SHARING THE PAST:

ABORIGINAL PEOPLE AND

COMMUNITY-BASED ARCHAEOLOGY IN CANADA

by

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B.A., Trent University, 1998

THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF

THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS

in

INTERDISCIPLINARY STUDIES

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTHERN BRITISH COLUMBIA

February, 2005

Canada

Abstract

This thesis is about the relationship between Aboriginal People and archaeology in Canada. Aboriginal involvement in Canadian archaeology has been limited by the failure of archaeology to include Aboriginal interests within its research agenda. This failure has been due in part to a colonial bias embedded in the discipline. In order to disrupt this bias, a process of "decolonization" must be undertaken. Many academic disciplines have begun to assess the value of research done "on" Indigenous communities and have suggested ways that research can be done "by" and "for" these communities with benefits to both the academic and social causes. Community-based methods have been and are being used in Canada, yet without much formal discussion or sense of shared goals. This thesis suggests that the problem of limited Aboriginal involvement in archaeological undertakings can be addressed by applying community-based methods to archaeology. These types of projects also bring many added benefits to both archaeology and Aboriginal communities as a whole. The examination of community-based archaeology in Canada in this thesis is done through theorizing, examining practical examples and presenting common themes.

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Chapter One – Archaeology and Aboriginal Peoples[1] in Canada:

Overview of the Study

This thesis is about the relationship between archaeology and Aboriginal peoples in Canada. This relationship is not always a positive one, as a variety of factors have limited Aboriginal peoples' involvement in archaeological undertakings. This thesis will argue the case that projects between Aboriginal communities and archaeologists which follow a collaborative, community-based method engage this relationship in a positive fashion. The idea of involving local peoples in order to undertake "community archaeology" has been explored in a variety of international and community contexts (Marshall 2002). Aboriginal Community-based archaeology is a method of doing archaeology that engages with the local community in a respectful, empowering, and ongoing fashion. It is a method of collaboration between archaeologists and Aboriginal peoples whereby the community is involved as active participants in every step of the process. This type of archaeology is also one example of what Nicholas and Andrews (1997:3) define as Indigenous Archaeology, which is "archaeology done with, for, and by Indigenous peoples". Community-based archaeology that engages with Indigenous people in a colonial or post-colonial context is a growing field particularly within the United States and Australia (Marshall 2002). While there are several examples that demonstrate an adherence to community-based methods in Canada, there is limited Canadian literature that seeks to develop and define it. This thesis identifies and

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[1] In this thesis I have chosen to use the term "Aboriginal people" and occasionally "Native people" to describe the Indigenous people living in Canada. By this term, I mean to include not only those individuals recognized as "status Indians" by the Canadian government, but also Inuit, Métis, and non-status Indians. In much of Western Canada, the term "First Nation" is preferred; however this term is not inclusive of Inuit and Métis communities and thus is only used in this thesis in reference to Aboriginal communities within British Columbia.

discusses examples of community archaeology, and explores those themes within it that are relevant to the Canadian Aboriginal context.

The desire to undertake this research stems from my experience as a student of both Native Studies and anthropology/archaeology. I approach this topic as a non-Aboriginal person who has been educated within a Western academic setting. I have witnessed first hand, in classroom and conference settings, the variable tensions in the relationship between Canadian archaeology and Aboriginal peoples and their interests. I began this research focusing on this tension and making assumptions about its pervasiveness. Over the course of my studies, however, I have traveled to communities and spoken with many people involved in Aboriginal community-based archaeological projects. Once I realized that cooperation between many individual archaeologists and Aboriginal communities was more frequent than I first assumed, my focus began to change. I did found that it was difficult to learn about Canadian projects and the methods used within this type of work, as there was a lack of published material on this topic. The need for more discussion of the benefits of Aboriginal community-based archaeological work led me to pursue this topic as my thesis.

Tensions between Canadian archaeologists and Aboriginal people have arisen due to the assumptions made by all parties that no common agenda exists between these two groups (Trigger 1980). These assumptions are a result of a lack of mutual education between archaeologists and Aboriginal people. Given that there has been tension in the past between archaeology and Aboriginal peoples, as well as a lack of communication and

understanding, it is imperative that the relationship be examined in an ongoing manner. In recent decades, Canadian archaeologists have formed many positive alliances and undertaken many community-based projects that present opportunity for cooperation and mutual education (for example, Andrews 1997; Friesen 2002; Nicholas 1997; Yellowhorn 1993; Yukon Heritage 2002). It is vitally important that the methods, results, and knowledge that these interactions bring be shared publicly with Canadian archaeology at large. This thesis attempts to define community-based archaeology by briefly examining various cooperative projects, noting the common themes between them, and attempting to place these in the context of a growing national trend.

Academic inquiry into Aboriginal involvement in archaeology is lacking in past Canadian archaeological publications. However, many archaeologists have been exploring the dynamics of this relationship by engaging with it in the field since the early 1990s (Friesen 2002; Nicholas 1997; Stenton and Rigby 1995). There is a discernable gap between the reality of practice and what has been published within archaeological literature. Writing on this topic has lamented the lack of Aboriginal participation in the archaeological enterprise (De Paoli 1999; Sioui 1999; Yellowhorn 1993, 2002), while others have pondered the implications of archaeological work within Aboriginal communities, both positive and negative (De Paoli 1999; Dongoske et al 2000; Ferguson 1996; Jamieson 1999; Kehoe 1991, 1998; McGuire 1992, 1997; Nicholas and Andrews 1997; Pokotylo 1997; Smith 1994; Swidler 1997; Yellowhorn 1993, 1996). Nicholas and Andrews' (1997) groundbreaking work is notable as the only Canadian volume which deals explicitly with the subject of cooperative ventures between archaeologists and

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Aboriginal groups. They explore instances of what they call "Indigenous archaeology"

done "with, for and by Indigenous peoples" (Nicholas and Andrews 1997:3). The

examples presented in their book demonstrate that many communities and archaeologists

are undertaking cooperative projects, and this survey forms the beginnings of a dialogue

between individuals involved in Aboriginal community-based archaeology projects. The

importance of Aboriginal people's involvement in archaeology has also garnered

increasing attention from such organizations as the Canadian Archaeological Association

(CAA) (Nicholson et al. 1996), The World Archaeological Congress (WAC), and the

Society for American Archaeology (SAA)[2]. This is also evidenced by the proliferation of

conferences that examine this topic[3]. The Archaeology Forum in British Columbia is of

particular note as a yearly ongoing conference that brings Aboriginal communities and

consulting and academic archaeologists together since 1992. Many of the papers in the

sessions of the 2001 Forum that I attended noted the divergent agendas under which

archaeologists and Aboriginal communities operated in the past. This yearly conference

represents a move towards convergence of these differing research goals by presenting

the results of successful collaborations.

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[2] The Canadian Archaeological Association set up an Aboriginal Heritage Committee in 1993 to explore the relationship between Aboriginal Peoples and archaeology (see: http://www.canadianarchaeology.com/ahc/estatement.html). Similarly, the Society for American Archaeology sponsors a Committee on Native American Relations, which lists as their charge working to "increase understanding by archaeologists of the issues of concern to Native Americans, to promote understanding by Native Americans of the value and relevance of archaeology, and to foster better relationships between both groups" (see: http://www.saa.org/Aboutsaa/Committees/o-dnar.html). Worldwide concern for ethics with respect to Indigenous peoples is seen in the 1989 code of ethics for the WAC: http://www.wac.uct.ac.za/archive/content/ethics.html

[3] Some examples include the 25th Annual Ontario Archaeological Society symposium, "Archaeologists and First Nations: Bridges From the Past to a Better Tomorrow", Woodland Cultural Centre, Brantford, Ontario, October 16-18, 1998, and the 32nd Annual Chacmool Conference, "Indigenous People and Archaeology: Honoring the Past, Discussing the Present, Building for the Future," University of Calgary, Calgary, Alberta, November 11-14, 1999. The Canadian Archaeological Association's annual conference has also seen an increase in papers presented on this topic.

One of the main roadblocks to successful collaborations are the assumptions on the part of both archaeologists and Aboriginal people about what the other has to offer. Archaeology has been slow to address issues of Aboriginal importance. Certainly, popular stereotypes of Aboriginal people within the mainstream media have had an influence on archaeology. Bruce Trigger (1980) first introduced the idea that an "Image of the Indian" is likewise created through the archaeological enterprise. The stereotype according to Trigger (1980:662-3) is that North American Aboriginal People are thought of as inherently unprogressive. He goes on to explain that this image has been based on European racial and religious myths and is a result of limited direct interaction between Aboriginal people and archaeologists. I argue this shifting image has been, and continues to be negotiated and informed through the development of archaeological theory and practice. Since the 1980s, however, this "image" has been increasingly shaped by Aboriginal people themselves. This has been a result of Aboriginal people becoming more active within the discipline and securing a louder voice within mainstream society. This image is important, as it contributes to both the public and, in turn, policy makers' understandings of Aboriginal identity and history. Aboriginal healing and empowerment though self-determination in Canada depends in part on their ability to negotiate the terms of their own public image and control how their past is presented and understood. Whether or not one believes that direct cultural links exist between cultural groups observable in the archaeological record and Aboriginal people today, I hope to show that archaeology does have consequences for Aboriginal peoples. For this and other reasons, it is vital that archaeology as a discipline addresses the politics of the present in its examination of the past (Nicholas 2004b). By directing the "Image of the Indian" within

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archaeology, Aboriginal People regain control over views of their past, which constitutes a defining aspect of culture.

