training and research to incorporate ethical reflection and consideration in

research design. Eurocentric institutional IRBs do not consider archaeological collections and human remains as living subjects, and yet there is a field-wide acknowledgement that archaeological research impacts living people (Atalay 2010; McCormack 2017). It is not necessary for Institutional Review Boards to create fundamentally brand new systems for archaeological research when ethical training resources and protocols already exist. I argue that current IRB systems and expectations should be broadened to include the archaeological record within Human Subjects research.

Archaeological research conducted on Indigenous land about Indigenous past impacts the descendent communities whose cultural patrimony are designated archaeological sites and heritage. For those conducting ‘Human Subject Research’ with Indigenous communities at WWU, the IRB requires supplemental documents that attempt to address past ethical transgressions and legacies of harmful research that disciplines like anthropology have perpetrated. Unless the Tribal nation possesses their own IRB Program, Tribal nations rely on the principal investigator and the academic institution for IRB protocols. Kimmel et al. (2023) note that as of 2022, there exist, “10 independent tribal IRBs registered with the US Department of Health and Human Services,” and about 50 institutions related to Tribal Colleges and the Indian Health Service (IHS) which provide oversight in research with U.S. Indigenous communities (227). An example of a Tribal IRB local to western Washington includes the Lummi Nation’s Northwest Indian College (NWIC) IRB. Tribal IRB’s not only recognize Tribal nations as sovereign entities over research with, by, and for them, but also empowers Tribal oversight on research that would not traditionally require IRB review. If a graduate student is conducting research with the archaeological record, an IRB is not required from WWU (among other universities) but may be requested from the Tribal nation. This institutional and social gap in

ethics suggests that further research and policy change is needed to address ethical practice for archaeologists in general and specifically those in partnership with Indigenous communities (Bendremer and Richman 2006; McGill 2012; Zarger 2013).

By experiencing the IRB process in my own research, I was able to recognize processes within ethics review that could benefit archaeological researchers and the communities where they work. Because archaeological research is not subject to institutional ethics review, archaeologists can ostensibly proceed with research pertaining to Indigenous communities and their heritage without any institutional oversight or the opportunities it might provide for securing community consent and approval, guiding culturally relevant processes in the field or in a lab, or otherwise supporting the development of ethical practice in the discipline.

In 2023, the WWU IRB implemented a supplemental form the Principal Investigator fills out when conducting Human Subject research with American Indians and/or Alaska Natives (AI/AN) (Appendix C); this form was developed in consultation with the Lummi Nation's Tribal IRB, administered by Northwest Indian College. This form requires researchers to address seven potential harms or risks for both the individual people and community involved. Archaeologists collaborating with Indigenous peoples and communities in research should and can address each one. **(1) Physical:** If Tribal and/or THPO members are going to participate in field or lab work with researchers, archaeologists should implement protocols to engage in activities in safe and ethical ways for the individuals and Tribal nation involved. **(2) Psychological, self-stigmatization** and **(3) social, external stigmatization:** Archaeological research should not create further self- or social stigmatization to individuals and the Tribal nation partners. Individuals and Tribal nations participating should feel comfortable about being part of the research and should have the right to terminate research at any point. **(4) Economic, loss of**

insurance or a job: Archaeological research should not create economic loss, meaning research should not negatively impact individual-level employment, individual- and community-level funding, or resource allocation for current or future partnerships. **(5) Legal, criminal or civil liability:** Legal risk, whether they be criminal or civil, should be avoided. Some archaeological research is explicitly political and has legal risk, like with the Eastern Pequot Tribal nation's use of archaeology in their federal recognition claim, and I would argue that all archaeological research has political implications as long as contestation over land and rights continues. **(6) Dignitary, inadequate consent:** Securing adequate consent within collaborative archaeological research is a multistep process before, during, and after research. Relationship-building, clearance documents, open discussions, time for questions and answers, creating summary of findings documentation, and research product review are some approaches to make archaeological research transparent. **(7) Standard care, withholding:** Archaeological research can uphold standard care by iterating how material culture, features, ancestral remains, and more-than-human beings like flora and fauna will be cared for during the research process.