This inquiry deals with the nature of ethics in Canadian archaeology with respect to Aboriginal people. While some ethical guidelines with respect to Aboriginal peoples have already been developed for archaeology (Nicholson et al 1996), Canadian archaeologists may begin to put these principles into action by developing a community-based model which includes Aboriginal peoples in the research programme. Despite being an appropriate methodology for many reasons, McDonald and Lazenby's (1999) survey suggests that many archaeologists working in Canada lack understanding of what "community-based" implies in the context of archaeology (McDonald and Lazenby 1999). Robinson (1996:126), for example, notes that while many collaborative community-based archaeology projects are being undertaken in Canada, there is a lack of articles dealing with this topic within peer-reviewed literature. While this type of project is clearly practiced, the model lacks an expressly articulated set of premises and principles outside of the newly developed statements of ethical codes. This thesis seeks to show how community-based archaeology might be conducted by integrating critique, theory, and practice. The research presented here is intended to contribute to the development of these community-based methods by adding to the discussion.

While archaeology's involvement in direct and overt colonial activities is debatable, there is no doubt of its Western origins, or of the fact that most archaeological work in Canada has been initiated and undertaken largely by non-Aboriginal peoples. This has often

served to alienate Aboriginal people from every aspect of the archaeological enterprise, from the formulation of research questions, through excavation and interpretation, to the stewardship of material remains (Yellowhorn 1993, Trigger 1980). Archaeologists must understand the nature of the grievances in order to respond to these concerns as new types of collaboration arise. Sioui describes this problem as follows:

> ...Amerindians see archaeologists manipulating their ancestors' bones and sacred objects in all sorts of ways. They can only view this as a symbolic repetition of the way in which their ancestors were sacrificed by earlier Europeans and Euroamericans, and therefore as a reaffirmation of white superiority and moral ascendancy. On the other hand, the incredible moral alienation of the two civilizations that has developed over time prevents archaeologists from believing in the real usefulness of creating a professional and ideological relationship between themselves and living Amerindians. [Sioui 1999:47]

The specific organization of the thesis is as follows: In Chapter Two, I examine how the "Image of the Indian" has been affected throughout the development of archaeology in Canada. I illustrate how some of the colonial assumptions embedded in early archaeological work have influenced archaeology to the present day. The main developments in archaeological theory are also reviewed and discussed as to their relevance to the relationship between archaeology and Aboriginal people. In Chapter Three I examine elements of community-based methods and their application to archaeology projects. This includes a discussion some common themes of community-based methods with some examples that are already in use. In Chapter Four I provide a practical example of band-controlled archaeology from the Upper Similkameen Indian Band (USIB) in order to illustrate some of the themes outlined in the previous chapter. Excerpts from interviews with members of the USIB who are involved with archaeological projects are presented here. In Chapter Five, the main elements of what

constitutes community-based archaeology for Canada are presented. These themes are based on the examples presented in Chapter Three and Four, as well as the principles outlined at the beginning of Chapter Three. A brief conclusion follows in order to assess the value of this study and place it in a personal context.

As the debate continues over Indigenous rights in Canada and elsewhere, the opportunity exists for archaeology to make a positive contribution to the struggle. By working closely with Aboriginal communities and developing a rich cross-cultural understanding, archaeologists may become their advocates. Indeed, the exploration of archaeology as a tool for de-colonization has only just begun (Yellowhorn 1993:108-9). Through the writing of this thesis, I will demonstrate some ways in which community-based archaeological programs and projects affect the relationship between Aboriginal people and archaeology, as well as impacting on the wider archaeological discourse.

Chapter Two – A Brief Overview of Canadian Archaeology

We must be willing to examine the hidden ideas and assumptions which underlie archaeological work and its interpretation and to ask how what is hidden helps to authenticate, collaborate, and thus preserve stereotypes of Indian peoples. [Handsman 1989:4]

All too often archaeologists, relying on the strength of their technical expertise, are inclined to ignore their moral responsibility vis-à-vis the living descendants of the prehistoric and historic peoples they are studying. One may justifiably accuse archaeology...of being responsible for a negative social perception of Amerindians. [Sioui 1999:45-6].

This chapter argues that stereotyping and hidden assumptions within archaeology have

limited Aboriginal involvement in Canadian archaeology. This bias has been an

impediment to the development of archaeological projects that involve cooperation

between archaeologists and Aboriginal communities and individuals. In order to create

positive cooperative environments for the future, the past must be explored and

assumptions within archaeology must be laid bare. An historical overview of the

development of Canadian archaeology will be presented alongside the description of

several main theoretical developments. This chapter will help to explain why the

authority over archaeology has rested in the hands of Western academics rather than

Aboriginal communities.

This chapter takes as its theme the idea, as put forth by postprocessualists (such as Gero

et al. 1983, and Trigger 1989), that archaeologists cannot escape the socio-political

influences that surround them. Many scholars have acknowledged the political nature of

archaeological practice and interpretation (Gathercole and Lowenthal 1990; Gero et al.

1983; Layton 1989; Tilley 1989). Since the 1980s, both historians and archaeologists

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have begun to consider more readily how images and stereotypes of Aboriginal people

have shaped popular understandings of both history and "pre-" history in Canada (Burley

1994, Bordewich 1996, Cole 1985, Dickason 1984, Francis 1992, Klimko 1994, Mason

1990, Trigger 1980, Wylie 1993). These stereotypes and images are acknowledged as

being based in the dominant socio-political beliefs of the present, and have led to biased

interpretations about Aboriginal history made by non-Aboriginals. As these assumptions

have guided the development of archaeology in Canada and have helped to dictate the

level of Aboriginal people's involvement in Canadian archaeology, it is important to take

a closer look at this issue in an historical context. The mechanisms and motivations

behind the production of images of the "Indian"[4] must be closely studied in order to

explore the existence of a colonial bias that directly influences the practice and theory of

archaeology. In fact, some even suggest that the concept of archaeological and

anthropological study itself is fundamentally a European undertaking - colonial in nature

and necessarily tied to the imperial enterprise (Wolf 1982, Wylie 1993). This chapter

will explore some of the intersections between archaeological theory, the image of the

"Indian", and Canadian Indian policy. In this way, I will establish that archaeological

theory and practice in Canada has had consequences for the living descendants of the

cultures that archaeologists study. If archaeologists wish to develop a healthy and

equitable relationship with Aboriginal people, they must critically examine their

discipline's past legacy in order to understand how knowledge is produced and

disseminated to the larger public.

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[4] I use this term in order to separate the idea of "Indian" as a false and abstract concept from real
Aboriginal Peoples in Canada. Since even the term itself conveys a faulty European idea of who the
inhabitants of the Americas were and are, I think that it an appropriate term to use for the purposes of
deconstruction and illustration of an image.

Contemporary ideas about society and culture influence the way archaeology portrays the

past, which in turn affects how Aboriginal people and their history are viewed.

Archaeology, in essence, functions as "an ideological *industry* that produces ideas about

ourselves" (Blakey 1983:6, emphasis in original), therefore telling us as much about

present-day society as it does about the past. Leone (1981:7) notes that archaeology is in

a unique position, as it is able to explore contemporary cultural beliefs about the past by

examining how the past is given meaning. A critical examination of archaeological

ideology is not only the first step towards revamping the discipline, but may also help

initiate change in larger society, whether it be the ongoing decolonization of Western

research, or the advancement of alternative ways of knowing the world (Gero et al.

1983:3; Leone et al. 1987).

Several authors believe it important to explore the specific history of Canadian

archaeology (Jenness 1932a; Kelley and Willamson 1996; MacDonald 1976; Noble 1972;

Wright 1985) rather than homogenizing the North American experience as others have

done (Trigger 1989; Willey and Sabloff 1980). Although there has been limited literature

in Canada, writings and ideas from archaeology in the United States and Britain were

influential in its development. There is some suggestion that it might be counter-

productive to look primarily to the United States for inspiration with respect to shaping

policies for cultural resource management (Girouard 1976:161;Taylor 1976:154). There

are two primary reasons for this. First and most obvious is that the two countries have

followed different paths in the development and practice of archaeology. Canada is less

populated, has fewer universities, and less resources to put into developing

archaeological work. More important, I would argue, is the difference in social and political ideologies that have guided the development of both countries. If archaeological ideas are to be understood within the political and social context in which they were developed, then it is critical to consider Canada as a distinct locale. The problem, however, is that there has not been extensive writing dealing directly with the history of Canadian archaeology, and so some extrapolation must be undertaken from sources (such as Trigger 1989) that attempt to deal with North America as a whole.