The supplemental form also requires the P.I. to state how values such as respect, reciprocity, and relationality are conducted within the research process. There is no justification as to why archaeological research should not follow these types of values—no matter what or who researchers work with. Institutional Review Boards are an impetus for building a level of reflexivity into the research process that archaeological researchers would greatly benefit from. However, IRB institutions backing Westernized approaches do not see archaeological research as needing review because collections and human remains are not positioned as living people. Yet, I argue that there are multiple ways that this interpretation ignores the realities of archaeological

research in practice and therefore limits possibilities for more ethical deliberation in relation to academic archaeology.

One limitation with this interpretation is that the archaeological record is predominantly represented by ‘tools of the ancestors’. If archaeologists take this relationality seriously, doing research with tools conveys interacting with the ancestors who live on within these tools. These tools deserve the same amount of respect and ethical training that would be given for a human being. This relationality and positioning of archaeological material as embodying the ancestors directly relates to Tribal-mindfulness. Within Coast Salish lands and waters, artifacts are not viewed as sterile by all descendent communities whose past is represented by the archaeological record (cf. Schaepe et al. 2017). Tribally-minded archaeological practitioners will carry this relationality with them and practice their work in a way that aligns with the descendent community’s ethics and protocols of caring, handling, and researching these belongings.

Another limitation is that if institutional archaeological research is conducted in relation to Indigenous communities, whether through consultation or collaboration, then community-level consent and other ethical protocols need to be addressed because archaeological research can have real implications for living human beings. In community-led or community-engaged research especially, ideas about research questions, methods, interpretations, and dissemination are decided through conversing and working with people. This is an inherent part of both consultation and collaboration. Archaeological research, in its conception, design, and practice, cannot be separated from people. In many settler societies, archaeologists know their work impacts living descendent communities and in the U.S., there are no institutional protocols that would require researchers to engage in any form of ethical conduct review, including CITI training or IRB processes.

This lack of institutional policy and practice stands in glaring contrast to federal policies like the Native American Grave Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) and Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act that CRM professionals must learn and implement. Building more ethical and political training into the archaeological research process and archaeological teaching is an important step in transforming the discipline to be more accountable to both institutional and Indigenous parameters for ethical research. This absence of regulation has allowed archaeologists to never experience ethical training that institutional or federal policy would require them to do so, leaving it up to individual faculty and departments to determine appropriate ethical training.

IRBs are not the end-all solution to making archaeological research ethical, but it is an already existing apparatus that universities could utilize to implement responsible and reciprocal research at the graduate level. It acknowledges that archaeology, like other human subject fields, is accountable to the legacy of unethical behavior and that research continues to impact local and descendent communities. This break in traditional conceptions of the archaeological record and field may be *unsettling* and *un-disciplining* but it is what makes us uncomfortable that should be explored further.

Spider Webs of Relational Connections

As this chapter illustrates, archaeologists working in relation to Indigenous land and heritage need to learn to be tribally-minded: to do their research and training in ways that are culturally relevant and accountable to the Tribal nations where they work. To be tribally-minded, as a concept and a reality involves developing relational connections that promote an Indigenizing, anticolonial, and decolonial world.

All three of these facets are done on land—in fact where would the archaeological record be without land? Land, though a loaded term, cannot be defined by containment as is often done by colonial perceptions of property (Goeman 2015). Land, including archaeological sites, are, “storied site[s] of human interaction” (Goeman 2015, 72)—places that have cultural memories and living histories activated within the present (Bacchilega 2007, 40). Even when land, waters, and space are separated, privatized, and commodified—all land in the Americas is Native land (Goeman 2015). When carrying out work on Indigenous territory, tribally-minded archaeology is practiced in the way of the Tribal nation(s)—archaeology the *Grand Ronde Way*, the *Eastern Pequot Way*, the *Tla’amin Way*, the *Stillaguamish Way*. To be tribally-minded, to do archaeology in the way of the Tribal nation, can be done by individuals, field schools, academic departments, cultural resource firms, and beyond. All these positions in archaeology have points of connection which form webs of potential tribally-minded relationships. These relational webs connect and inspire others to engage in Indigenous and collaborative methodologies but are always practiced with community-specific approaches.