Wright (1985: 425) suggests that the fact that Aboriginal people in Canada are more likely to occupy traditional territory, demonstrating a level of cultural continuity, makes the practice of archaeology in Canada unique. This continuity provides an exciting opportunity for Aboriginal people to engage with archaeology in a way that reflects and enriches their known cultural histories. It would be naïve not to recognize the regional differences within Canada, particularly since the way in which Euro-Canadian individuals and governments have interacted with Aboriginal people differs considerably in different geographical regions. The CAA Heritage Committee reports (Nicholson et al.1996) demonstrate some of the regional differences in the relationship between Aboriginal people and archaeology. Due to the shared experience of colonization between theses groups, a national survey of their collective situation remains valid. Kelley and Williamson (1996:6) argue that our national situation with respect to archaeology is more analogous in places such as Australia or New Zealand, rather than the United States.

Imperialism and Early Archaeology

When Europeans first arrived in the Americas, whether to trade or to explore, they
encountered peoples who had worldviews and lifestyles that were alien to those of the
Western world. The first impressions Europeans formed of the Aboriginal people in the
Americas were often based on European folklore, legends, and myths (Dickason 1984).
The period of European colonial expansion was marked by an increasing interest in
human origins as well as a fascination with the material culture of past peoples (Trigger
1989). Many have shown that European images of Native Peoples in colonial settings
were both the result of European-Aboriginal relations and the cause of their further
actions, as popular images changed to reflect new relations (Bordewich 1996; Dickason
1984; Fisher 1978; Francis 1992; Mason 1990). Mason (1990:8) suggests that European
understanding of Aboriginal people was closely tied to their ideas about what Europeans
themselves were not, projecting traits onto any "others" they encountered as a method to
distinguish Imperialists from Indigenous populations.

British, (and subsequently North American), studies in "antiquarianism" were aligned
early on with natural science (Wright 1985:422). Geological research gave way to an
understanding of stratigraphy and an idea as to the age of the earth. Archaeology then
provided links with this history and served to demonstrate the comparatively short length
of human existence (Daniel Wilson, cited in Kehoe 1991:468). Another reason for this
alignment was that the European psyche associated "native" cultures with the natural
world, due to the popular conception of Aboriginal people as living in the wilderness and
having a closer relationship with it (Dickason 1984). As the Euro-Canadian population in

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the post-fur trade period grew, and their new governments created Indian policy, they

both consciously and unconsciously promulgated these stereotypes (Francis 1992).

Trigger (1980) shows how stereotyping affected the entire development of archaeology in

the New World, by causing archaeologists to ignore the connections between the

archaeological past and the ethnographic present.

Early Archaeology in Canada

Archaeology has only been a discipline in Canada since the 1960s, yet earlier writings on

archaeological and anthropological topics do have a bearing on the development of ideas

that would later help shape the basis of these studies (Burley 1994, Taylor 1976, Wright

1985). Jenness (1932a:72) notes that the first articles published about archaeology in

Canada were published in the 1880s, and some key ideas formed in this time period

would be central forces in the development of later theories. Early Canadian

archaeological investigations in the late nineteenth century began with the most obvious

of archaeological features - the mounds that occurred in Southern Manitoba (Jenness

1932a:74). The period between 1850 and 1900 saw an increasing number of articles and

papers written on archaeological subjects appearing in Canadian journals such as *The*

Canadian Naturalist and Geologist and the *Canadian Journal* (Jenness 1932a:72). By

the turn of the century, newly formed organizations and societies concerned with human

history provided a forum to discuss and develop archaeological concerns and research

strategies (Wright 1976).

Early ethnological and archeological research in Canada in the 1860s and 1870s were

grounded in unilinear cultural evolution developed in the UnitedStates and Britain. This

notion was popularized through the writings of John Lubbock[5], who took his lead from

Charles Darwin and applied evolutionary ideas to human societies (Trigger 1989:110).

Supporters of cultural evolution believed that human cultures, when left to develop

"naturally," would move through several stages, from simple to complex in a teleological

fashion. The dominant assumption was that Aboriginal people in North America and,

indeed, other cultures with which the European colonists came into contact, represented a

childlike stage in social development that placed the English model at the apex. George

Dawson's (1880) book "Fossil Men and their Modern Representatives" illustrates this

belief. Likewise, Daniel Wilson, a Toronto scholar originally from Scotland, was

interested in learning about human origins, the migration of human cultures, and the clash

between "civilization" and "savagery" in the New World (Kehoe 1991). It was Wilson

who coined the term "prehistory" and thus created the split between "real" history as

understood through written records, and "prehistory" for those cultures that had no

written records. The resulting view was that so-called "primitive" societies, whose

historic records were unrecognized by Europeans, had no real history to speak of and

hence their past could only be understood through the practice of archeology. For

Europeans, this "prehistoric" era was much more distant in time, as there exists written

historical records dating to before the Classical period in Greece. Consequently, to learn

about others who seemed to live the same way as ancient Europeans was to gain a better

understanding of the European past. Canada could therefore be used as a kind of

laboratory for the study of human cultural development (Cole 1973:34). Thus, even in its

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[5]Lubbock authored *Prehistoric Times, as Illustrated by Ancient Remains, and the Manners and Customs of Modern Savages* (1856) and *The Origin of Civilisation and the Primitive Condition of Man* (1870).

conception, archaeology had great social and political relevance and took on an imperialistic slant (McGhee 1989:13, Kehoe 1991, Trigger 1980).

Early work in Canadian archaeology was thus greatly influenced by its development as a sub-discipline of anthropology (Kelley and Williamson 1996). Wolf (1982:7-9) sees the compartmentalization of the social sciences as a major factor that has clouded Western academic understanding of culture, society and human history in general. By separating these studies, he argues the connections between them are overlooked, and disciplines such as archaeology are undertaken without analysis of their contemporary social context. In this regard, many have noted that archaeology has played the role of "handmaiden" to ethnology (Noble 1972; Wright 1985). As Noble (1972:49) states, "[archaeology's] prime purpose was often to provide a prehistoric dimension to known indigenous cultures". The precedence of ethnology over archaeology occurred for several interrelated reasons. Aboriginal peoples were thought to be directly analogous to an earlier stage of development of Europeans. As Trigger (1989:110) notes, early investigators "believed that ethnology revealed almost everything that they wished to know about prehistoric times." The study of European past and contemporary Aboriginal cultures could therefore occur concurrently. This favoring of ethnology is also explained by Jenness (1932):

> *The Indian tribes that inhabited the Dominion* [Canada] *at the time of its discovery are with us to-day, though in diminished numbers, and the study of their customs and beliefs before they disappeared or became merged with Europeans took precedence over the investigation of their ancient remains...the stone knives and pottery that lay in the ground would endure for centuries.* [Jenness 1932b:71]

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The general idea that, while the artifacts would stay undisturbed in the ground, the living peoples were on the verge of extinction (either actual or cultural) gave greater urgency to ethnographic study. The idea of the "vanishing Indian" is one that would endure through the decades and influence the direction of both anthropological work and Indian policy.

Although early researchers into human behavior and ancient history were undertaking research for the greater good of humanity, an implicit goal was to justify recent actions by European Colonial populations towards Indigenous people worldwide (Kehoe 1991). The examples above illustrate the assumed analogy between early stages of European development, as uncovered through archaeology and the societies and cultures that were encountered and studied by European descendants in the colonies. By ignoring the temporal and geographic specificity of cultural manifestations, and expecting cultures to "develop" in the same linear pattern as Western civilization, Europeans were able to demonstrate their apparent superiority as the adult and developed version of the "childlike" races (Kehoe 1991:469). These ideas about the level of development of Aboriginal North Americans would have helped to justify European intentions towards them. By "civilizing the natives," Europeans believed they were hurrying along an inevitable process, rather than destroying valuable cultural traditions. As Trigger (1992) notes:

> *Darwinian evolutionism was utilized to denigrate the capacity for development of aboriginal peoples by comparison with Europeans and to provide a new, scientific respectability to the racial prejudices that colonists had long directed against the American Indians.* [Trigger 1992:268]

The general belief that Canadian governmental directives such as the Indian Act of 1876 or that the residential school programs were good policy was part of the colonial ideology that it was the duty of Europeans to "civilize" the "primitive" peoples on what they decreed to be Canadian land.

Approaching the Twentieth Century

Franz Boas' ethnographic work in particular, both in the Arctic and the Northwest Coast had a lasting impact on both archaeology and anthropology. Like Daniel Wilson, Boas was greatly influenced by the socio-politics of his time, and his theories about culture were tied up with larger contemporary questions about human society. Boasian anthropology provided the "intellectual template" for Canadian archaeology and aimed to trace the cultural history of historically recognized native groups, but also sought to deal with larger questions such as Pleistocene migrations to the New World (Wright 1985:424). While Boas promoted cultural relativism, he also believed that Aboriginal people existed in a pure and untouched form before the arrival of the Europeans[6], supporting popular notions about culture. Boas' cultural relativism and rejection of racial interpretations of human behavior "encouraged the view that Indians were *capable* of change" (i.e. of becoming more like Europeans if given opportunity). Archaeologists at this time were driven to create cultural chronologies to delineate small-scale changes (Trigger 1980:667). This culture-historical approach arguably was one of the most

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[6] For example, see his treatment of culture in his 1888 work *Central Eskimo*. He spent the entire book recording minute details about Inuit movements and traditions with the expectation that these were in the process of dying out rather than simply adapting. He viewed culture as something finite and concrete that could be preserved in a written form (without oral history) and through objects, does not study long term patterns of change, but rather sees change as deterioration of culture, belief in ability of outsider (European) to be able to record culture in entirety.

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influential and lasting tenets of Canadian archaeology, and today still constitutes a major part of the discipline.

The idea that Aboriginal people were "capable of change" led Canadian policy-makers to create Indian policy based on assimilationist principles. The Indian Act of 1876 for example, imposed a European model of democracy onto Aboriginal groups that had hitherto been following their own various systems of governance. The policies that were enacted at the turn of the century became more aggressive in the 1920s and 1930s when important Aboriginal cultural practices (such as the potlatch on the Northwest Coast) were banned, and forced enrolment of Native children into residential and industrial schools was continued (Miller 1989:206). Yet by the pre-World War II period, there was a general sense that assimilation was not working efficiently as Aboriginal populations were growing rather than diminishing as expected by policy makers (Miller 1989:211-13).

Although most would label him an ethnologist, Diamond Jenness also influenced the development of archaeological theory in Canada during much of the twentieth century. His seminal work *The Indians of Canada* (1932b) had particularly long-lasting impact, standing alone for many years as the only national survey of Aboriginal cultures in Canada. His opinions are important because of the role he played in influencing Canadian Indian policy. During a career that lasted from 1913 to 1969, Jenness was employed by the Canadian government to work as the Dominion

Anthropologist in the Department of Mines and Resources, which housed Indian Affairs (Kulchyski 1993:27).

Jenness made Indian policy recommendations during hearings for a review of the Indian Act in 1947, and authored several books between 1962 and 1968 on "Eskimo Administration" (Kulchyski 1993:27). These books laid out a programme of assimilation for the Inuit and Eskimo populations into non-Aboriginal society. They portrayed these cultures as non-adaptive, and suggested that through the influence of European culture would erode Aboriginal rather than continuing to adapt and change. In 1951, alterations were made to the Indian Act that reflected these new concerns, yet the basic policy still effectively emphasized assimilation through education (Miller 1989:213). The boom in resource expansion in the 1950s led Euro-Canadians into country that had previously been left to the Aboriginal people – and thus they again needed to be displaced and managed (Miller 1989:223).

Due in part to the lack of funds during the depression of the 1930s and the Second World War, the practice of archaeology in Canada came to a standstill until more money was available to undertake excavations on a larger scale (Wright 1985:424-5). By the late 1940s and early 1950s, both professional archaeologists and the resources for archaeological teaching and excavation were still scarce. Most Canadian graduates received training in the United States, yet often returned to posts in Canada upon graduation (Taylor 1976:152; Wright 1985:425). The post-war boom of the 1950s led to a dramatic shift for Canadian archaeology in the decade that followed – the first period of

substantial archaeological development as both a subject for study and a practice (Burley 1994; Noble 1972; Taylor 1976; Wright 1985). The first national archaeological association (the Council for Canadian Archaeology) was established in 1966, yet it was not long lived due elitist policies that caused conflict within the wider archaeological community (Simonsen 2000). The founding of the Canadian Archaeological Association (CAA) in 1968 is significant because it remains a key archaeological institution, and the only national association in the country.

The Canadian Historic Sites Service (later to become the Canadian Parks Service), established in 1961, became the primary push behind historic archaeology in Canada (Burley 1994:82). The goal of this service was to reconstruct sites of "national significance", thus increasing tourism and bolstering national pride (Burley 1994:82-3; Klimko 1994). The emphasis placed on specific historic sites as "markers of Canada's past" is telling in the picture they create of the country's history. Burley (1994:83) notes that the focus was on sites with Euro-Canadian significance rather than Aboriginal (or "prehistoric") significance. If the priority of this branch was to uncover and illustrate sites of primary importance in Canada's past, the omission of Aboriginal peoples history is a significant one, for it symbolically demonstrated that Aboriginal people were not important players in Canada's development. This was an ethnocentric and imperialist version of history, formed and supported by archaeological work commissioned by the government.

While the Canadian government was concerned with salvage archaeology to save its historic sites, it left the excavation and research of pre-contact Aboriginal history to the universities (Klimko 1994). The emerging opposition between Aboriginal history on one hand, versus European history on the other, is a trend that has continued to the present day, as has the dichotomous discourse between salvage archaeology/cultural resource management, versus "pure" applied science-oriented research. The management, inventory, and protection of cultural resources are now often left to private consulting agencies, and research-oriented archaeology is the job of academics working within a university setting (Jamieson 1999). This also creates a schism between the consulting archaeologists and the academics. The reality of post-secondary education in this country dictates that those pursuing a degree in archaeology are taught by academic, rather than consulting archaeologists, although there is some overlap. Archaeology has therefore traditionally been taught by professionals who might have had little long-term experience working with bands as consultants, although this is changing (David Pokotylo, personal communication 2003). This split within archaeology, which manifested in the mid 1970s (Burley 1993:82), is also implicated within the entrenched regionalism in Canada, because in some parts of the country, such as the Western provinces and the Arctic, researchers work more closely with Native Peoples through various consulting projects (Kelley and Williamson 1996:11).

The Influence of Processualism/New Archaeology

The 1950s in North America presented a social milieu of economic prosperity and faith in technological progress, which led social scientists to a renewed interest in evolutionism (Trigger 1989:289). Within archaeology, this interest manifested as "the new

archaeology," a.k.a. processual archaeology, that focused on seeking patterns in human history to explain differing rates of technological progress. In his seminal paper entitled "Archaeology as Anthropology," Binford (1962) blames the lack of knowledge that archaeology had brought to anthropology on the lack of science and process in archaeology. He saw culture as a functional adaptation to environmental stimuli, stating that there is a "systematic relationship between the human organism and his environment in which culture is the intervening variable"(1962:220). Binford and his contemporaries called for the search for universal and non-historically specific processes that would be predictive, rather than focusing on descriptive, typological culture histories.

The processualist movement would indeed have an impact on many aspects of archaeological work and theory, whether causing archaeologists to take a more scientific and systems approach or to take a reactionary stance opposing it. What cannot be denied is that the processual movement caused many archaeologists to take a closer look at the motivations that were and are guiding archaeological work. Binford (1989) has seen the use of science as a way to escape the bias that archaeologists bring to studies of culture history. Wylie (1985), Trigger (1992), and others have shown that the way the science is applied and used in the social sciences is far from value free. While the scientific method is not biased, the impossibility of removing the researcher's bias makes the idea of neutral science a myth. "Scientific" research has at times served a colonialist agenda and has helped create false images of Native peoples. Klimko (1994:200) demonstrated how processual archaeology creates an image of Aboriginal people that downplays the role of culture and history. By looking for universal adaptationist processes, processualism

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normalizes cultures and does not demonstrate the uniqueness and variety of cultural experience. Trigger (1980:671) notes that the generalizations about human culture that were developed through processual archaeology hold little relevance to Aboriginal people as the cultural material becomes "data" used to test hypotheses which ultimately serve the broader interests of Euroamerican society. "Culture" in processual archaeology is seen as a system that responds to changes in the environment in a functional-adaptive fashion, rather than from historical events. It is a slight to Indigenous culture, and perhaps all human societies, to suggest that its development is purely a functional response to environmental stimuli. I would hazard a guess that Aboriginal people see historical events (particularly those concerning European contact) as vital to shaping their culture and experience as a society.

There is some suggestion that processualism held less importance in Canada than it did south of the border. Kelley and Williamson (1996:9) point to the fact that Canada has often taken a "middle of the road" approach in terms of theory, and they identify the continued use of culture history and ecological models as still dominating archeological research in Canada. Canadian archaeologists were perhaps more able to take what they wanted from the processual model without wholly subscribing to it, or feeling it necessary take a reactionary stance to it. Elements of processual practice such as predictive modeling and statistical analysis remain present in many archaeological projects that are not necessarily wholly processual in their interpretative framework.

In the late 1960s, changes began to take place in Canada with regards to the public

voicing of issues surrounding Native Rights and land claims. An increased awareness of

equal rights in general during this period occurred partly due to the civil rights

movements in the United States. The so-called "White Paper" policy developed by Jean

Chrétien in 1969 (then Minister of Indian Affairs) marked a pivotal moment in the

struggle for recognition of Aboriginal rights in Canada. The premise of the White Paper

was that Aboriginal peoples' poverty and social problems stemmed from their "unique"

legal status with respect to the rest of Canada, rather than the acknowledgement that

governmental and Euro-Canadian societal racism and colonialist policies had created it

(Miller 1989:226). This body of proposed legislation caused the consolidation of various

Native organizations across Canada in a united struggle to (successfully) oppose it

(Miller 1989:32; Park 1993:49).