Field schools represent a type of curriculum and space where Indigenizing and collaborative ways of archaeology are put into motion. Participating in tribally-minded field schools transforms academic and university standards that center the values, wants, needs, and culturally appropriate practices of the Tribal nation. Developing and participating in tribally-minded field schools promote contingent collaboration and relationship building between universities and Tribal nations with takeaways that are beneficial to the individuals and communities involved. Tribally-minded field schools share teaching responsibilities that center tribally-specific, un-disciplining, and experiential approaches to archaeology.

Tribally-minded archaeological practitioners learn to position themselves—it is important to know where someone comes from, who they are now, and what they hope for their future, as well as how they are embedded in broader systems of power and how they can intervene through anticolonial and Indigenizing approaches. Tribally-minded archaeological practitioners learn to be collaborators and take on the personal responsibility of creating reparative and sustainable relationships and work with, by, and for Indigenous peoples. Tribally-minded archaeological training and practice not only supports settler archaeologists to be unsettled and anticolonial but also transforms the field in ways that are more receptive and reflective of Indigenous archaeologists who have been marginalized in the discipline.

University practices and standards can inhibit and constrain tribally-minded practices. A challenge for graduate students conducting collaborative and Indigenous-partnered research within Westernized academic institutions include accelerated timelines that limit authentic relationship building and community-based work. Opening space for collaborative and community-direct work to have merit includes changing expectations of meaningful scholarship for relaxed timelines to take place. Another constraint on tribally-minded archaeology includes limited institutional ethical training or oversight for archaeological research. Archaeological research impacts local and descendent communities, so it is necessary to reimagine the archaeological record and archaeological research as ethically implicated and to implement ethics deliberation in the field. These challenges to Indigenous collaboration at the university level are pushed back with tribal mindfulness and a willingness to see the world from a tribal position with sincerity. Tribally-minded practitioners as research collaborators take on the personal responsibility of providing a sustainable working relationship with tribal partners in a way that aligns with their sovereign needs, care, and protocols.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUDING REMARKS

American anthropology and archaeology inherits a history of turning Indigenous heritage into data for research. Demands of archaeology from practitioners and descendent communities are to be accessible, to be accountable, and to be mindful. While these types of conversations and practices are occurring within archaeological spheres like Indigenous archaeologies, to be mindful of our methodology should not be considered a subsection to archaeology. If institutions are going to teach students about improving public relationships in anthropology, there needs to be a reciprocal nature between classroom education and field practice. This is the pathway that collaborative archaeological field schools lay down.

A goal of this research is to look into the anthropological self instead of the ethnographic Other. As I discuss in **Chapters 1 and 2**, using ethnographic methods to investigate archaeological methodologies incorporates reflexivity into how archaeology is conceptualized, taught, and practiced. Indigenous-partnered archaeological field schools are spaces that intersect these three realms and can champion anticolonial, Indigenizing, and collaborative work. Archaeological ethnographies investigate how and why archaeology is utilized within the present world and how this application can or does impact stakeholders. For my archaeological ethnography of the Stillaguamish-WWU Collaborative Archaeological Field School, I engaged in participant observations, interviews, and field journal analysis to answer the question: how do collaborative archaeological field schools create tribally-minded archaeological practitioners?