The rise of awareness and Aboriginal political activism in Canada was coupled by a

worldwide struggle for Indigenous rights through the 1970s. By 1984, the "Declaration

of Principles" outlined by the World Council of Indigenous Peoples recognized the

Aboriginal Title to material and archaeological culture (McGhee 1989:15). Through their

struggle for rights and recognition, Aboriginal people were able to influence not only

public opinion, but also their popular image. The biggest critic of the image of the

"Indian" as seen through anthropological research is Vine Deloria Jr. who in 1969

authored the seminal work *Custer Died for Your Sins*. As an Aboriginal scholar, he

attacks the practice of anthropology as being colonial in nature and not benefiting Native

cultures in any way. Although his understanding of modern anthropology is not entirely accurate, his work is significant as hallmark critique of anthropological work from a Native perspective. What began as a two-way mutually influenced and reinforced relationship between archaeological theory (applied in Canada) and the popular image of the "Indian" (as an abstract concept) became a tripartite relationship including Aboriginal people's voices through the 1970s and 1980s. The Pan-Indian political movement served as an alternative discourse that became noticed at this time.

The Ethnohistorical Movement and Postprocessualism

The 1970s saw a shift in the way both colonial and pre-contact history was presented and studied. The late 1970s and early 1980s witnessed the development of an ethno-historical movement (see for examples Dickason 1984; Fisher 1978; and Trigger 1985). Popular conceptions of Canadian history began to change along with the image of Aboriginal people as mere pawns in the European's game. This Euro-Canadian revision of history was coupled by a "cultural renaissance" in Aboriginal communities and an increased public interest in their history, both pre- and post-contact (Trigger 1980).

Due to an emphasis on theoretical debate and lack of funding for practical training, archaeology tended to lag behind history in terms of responding to Aboriginal concerns that were increasingly heard. The rise of a strong and coordinated Aboriginal political voice at this time began to make some archaeologists question the power relationships between researchers and Aboriginal people in Canada. This situation was also exacerbated by the potential for successful land claims by Aboriginal Peoples in British Columbia and the North, and some archaeologists realized that they would need to

change some of their practices in order to successfully conduct research on these lands. These were trends that would continue to the present day, as projects that involved Aboriginal co-management grew more prolific. While this time period was dynamic in terms of the development of new ideas, Carlson (1973:67-9) laments the lack of funding and energy put into archaeology with respect to training programs and museum research, as well as a lack of individuals with Ph.D.s to carry out this work.

The postprocessual movement of the late 1970s arose as a critical response to processualism that was highly influenced by the postmodern critiques seen in other disciplines at the time. While it should be noted that there is no unifying theoretical design in postprocessual writing, one main feature is a critique of the positivist foundation of processualism (Preucel 1991a:4). This critique focused on acknowledging the existence of subjectivity within the scientific method thus demonstrating that there was no way of "proving" truth and fact as the processualists believed. This questioning however, should not be understood as an outright rejection of all aspects of processualism (Hodder 1992:88). This appraisal of the social sciences included an analysis of power and authority over knowledge production and dissemination, an examination of the power of text and a reevaluation of scholarly aims, and a closer look at the ethics and value of social sciences in general.

Within archaeology, two agendas fell under the deconstructivist gaze. The first was a endeavor to explore how meaning is ascribed to material remains (interpretation) and the second project dealt with exploring the general ideology behind the discipline, including

asking questions about the usefulness of archaeology in the present. Self-analysis within

archaeological discourse was seen by many, and particularly feminist archaeologists, as a

way not only to encourage awareness of social inequalities within archaeology but also to

promote these changes within a larger sphere (Gero et al. 1983:3).

The most radical group of postprocessualists were inspired by critical theory that

originated in the Frankfurt School of Philosophy in the 1920s, in an attempt to develop

and apply some of Marx's ideas to studies of human society (Leone et al 1987:283,

Preucel 1991b:23). A Marxist influence can be seen in archaeological discourse through

certain streams of postprocessual writing (Pinsky and Wylie 1989; Preucel 1991a,1991b;

Leone et al. 1987; Wilkie and Bartoy 2000). These scholars felt that social and political

concerns (particularly the treatment of gender in archaeological research and women in

the archaeological profession) were not adequately accounted for in processualist writing.

As Leone et al. (1987) describe:

> *Almost invariably, one of the reasons given for employing critical theory is to*
> *describe and deal with the factors - social, economic, political, and psychological*
> *- that have been observed to influence conclusions and their social uses but that*
> *under many ordinary rules of scholarship, should not be present.* [Leone et al.
> 1987: 284]

These methods also imply a desire for change through this critical self-consciousness

(Preucel 1991b: 23). Wylie (1985:137) describes the two ways in which postprocessual

theory is critical. The first is that it involves a critical reflection of the knowledge-

production enterprise itself once this critical understanding of social context is met. The

second element is laying this criticism bare and taking action.

Unfortunately, the critical gaze and attempted self-awareness of postprocessualism in archaeology did not lead archaeologists to recognize or address the unequal power relationship that has existed between Aboriginal peoples and the archaeological past. Despite its analysis of power and its relativistic bent, postprocessualism is perhaps just as likely to stereotype Aboriginal people and alienate them from archaeological practice and discourse. Wylie (1983:122, also Gero 1983) believes that in order to "avoid obsolescence," the discipline of archaeology must devote more time and energy into "theoretical problem formulation" that uses recovered archaeological evidence while at the same time engaging with political concerns. However, postprocessualists did not often address the "problem" of Aboriginal people's involvement in archaeology.

Some scholars have put time into theoretical problem formulation with respect to working with North American Aboriginal populations. Scholarship by Duke (1995), Handsman (1989), McGuire (1992), Nicholas (2000, 2004a, 2004b), Smith (1994) and Yellowhorn (1993, 1996, 2002) demonstrate an interest in theorizing what some call "indigenous" archaeology. Duke (1995), for example, suggests that the most appropriate model for working with Aboriginal communities involves a synthesis of various theoretical streams. He combines culture-history and processual archaeology, as well as elements from postmodernist practice within postprocessual work. When asked about his theoretical influences with respect to cooperative efforts with First Nations in British Columbia, Phil Hobler (personal communication 2003) says that archaeology involving Aboriginal communities should not be dominated by any particular theory, as it can skew work. He notes that "First Nations do not like their history to be used to prove someone's

theory," which indicates the need for this type of open use of different theories. Nicholas (2004a) sees indigenous archaeology as being informed by postprocessual theory, but that archaeology will continue to focus on the creation of culture-histories.

Nicholas and Andrews (1997) describe the examples contained in their edited volume as "Indigenous Archaeology," noting that "...currently there is no clear theoretical framework within which this operates although it is strongly but not entirely postprocessual" (Nicholas and Andrews 1997:3). Smith (1994) notes that cultural resource management that engages with Aboriginal people on the community level can be interpreted as a form of postprocessual practice. The nature of archaeological theory is that hard data, in the form of artifacts and features, are the starting point of any theory building and make archaeological theory unique to the discipline. Thus, theory must be developed internally and must continue to be discussed and renegotiated within the discipline. In Yellowhorn's (2002) model for "internalist" archaeology, theory-building emanates from the community itself. This means that ideas and theories are borrowed from processual and postprocessual approaches and are altered to suit the needs of Aboriginal archaeologists. Traditional Aboriginal knowledge is also implicated in this theory formulation by allowing its development from within the community. McDonald (2004:5, 2003:xii) distinguishes between community-placed research, where research occurs within the community and community-centered research, which engages with the community and responds to its agenda, culture and experiences. Ultimately, the practice of community-centered archaeology would require community-centered theory formulation.

Ideas and images regarding Aboriginal peoples have doubtlessly been created through archaeological work throughout the years. Following the establishment of Euro-Canadian cultural hegemony, Canadian governments have been able to manipulate the public's views about history and culture in order to support Indian policies (Dickason 1984:xii). Wolf (1982:388) similarly notes that those who control the power to name and describe events in history are able to guide public opinion. While it is a stretch to blame archaeologists for the creation of damaging policies, the point made is that archaeological work has consequences for Aboriginal peoples which fall outside of the discipline itself. At this point in time, most of the authority over the telling of the past within the dominant discourse still rests more securely in the hands of academics than in the possessors of Indigenous histories and knowledge (Smith 1994:305). Therefore, archaeologists have a responsibility to examine the underlying bias in their work in terms of what images it portrays of Aboriginal peoples.

In this chapter, I have demonstrated that ideas about archaeological cultures have a bearing on how the contemporary descendents of these cultures are viewed. This stereotyping is a result not only of developments within archaeology and other social sciences, but especially by the politics of Aboriginal/settler relations in Canada at large. One main reason that Aboriginal people have not been more involved in archaeology is the discipline's failure to see archaeological cultures as still living – resulting in a failure to engage with contemporary Aboriginal communities. In order to encourage moves toward equal partnerships between Aboriginal peoples and archaeologists, these stereotypes and biases must be deconstructed and overcome. Those Aboriginal

communities that have worked with archaeologists, and also those that have developed

heritage management programmes, demonstrate the ways in which different types of

knowledge systems can come together. The examples in the following chapter will

demonstrate that this is already being done.

Chapter Three – What is Community-Based Archaeology?