Chapter 3 connects the past and present by evaluating the history of Western Washington University Anthropology and Education faculty (Herbert C. Taylor Jr., James W. Bosch, and Martha Smith) in their relation to Indigenous communities. I investigate changes in academic and university standards and contrast past behavior with archaeology taught through

the Stillaguamish-WWU Collaborative Archaeological Field School. In particular, I emphasize 1) how the Stillaguamish-WWU Collaborative Archaeological Field School centers Stillaguamish sovereignty and prioritizes Stillaguamish needs and wants over archaeological pursuit; 2) how the field school participants were invited to actively engage critiques of anthropological research and listen in the right way, upholding Stillaguamish values about heritage studies; and 3) how the Stillaguamish-WWU Collaborative Archaeological Field School pushes back on legacies of institution harm.

These legacy stories are important to acknowledge why institutional change needs to start at home— to be locally specific and responsive to past harms. These are actions current faculty and students inherit, and have the responsibility to learn from. Acknowledging and communicating how WWU faculty have caused harm to Indigenous communities must be for a reason—we cannot open old wounds without creating an environment for them to heal. Current anthropology faculty have a responsibility to promote trust building with Native peoples. Localized, reparative relationships with Native communities are actions departments and universities as a whole need to work towards. This may involve unsettling and discomfort, but as I've demonstrated, both can be instructive and pushing back on colonial standards of education and research is necessary for meaningful change. The Stillaguamish-WWU Collaborative Archaeological Field School breaks the cycle of academic harm within field school training by teaching and doing archaeology in a way that centers Stillaguamish ethics, concerns, and priorities.

Chapter 4 introduces three examples of Indigenous-partnered collaborative field schools: Eastern Pequot Tribal Nation-UMass Boston Archaeological Field School, Tla'amin First Nation-Simon Fraser University Stewardship and Archaeology Program, and the Confederated

Tribes of the Grand Ronde-University of Washington Field Methods in Indigenous Archaeology Partnership. I then discuss how archaeological field schools can function as contingent collaborations between universities and Tribal nations where co-directors test the waters of partnership and collaboration. Field schools that center care and relationality have participants engage with an archaeology that promotes physical, emotional, spiritual, and intellectual learning. This braiding of care into curriculum also reorientates how collaboration is deemed successful—the Stillaguamish-WWU Collaborative Archaeological Field School’s success is measured by emotional transformation of participants, as was expressed during the closing ceremony.

Chapter 5 investigates the approaches to archaeological education with the lens of critical, un-settling, and un-disciplining pedagogies that intersect with anticolonial and Indigenizing approaches. Within the Stillaguamish-WWU Collaborative Archaeological Field School, there were shared teaching positions and responsibilities between the Cultural Department, Tribal members, and WWU faculty along with the connection of ancestral belongings and home places to the living descendent communities. Experiential learning involved cultural immersion days where participants engaged in canoe paddles through the Stillaguamish River and landscape, alongside experiencing flintknapping, plant cordage making, and atlatl throwing. Most importantly, time for cultural experiences and connections were prioritized, representing a redistribution of time usually spent in archaeological field schools that focus primarily on archaeological methods. The Stillaguamish-WWU Collaborative Archaeological Field School emphasized generational teaching and learning where all participants were able to benefit from the field school. Learning archaeological stewardship from the Tribal point of view plants the seed for tribally-minded archaeology

To practice tribally-minded archaeology means doing archaeology in ways that align with the cultural protocols, practices, and sovereign needs of the Tribal nation whose land archaeological research is happening. The Stillaguamish-WWU Collaborative Archaeological Field School curriculum relates to tribally-minded archaeology by disrupting settler colonial and academically-driven approaches to archaeology through teaching participants archaeology the *Stillaguamish Way*.

All of this information braided together highlights how Indigenous-partnered collaborative field schools create tribally-minded archaeological practitioners. It's a way to align oneself, to be an ally of the values, attitudes, needs, and wants of archaeology to the Indigenous communities whose land, past, and heritage are designated archaeological sites. Individuals can position themselves in this way, but so can field schools, CRM firms, and anthropology departments. Archaeological field schools like the Stillaguamish-WWU Collaborative Archaeological Field School plant the seed of Indigenizing and collaborative archaeology which participants can sustain through practice—from their everyday lives to archaeological work within CRM and beyond.

Suggestions for Future Research

No research is perfect, mine included. Part of a reflexive research process includes addressing limitations and potential mitigation for these imperfections in future research. There are ways that my own research was not able to reach some of the attended goals outlined by community-based participatory research (CBPR) in Chapter 2. The field school itself emerged out of mutual interests between the Stillaguamish Cultural Department and Western Washington University faculty. The Stillaguamish Tribe did not ask me to do an ethnography about the field school; rather, I offered this as an approach to document and perhaps strengthen the emerging

partnership. Ways I have tried to mitigate this initial self-proposed research, as is discussed in detail within Chapter 2, is by keeping the research process transparent through including interview questions the Cultural Department would like answered about the field school experience, interviewing the Stillaguamish co-directors on their own experience, providing the Cultural Department a summary of findings document, presenting the findings in a formal presentation to the Cultural Department, and a thesis review before the oral defense and final submission. In potential future research, my approach would be to conduct similar research based on a mutual desire from collaborators, not just a researcher-driven archaeological ethnography.

This archaeological ethnography is also relatively small-scale in nature with a focus on the first season of the Stillaguamish-WWU Collaborative Archaeological Field School. The ‘initial study’ structure of this thesis was expected and relates to the research methodology of rapid ethnographic assessment. Field schools, in general, are short-term in nature and the Stillaguamish-WWU Collaborative Archaeological Field School, in particular, is still a new relationship that is continuing to be developed and negotiated. Co-directors of the Stillaguamish-WWU Collaborative Archaeological Field School, from this archaeological ethnography, have methodology and information from which they can apply further reflexive studies into future field school activities. In potential future research, continuing to conduct applicable and reflexive research into the field school would document long-term impact of collaboration on participants.

Ending Research in a Good Way

The Stillaguamish-WWU Collaborative Archaeological Field School is a movement from colonially structured to tribally-minded field school practice that lays groundwork for departmental change, trust building, and Indigenizing archaeological practice. I end my thesis

with the poem field school student Carly Herr⁷ wrote for her closing ceremony gift titled T'ig'w'icid, thank you in Lushootseed, for two reasons. I believe this poem expresses the meaningful impact the collaboration had on Carly, which is then channeled into her gift. I also want to end this thesis with the poem as a way to say thank you to *you*, the reader, for taking the time to go through this body of work. I hope those inspired to create change in archaeology find tools within this archaeological ethnography to make anticolonial, Indigenizing, and decolonial aspirations into reality. The time to start this process has come, it is now, and it is long overdue.

T'ig'w'icid (Thank you)

A patient ocean meets the flowing river
An early morning greets the rising sun,
With an unbroken bond and a brand new day
We leave our shadows behind,
And open up to the sky.

I thank this new day and the land within,
I thank those who are kind,
And those who let us in:
The stewards of the horizon,
The teachers of how it begins.

Lessons of listening, of watching, and being,
From those who are wise and so freeing.
You cater to that which holds meaning,
We can see with your eyes, your hearts, and your speakings.

Just as the salmon swim the rivers,
And blackfish meet the tides,
Your words and your blessings live in our minds.

When things are done right,
They turn out to be better,
A lifetime of smiles and memories,
Filled with beautiful endeavors.

–Carly Herr

⁷ Permission from Carly Herr for use of poem and attribution granted for thesis.