...the extent to which archaeology is accepted by native communities depends largely on the willingness of archaeologists to begin decolonizing Indian history and integrating Indian aspirations into their research objectives. [Yellowhorn 1993:109]

The last chapter presented an overview of Canadian archaeology and considered how this development helped alienate Aboriginal involvement in archaeology. Many archaeologists working in Canada have realized the need for this involvement, as well as the mutual benefits that increased cooperation brings (Andrews 2001; Ferris 2003; Friesen 2002; Hanks and Pokotylo 1989; Jamieson 1999; Nicholas 1997, 2002; Nicholas and Andrews 1997; Nicholson et al. 1996; Pokotylo 1997; Reimer 1998; Robinson 1996; Stenton and Rigby 1995; Trigger 1996; Yellowhorn 1993, 1996, 2002). In order to further develop good relations between Aboriginal people and the discipline of archaeology, the body of work pertaining to Aboriginal involvement in both practice and theory must be heeded and further developed. This chapter will explore how a community-based approach in archaeology addresses the issue of Aboriginal agency.

The cooperative practices described in this thesis are only just starting to be adopted by academic archaeologists in Canada on a wide scale. Within the cultural resource management (CRM) field, however, community-based methods have been used to a greater degree. Cultural resource managers tend to be those hired to do archaeological impact assessments for industry or occasionally by Bands or First Nations. The difference between this and academic archaeology is that the excavations are chosen on the basis of assessing or salvaging what is about to be destroyed by development, rather than being chosen as a site to test a specific theory or question about the past. Sometimes

this simply means managing natural resources in a way that does the least damage possible to archaeological and cultural sites. While archaeological methods and theory are taught through the University system, this is less often the case with CRM as it is seen as more of an industry. However this does show signs of changing as more courses are being taught on the topic of Indigenous archaeology (Yellowhorn 1993, 2002). Aboriginal community involvement in CRM undertakings has been a topic of discussion for many years, for example at the yearly Archaeology Forum in British Columbia, yet these discussions have rarely reached an academic audience. The academic community could certainly benefit from learning more about the cooperative process that cultural resource managers employ. A movement towards community-based methods in archaeology would be comprised of methods from both academic archaeology and CRM. It is perhaps because of the alignment of CRM and community-based methods that community-based archaeology has not been identified as a tradition within academic archaeology, as academic and CRM archaeology are often seen as oppositional (Marshall 2002:215).

In order to establish a definition for "community-based archaeology" involving Canadian Aboriginal people, some key components will be fleshed out. Chapter Five will explore this practical aspect by looking at community-based, participant action research models and will explore their potential use for a decolonizing archaeology. While community-based archaeology is being undertaken in Canada, there has been very little effort put into placing it in a national or international context. In the introductory article in the *World Archaeology* issue devoted to "community [-based] archaeology", Marshall (2002:212)

notes that it "appears to be more explicitly articulated as a specific set of practices within

the disciplines of Australia and New Zealand" and that out of the two papers that were

chosen from North America, "neither author has chosen to locate their work within a

North American tradition of community archaeology". Two of the three papers from

Australia in the volume (Clarke 2002 and Greer et al. 2002) spend several pages

describing the development of community archaeology in Australia and place their work

within the movement. Thus, although Marshall (2002) acknowledges that Friesen's

(2002) paper in the volume is indeed what she defines as community-based archaeology,

what is missing from Canadian archaeology is an articulation of what community-based

archaeology means and looks like within a Canadian context. This chapter will

demonstrate that such a tradition does indeed exist in Canada and will illustrate common

themes within this work while underscoring the need for its further development. The

goal here should not be interpreted as an attempt to find a universal methodology that

will work for every instance in Canada, but rather as an exploration into certain aspects of

community-based practice which are beneficial to the future of Canadian archaeology

vis-à-vis its relationship with Aboriginal peoples.

As demonstrated in the previous chapter, this idea of archaeology by and for communities

whose past is being studied is precisely what is being called for by some postprocessual

archaeologists (Leone 1990). If archaeological knowledge is conveyed among

archaeologists through national and local archaeological journals, then it is vitally

important that it reflect the actual state of Canadian archaeology. This literature is also a

place for assessing the discipline's thoughts on Aboriginal participation in archaeology

and for constructive debate. Clearly, a stronger presence and visibility for community-based projects is needed within this literature.

Community-Based Participant Action Research[7]

Participatory Action Research (PAR) was developed in Tanzania in the 1970s by scholars and communities as an exercise of resistance to colonial or neocolonial research practices that were less than beneficial to the communities they studied (Hall 1993:xiii). It was seen then as different from previous research models, as the community is involved in the research in an ongoing, meaningful fashion where local education and action as an end result of the research were key factors (Hall 1993: xvi). Sol Tax's concept of Action Anthropology and Paulo Freire's pedagogy of the oppressed contributed to the development of such community-based action research within anthropology (McDonald 2004:3).

Indigenous or local community knowledge is key to community-based methods as it endeavors to "empower popular knowledge" (Park 1993:17). This is done by recovering practical skills, collective wisdom, and traditions that are often submerged within traditional social science research and in society at large. It is flexible in the sense that, while there is an accepted body of tenets or principles for both the community and the "research facilitator", they are adaptable and therefore applicable to many different research scenarios (Ryan and Robinson 1996:7). This methodology does not support the

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[7] Participant Action Research is also known as Community-Based Research, Community Participation Research, or Community-Based Participatory Research (Ryan and Robinson 1996). While there may be subtle differences between these terms, the main goals and themes are similar. To include all of these ideas, I use the term Community-Based Participant Action Research, which is sometimes shortened to community-based research.

idea of research for research's sake, but rather incorporates an action or change that the research will initiate. The outside researcher thus becomes an "external research facilitator" in this model, whose role is to bring their educational expertise to share with the community (Ryan and Robinson 1996). This individual is often seen as training themselves out of a job by not only sharing knowledge, but by building capacity within the community so subsequent research and projects may be initiated and administered internally (Ryan and Robinson 1996:8). The role of the external researcher is a delicate one; they must for example be self-critical in order to avoid reproducing colonial relationships within the research programme. What makes community-based participatory research unique is the issue of the community's control over the interpretation, outcome and eventual use of the results (Hoare et al. 1993:52).

Hall (1975:25) describes the key elements of PAR as it was conceived in the field of adult education:

1. *[Participant Action Research] involves a whole range of powerless groups of people--exploited, the poor, the oppressed, and the marginal.*
2. *It involves the full and active participation of the community in the entire research process.*
3. *The subject of the research originates in the community itself and the problem is defined, analysed and solved by the community.*
4. *The ultimate goal is the radical transformation of social reality and the improvement of the lives of the people themselves. The beneficiaries of the research are the members of the community.*
5. *The process of participatory research can create a greater awareness in the people of their own resources and mobilize them for self-reliant development.*
6. *It is a more scientific method of research in that the participation of the community in the research process facilitates a more accurate and authentic analysis of social reality.*
7. *The researcher is a committed participant and learner in the process of research, i.e. a militant rather than a detached*

observer [Hall 1975:35].

These principles are easily applicable to the contexts of Canadian Aboriginal

communities, who have been disenfranchised from Canadian society as a whole, and

Canadian archaeology in particular. It is also interesting to note that one of Hall's key

claims (item 7) is what Wylie (1992) noted regarding the involvement of different

political agendas within archaeology – namely, that more self-analysis leads to a more

rigorous and scientific outcome. This programme deliberately includes subversive

characteristics that empower disenfranchised communities and places the academy's

interests as secondary to those of the community (Hall et al. 1982). As a transformative

methodology, community-based participatory research attempts to destabilize biased

elements of the status quo, and is therefore a practice that challenges the Western

colonialist paradigm.

Community-Based Participant Action Research and Aboriginal People

Community-Based Participant Action Research has been acknowledged as particularly

useful in the Canadian context because it is consistent with the values of Aboriginal

people (Hoare et al. 1993). The appropriateness of applying the PAR methodology to

Aboriginal communities in Canada has been noted by several scholars: Kurelek (1992)

writes about the Innu of Labrador; Ryan and Robinson (1990, 1996) have done work with

the Gwich'in within the Arctic Institute of North America; and the general application of

this method to Aboriginal research has been noted by Castellano (1993); Hoare et al.

(1993); Jackson et al. (1982); St. Denis (1992); and Warry (1990). Indeed, Jackson

(1993:61) posits that participatory research has been the Canadian Aboriginal

movement's "way of working" since the 1980s. Research in Canada's North

demonstrates an adherence to these principles, as community-based methods are incorporated into many official ethics documents (Evans et al. 1999). Despite this, there seems to have been a lack of writing about the benefits and key elements of participant research in the country at large. Aboriginal people in Canada have a shared experience of colonialism, and many communities and individuals have had a negative experience with social science research that has been conducted *on* them which has had larger consequences in their lives (Sioui 1999; St. Denis 1992:51).

Community-Based Participant Action Research and Archaeology

Elements of this methodology are already in use in many cases but that it is difficult to find any articles in the peer-reviewed literature (Robinson 1996:26). While few researchers have written about their community-based research with Aboriginal people in Canada, even fewer have discussed outright its applicability for archaeology. Robinson (1996) and Stenton and Rigby (1995) note the potential for community-based principles within archaeology, the latter paper providing a practical example of how this was done. It is a regrettable oversight as many elements of community-based research hold great potential value for archaeology for a number of reasons. The value of the principles of cooperation and community involvement for example, are clearly applicable to archaeology. In terms of the "action" aspect of PAR, community-based archaeology project could lead to local education, the subsequent undertaking of excavation undertaken wholly by the community, or even the development of heritage management programs for the band. It is necessary to outline some of the guidelines that deserve consideration in the application of CBPAR to archaeology and to look at some examples

of how elements of these methodologies have been applied to various archaeology

projects.