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APPENDIX A: WWU IRB APPROVAL DOCUMENTATION



Office of Research & Sponsored Programs

Old Main 530 - MS #9038
516 High Street, Bellingham, Washington 98225
(360) 650-3220 - Fax (360) 650-6811
www.wwu.edu/compliance

To: Isabella Pipp and Sean Bruna
From: Stephanie Richey
Subject: Human Subjects Application
Date: 8/15/2022
Action Taken: APPROVED
Principal Investigator: Isabella Pipp
Faculty Advisor: Sean Bruna
Project Title: Excavating Archaeological Knowledge: An Archaeological Ethnography of Decolonial Practices Within a Collaborative Field School Landscape
Protocol Number: 4833EP22
Funding: None

The Western Washington University (WWU) Institutional Review Board (IRB) designee determined that your project meets the requirements outlined in §45 CFR 46 to receive approval under the following expedited category:

Expedited Category 5 & 7

You may begin recruitment. You may begin data collection only **after the condition below is met**. This approval is given under the following conditions:

1. A Research Compliance Officer must confirm receipt of the finalized interview guide prior to initiating data collection through interviews.
2. The research will be conducted only according to the approved protocol.
3. The research will be conducted in accordance with the ethical principles of Justice, Beneficence, and Respect for Persons, as described in the Belmont Report, as well as with federal and University policy.
4. The Principal Investigator as well as any individual interacting or intervening with human subjects or their identifiable data or specimens will be appropriately trained in human research subject protections (CITI Basic Social/Behavioral Researcher course), research methods, and responsible conduct of research.
5. The Principal Investigator will retain documentation of all past and present personnel, including documentation of their training.
6. The Principal Investigator will ensure that trainings remain up to date.

7. IRB approval will be obtained **prior to making any** modifications from the approved protocol or materials. The only exception is that a modification is not required for adding or removing research personnel other than the Principal Investigator (PI), PI Proxy, or Faculty Advisor (if applicable).
8. All research records (the application approval or determination packet, correspondence with the IRB, any other IRB-related approvals, signed consent forms, and documentation of research personnel trainings in human research subject protections) will be maintained in accordance [with WWU's guidelines for document retention](#).
9. The IRB will be promptly informed of any issues that arise during the conduct of the research, such as adverse events, unanticipated problems, protocol deviations, or any issue that may increase the risk to research participants.
10. When all interaction and intervention with human subjects or their identifiable data is complete, the Principal Investigator will submit a final status report to close the application.

Thank you for your attention to these details. If you have questions at any point, please review our website (www.wvu.edu/compliance) or contact a Research Compliance Officer.

Approving IRB Representative: Stephanie Richey
Approval timestamp: 8/15/2022

APPENDIX B: WWU IRB AMENDMENT APPROVAL DOCUMENTATION



Office of Research & Sponsored Programs
Old Main 530 - MS #9038
516 High Street, Bellingham, Washington 98225
(360) 650-3220 - Fax (360) 650-6811
www.wwu.edu/compliance

To: Isabella Pipp

Faculty Advisor: Natalie Baloy

Project Title: Excavating Archaeological Knowledge: An Archaeological Ethnography of Decolonial Practices within a Collaborative Field School Landscape

Protocol Number: Modification WWU050/2023 & 4833EP22

Date: 5.2.2023

Congratulations for the approval of this study! The Western Washington IRB has determined that the study referenced above qualifies as expedited study by [45 CFR 46.110 Categories of Expedited Human Subjects Research](#).

Expedited Categories 5 & 7

This approval is given under the following conditions:

1. The research will be conducted according to the approved protocol. *Please be sure to use any IRB approved recruitment, informed consent forms or information letters.*
- 2.
3. The research will be conducted in accordance with the ethical principles of Justice, Beneficence, and Respect for Persons, as described in the Belmont Report, as well as with federal regulations and University policy and procedure.
4. All research personnel remain up to date with CITI training through data collection.
5. IRB approval will be obtained **prior to making any modifications** that change this research project. This includes changes to study personnel, research participants, recruitment methods, compensation, consent process procedures or documents, or changes in study materials that deviate from the approved scope.
6. All research records will be maintained in accordance with [WWU's guidelines for document retention](#).
7. The IRB will be promptly informed of any issues that arise during the conduct of the research, such as adverse events, unanticipated problems, protocol deviations, or any issue that may increase the risk to research participants.
8. If the IRB has determined this this protocol will need a continuing review you will be notified.

Thank you for your attention to these details. If you have questions at any point, please contact a Research Compliance Officer.