Tom Andrews (2001), who undertakes archaeology projects with communities in the

Northwest Territories, lists the following as "Components of a Successful Collaboration"

for heritage related work with Aboriginal people:

1. *Mutual Respect (Between research partners in terms of cultural differences, modes of discourse, dispute resolution, concepts of time and worldview)*
2. *Building Relationships (Long-term commitment usually required between smaller communities and outside researcher involves personal contact)*
3. *Collaborative research design and project planning (often using a community-based steering committee, equality in decision making)*
4. *Willingness to subordinate academic objectives (Local concerns placed before academic ones)*
5. *Flexibility (ability to adjust and change project to unforeseen problems)*
6. *Willingness to localize project benefits (training, local exhibits etc)*
7. *Sharing credit and voice (joint copyright between community and outside researcher/researching body, opportunity to express different interpretations)*
8. *Willingness to participate in corollary projects (Traditional Use Studies, oral history projects)*
9. *Willingness to share expertise, resources, and access to resources (between research partners/groups)* [Andrews 2001].

Andrews' list of components clearly reflects a CBPAR methodology, yet neither

Andrews nor others working in this type of applied archaeological field tend to describe

their work as such. While not developed for a Canadian Aboriginal context, Moser et al.

(2002) likewise present seven research objectives for collaborative practice:

1. *Communication and collaboration (between community and project coordinators at every step of the process)*
2. *Employment and training (providing full time work for some local people in archaeology, assisting with their acquisition of formal qualifications)*
3. *Public presentation (of archaeological findings through exhibition and internet)*
4. *Interviews and oral history (with local people, especially elder community members)*

5. *Educational resources (in the form of site visits by school children, the publishing of children's books and making a partial artefact database available to the public)*
6. *Photographic and video archive (regarding the history of the community to be held by the community)*
7. *Community-controlled merchandising (as an alternative to traditional tourist trinkets)* [Moser et al. 2002:229-242]

Both Andrews' and Moser et al.'s lists may be helpful as a way to assess projects for their qualification as collaborative or community-based. The solutions to problems that arise throughout community-based projects, such as disagreements over historical interpretations, are often not simple to deal with — the issue of how to mediate local politics for example is a difficult one. Yet those who undertake this kind of methodology explain that it is the process of pursuing cooperation and consensus that is important (Devine 1994; Ryan and Robinson 1990, 1996).

A key characteristic of any community-based project or enterprise is capacity-building for historically disenfranchised groups (Hall 1993). Ideally, members of Aboriginal communities would possess the skills, finances, and resources to practice their own archaeological research on their own territories, as well as the resources and professionals to participate in Canada-wide heritage projects and repatriation programs. This should not be limited to field-oriented training, but should also include academic training as well. Currently, however, few Aboriginal individuals hold degrees in archaeology, although this is certainly beginning to change (Phil Hobler, personal communication 2003; Reimer 1998). Remedies to this situation lie with the development of localized training and community empowerment and education, as much as with the choice of Aboriginal youth to pursue degrees in archaeology (Yellowhorn 1993). Therefore, when

applying CBPAR methods to archaeology, there is ample opportunity for differing manifestations of community-based archaeology which develop following different local community situations. Thus, a wide range of projects may be labeled "community-based" if they follow the basic principles as quoted by Andrews (2001).

Formal community-based methods involve a carefully planned approach that includes ongoing critical assessment of the project as it progresses. This assessment will ensure that community interests are addressed within the project and allow the Aboriginal collaborators a chance to raise concerns and give feedback at every phase of the project. The fourth step in Andrews' (2001) list notes that academic and research-oriented archaeology will be eclipsed, yet this need not be the case (see Evans et al. 1999). As long as the community's interests are respected, and benefits are seen through the project in general, research problems that are traditionally pursued within archaeology could still emanate from the academy. Obviously these points need to be critically examined for application to an archaeological setting.

Yellowhorn (1996, 2002) presents an "indigenous" or "internalist" community-based model for archaeology that responds to the needs of his own Aboriginal community. His model appropriates archaeological methodologies, but requires the work be carried out centered upon local concerns and grounded in local knowledge and worldview, in an attempt to make the discipline more locally meaningful. Decolonization is even more evident in the internalist model than in the community-based one, since the research facilitator is a community member and not external to the community. Smith (1999)

explains this idea of creating a new scholarship that is more inclusive of Aboriginal

interests by blending different types of knowledge:

> *Decolonization... does not mean and has not meant a total rejection of all theory or research or Western knowledge. Rather it is about centering our concerns and world views and then coming to know and understand theory and research from our own perspectives and for our own purposes.* [Smith 1999:39]

Internalist archaeology allows for community guidance in terms of theoretical problem

formulation, making the community not only participants in the fieldwork, but partners in

theory building as well. The local community benefits on a practical level by being

involved in reconstructing the past through archaeology that compliments, instead of

contrasts, with more traditional methods. This allows for Aboriginal people's input in

archaeology, resulting in reinforcing their right to be involved in the telling of their own

past. The result is that the community benefits from archaeological research, and

internalist projects can then re-inform archaeological practice through the theory-building

that occurs. Yellowhorn (1996) includes a cautionary note:

> *The construction of theory is typically seen as a hallmark of academic freedom, but unrestrained theory-building can be hostile to the well-being of Native people who find their past being manipulated for goals unrelated to their concerns.* [Yellowhorn 1996:41]

Thus the project of theory building for a non-colonial nationalist archaeology must be

closely monitored for relevance to Aboriginal People's social, political, and historical

interests. Nicholas (2004a) notes that others are proposing similar models for Indigenous

archaeology; this seems to be an avenue of research that has only just begun to be

explored.

The need for Aboriginal involvement is demonstrated not only in the archaeological

excavation itself but also in the interpretation and (re)presentation of this past to a larger

audience.

> *The point of archaeology is not merely to interpret the past but to change the*
> *manner in which the past is interpreted in the service of social reconstructions in*
> *the present ...[reconstructions] require judgments in terms of the practical*
> *consequences of archaeological theory and practice for contemporary social*
> *change.* [Shanks and Tilley 1987a:195]

The practical consequences for Aboriginal People involve the ability to negotiate their

own histories. The social change would be to further the struggle for Aboriginal self-

determination. Feminist archaeologists have acknowledged the potential of archaeology

to be a powerful tool for social justice. One self-defined goal of feminist postprocessual

archaeologists was not only to promote self-awareness in archaeology, but also to

"advance change in the larger social context" (Gero et al. 1983:3). Similarly, Wylie

(1985:140) notes that work of the type that Leone et al. (1987) and Handsman (1989)

discuss will lead to a "systematic criticism of our current myths about the past," and may

cause us to explore the social conditions that led to this false image creation, leading to

larger societal changes. Community-based archaeology is a way to put postprocessual

theory into practice in the real world, by addressing contemporary social and political

concerns.

Examples of Community-Based Archaeology in Canada

While examples of cooperative archaeology are mentioned in Nicholas and Andrews

(1997) work, it is difficult to uncover the beginnings of this trend. As mentioned above,

few practitioners or advocates of CBPAR methods for archaeology seem to publish in

peer-reviewed literature, or on public domains such as the World Wide Web. It is

difficult to ascertain the frequency of community-based projects of this kind due to this lack of publication. It is likewise difficult to get an idea of how theory is being conceived and utilized through these projects. The following is an overview of some specifically Canadian examples that were found in the literature and through first-hand experience. Chapter Four will provide a more in-depth study of one such example.

As early as 1986, a cooperative project between archaeologists and the Iroquois community at Oneida of the Thames. Mayer and Antone (1986:21) suggest that the practice of Native participation in the decision-making process, organization and administration of self-directed archaeology programs was at the time an increasing trend (Mayer and Antone 1986:21). The authors point out that these projects are "...not merely 'research for research sake'... but are specifically structured towards creating end products that have practical applications by Native people" (Mayer and Antone 1986:21). The Oneida project entailed a training and research program funded by the Oneida of the Thames Socio-Economic Development Department (i.e., the local band) and it displayed many aspects of community-based PAR methods as the positive benefits to the community are mentioned. These positive benefits include: tourism through the establishment of a community display facility, cultural resource centre, preservation of sites for future development, rediscovery of lost prehistoric heritage (Mayer and Antone 1986:26-27).

Another example is the Alberta Department of Education (ADE) project to develop their Native Education policy through a community-based Native Education Team (Devine

1994). The ADE's goal in this project was to encourage the disenfranchised Aboriginal population to participate in and assert ownership over the way their culture and history were being presented. The power structure of this project reflects Ryan's (1995) PAR method as the authority rested with the Aboriginal people who worked as partners through a steering committee. In the case of any arguments/discrepancies between the ADE and steering committee, the Native point of view would be chosen (Devine 1994:480). Devine notes that there was some ambivalence towards archaeology by the Aboriginal people involved in the project, and discusses the need to encourage the Native youth of Alberta to become interested in archaeology in order that this skepticism towards archaeology be voiced within the discipline.