APPENDIX C: WWU AI/AN Supplemental Form for the IRB

This form will be used to supplement your IRB submission and will help the IRB best support you and guide you in your research with American Indian/Alaska Native populations. Please first [review the excellent American Indian and Alaskan Native Population guidance](#) from the Office for the Protection of Research Subjects from University of Southern California. Next, following the headings below, address all the categories in a typed document that will be submitted to the IRB. This document will be shared with the members of the IRB committee to help make a determination about this research project.

Potential Harms/Risk

The (7) seven categories of potential harms/risk and potential benefits were originally applied to individual research participants with the regulatory guidance, but Indigenous people, Tribes, and Tribal-based IRB's and Urban Indian Programs apply them as well to the Tribe/community in research. They are as follows:

1. Physical
2. Psychological, self-stigmatization
3. Social, external stigmatization
4. Economic, loss of insurance or a job
5. Legal, criminal or civil liability
6. Dignitary, inadequate consent
7. Standard care, withholding

Please address each potential harm/ risk both to individuals and to Tribe/community in your research. Potential risk please clearly identify how the harm/risk will be reduced/mitigated for each individual and to the Tribe/community. Use the table below to organize your responses; please note they should be a minimum of 5 sentences response/cell.:

Potential harm/risk	Risk mitigation strategies for the Individual	Risk mitigation strategies for the Tribe/community
1. Physical		
2. Psychological, self-stigmatization		
3. Social, external stigmatization		

4. Economic, loss of insurance or a job		
5. Legal, criminal or civil liability		
6. Dignitary, inadequate consent		
7. Standard care, withholding		

Informed Consent Process

List and describe the steps you will take to ensure your consenting process is complete, understandable, focused, and respectful to all of the individual participants and to the Tribe/community. *"Dignitary" respectful consent is a potential benefit in all research, especially research with people and groups who are still too often disrespected.*

Data & Privacy

Best practices with Tribal communities indicate that tribes/tribal council should/has the right review all data and determine what will be documented (written for publications/presentation etc). This is important for minimizing group harms to Tribal nations. *Please note that harms/risks to AI/AN Tribes/communities and individuals often occurred in the report, presentation, or publication phase of research.*

1. Specifically, in working with the Tribal council and members, please outline and describe the steps that you will take to review and redact all data that the Tribal council and/or individuals do not want reported in any way, including, but not limited to student work (classroom work, dissertation, master's etc). [Please note that this means you may need to work with your faculty advisor/chair/faculty member if Tribal council and/or members decide that they do not want you to use the data you collected].
2. Tribal council and members may want to have all data and not allow any further research or sharing of data after your study. Please outline and describe the steps that you will use to determine what will happen with the data collected from this study.

Video and Audio Recording

Video and audio recording should **always** be optional for any American Indian/Alaskan Native. Please confirm, via a written response, that all materials recruitment/consent/and data instruments that recording will always be optional and after a conversation with the individual.

Archived/Public Data

If you are using archived or public data that represents Indigenous people, Tribes, Tribal members, Communities, etc., please clearly explain how what process you will use to gain input from the affected communities?

Respect, Reciprocity, and Relationality

Indigenous research is from the community, for the community, includes the community, and is returned to the community upon completion. The research should be guided by Respect, Reciprocity, and Relationality. Discuss how your research fits into these guiding values and reflects American Indian/Alaskan Native population that you are researching. This response should be a minimum of 2 paragraphs.

For more information about harms/risks and ben fits in research with Native Tribes and people, see: "Research with American Indian and Alaska Native Individuals, Tribes, and Communities. " (In) Bankert EA, Gordon BG, Hurley EA, Shriver SP (Eds.). Institutional Review Board: Management and Function. 3RD Ed. 2021 (Chapter 9-10: 563-579).

Office for the Protections of Research Subjects at University of Southern California
American Indian & Alaska Native Populations. <https://oprs.usc.edu/irb/american-indian-alaskan-native-populations/>