Field Schools

Archaeology field schools are prime candidates for the community-based participant research model. This is largely due to the educational aspect of field schools that provide opportunity for localized training within the program. Archaeological field schools occurring on Aboriginal territory have the opportunity to parallel many of the principles of community-based participant research. As McDonald and Lazenby (1999:8) note, "...professional archaeologists are born, for the most part, in post-secondary departments of Anthropology and Archaeology, and teething takes place in the context of the field school. The field school thus becomes an important locus of de-colonization." There is some indication that these elements of integrating these three educational aspects (the academic, the technical and the traditional/spiritual), as well as training for local Aboriginal youth, is becoming standard for field schools, particularly in Western and Arctic Canada. In order to follow the community-based principles, however, the

institution undertaking the field school must be committed to working with the community on a long-term, ongoing basis over many field seasons.

Stenton and Rigby describe the Tungatsivvik Archaeological Project in the Eastern Arctic as community-based since "it has actively involved Inuit in the project design, in conducting research, and in interpreting and applying the information collected to community-directed heritage programs" (Stenton and Rigby 1995:54). The intent of the project was to involve the community in the excavation and research, and to ensure that the information collected would serve the community's needs and interests (Stenton and Rigby 1995:48). The project included training in cultural resource management for students in the Arctic College, the integration of oral history and archaeological versions of the past, development of heritage management tools for the community, and reinforcing of community identity and pride through these endeavors (Stenton and Rigby 1995:54-55).

Susan Jamieson (1999) discusses Trent University's Cooperative Archaeology Field School Program which has been in operation since 1996. Jamieson states outright that she believes that research-oriented archaeology into the indigenous past is colonialist and could be considered racist (Jamieson 1999:8). She calls for an archaeology that, rather than being research oriented, responds to the needs and interests of Aboriginal peoples. An ultimate goal of the Ontario field school is the training of Aboriginal students so that they can "regain control of their past and how it is presented" (Jamieson 1999:9). The description below of the goals of the Trent University field school demonstrates a

community-based focus. According to the Trent University Web Site[8], the field school

"incorporates the teachings of a Native cultural advisor, an elder, and an archaeologist."

The field school is designed to explore some of the issues between Aboriginal

communities and archaeologists:

> *Particular emphasis is placed on meshing Native and archaeological world views and beliefs where possible and reflecting on the divergent beliefs and pasts presented by Natives and archaeologists where this is not possible. The rationale for this is that non-Native students learn to recognize, respect, and heed the traditions of the groups, both past and present, with whom they are working. The short and medium range goals of the Cooperative Archaeology Program are: to provide future band managers with the technical knowledge required to evaluate the quality of archaeological fieldwork and reports presented by consulting firms as one component of land claims or environmental disputes; and to train archaeology students as anthropologists who can relate to the sensitivities and concerns of Native peoples regarding excavation, analysis, and interpretation. The ultimate intent of the Trent program is to sensitize students to the reality that Native peoples must regain control of their past and how it is examined by, and presented to the larger Canadian society.* [Trent University 2002]

The Secwpemc Cultural Education Society/Simon Fraser University (SCES/SFU) field

school is a highly publicized example of a community-based field school, as well as

being the longest-running indigenous archaeology program in Canada (Nicholas 1997,

2000, 2002, 2004a). The Secwpemc, also known as the Shuswap, are interior-Salish

people who are comprised of 17 bands. A Native-administered, Native-run, post-

secondary institute was setup on the Kamloops Indian Reserve as a collaborative

educational project between SCES and SFU in 1989 (Nicholas 1997:88). Nicholas

(1997:88) notes that previous to the 1980s, archaeology in the Kamloops area was

executed by non-Aboriginal archaeologists for a non-Aboriginal audience, and that the

last two decades have been marked by archaeology which has been done with full

cooperation and resulting benefits to the band. Nicholas (1997:89) describes the intent to

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[8] http://www.trentu.ca/anthropology/Ontario1.html.

"enhance the quality of life for Native people; preserve, protect, interpret and promote their history, language, and culture; and provide research and developmental opportunities to enable Native people to control their own affairs and destiny." This educational body has been involved in archaeological and resource management undertakings since 1991 by offering many courses in archaeology and related subjects such as cultural resource management and anthropology. The field school course forms the basis of the hands-on training for Aboriginal students. Nicholas (1997) notes that the project is careful to balance practical archaeology field methods with critical thinking and research-oriented work. Traditional Secwepemc values are incorporated into the field school through the Elders and other community members that are involved with teaching aspects of the course, and local protocols such as leaving tobacco offerings at the site are observed (Nicholas 1997:91). This training project clearly has benefits for the local Kamloops band as well as other Aboriginal people that have been involved with the course, and has arguably played a central role in encouraging other community-based projects in British Columbia.

As a school that has a mandate to undertake community-based Aboriginal education, University of Northern British Columbia followed this philosophy when designing its archaeological field school. The UNBC field school model was developed around the SCES/SFU archaeology field school, with the goal of incorporating community values into the programme (McDonald and Lazenby 1999). In the 2000 and 2002 field seasons, the University of Northern British Columbia (UNBC) ran two successful community-based archaeology field schools in partnership with the Cariboo Tribal Council (CTC) at

Soda Creek. The student participants were from the five local bands of the CTC and from UNBC. The course was again designed to incorporate critical academic knowledge, archaeology field methods, and traditional Indigenous knowledge taught by local Elders, "accepting the equality of the sources of knowledge" from both the university students as well as the local participants. Both the students and the instructors of both field schools participated in many local community cultural events, including special visits by Elders and other community members who shared cultural knowledge with the group.

Public Education

Community-based archaeological initiatives can bring benefits to the community that extend beyond the project itself. Through the knowledge and material remains that archaeology might uncover, the community members have the opportunity to be involved in the presentation of this past to the public through community-run heritage programs or local museums. Below are some examples of using community-based archaeology for public consumption.

The Heritage Resources Unit of the Cultural Services Branch of the government of the Yukon Territory runs a program to "facilitate Heritage Resources-First Nations cooperation in the research and documentation of Yukon's prehistoric past" (Yukon Heritage 2003). This project has been developed over the last 10 years and provides community participation and student training. Public awareness of Aboriginal history is raised through the publication of several booklets jointly published by the First Nation and the Yukon government. The Yukon Heritage Web Site (2003) contains twelve online booklets, eight of which list the First Nation involved in the project as publishers of the

text. A closer look at these booklets demonstrates adherence to a community-based participant action methodology. All of the projects involve an "external research facilitator", (usually the Yukon territory archaeologist), who acts as project manager in consultation with the community. An advisory board is set up to ensure formal consultation with Elders and other community members. The excavation is undertaken primarily by community members, providing archaeological field training to youth and others. The Yukon government and the First Nation, allowing the community to have a voice in the presentation of results, jointly publish the booklets that are a result of these undertakings. These publications demonstrate an effort to present history in a way that balances both traditional knowledge and Western archaeological interpretation. Discussion of archaeological theory is absent from any of this literature, however, making it difficult to gauge the theoretical influences of the work. Unfortunately, the publications also do not discuss whether the research problems emanated from the bands or from the research agendas of the archaeologists involved.

International Examples

The development of Australian archaeology in terms of Aboriginal involvement have much in common with Canada. Marshall (2002) notes that Australian archaeologists are more likely than North Americans to place their research in the category of a national community-based tradition. Thus, Canadian archaeologists might look to Australia for inspiration for the development of community-based projects. Greer et al. (2002: 266) explain that the rise of Aboriginal community consultation within archaeology occurred "as a response to broader developments in the Australian nation's recognition of indigenous rights". They credit Australian archaeologists with not only developing the

practice of community-based archaeology with Aboriginal peoples, but also of developing the analysis of how this involvement transforms archaeology itself (Ucko 1983). Clarke (2002) suggests that this collaborative trend occurred as a response to criticism of archaeology by Aboriginal Australians.

Ross and Coghill (2000) present a unique report of their community-based project in the form of a dialogue between community member and archaeologist. They describe their Lazaret Midden project on Peel Island as community-based for the following reasons: the Aboriginal community is involved at all levels of the project's development, the results of the project include three jointly authored publications, there is a mutual respect and learning process, and the benefits range beyond field research, reporting back to the community through public presentation of results (Ross and Coghill 2000). In their descriptions of specific community-based projects, Clarke (2002), Greer et al. (2002) and Moser et al. (2002) all include a brief description of the history of Australian community-based archaeology. While Australian archaeology demonstrates a more developed understanding and set of principles of community-based methods than Canadian archaeology, Greer et al. (2002) argue that this participation is often in the form of token explanation to communities rather than the community-centered approach advocated in this thesis. Despite this, Australia may be ahead of Canada in terms of the development and recognition of collaborative Aboriginal Archaeology.

Within the United States, a restructuring of the relationship between archaeologists and Native Americans occurred in the period leading up to the passing of the Native

American Greaves Protection and Repatriation Act (Downer 1997). This legislation has

enforced a change within American archaeology that led to increased debate, and

sometimes cooperation. In 1989, Handsman noted the lack of Native American voices

within American archaeology and called for an increase in collaborative archaeology and

mutual dialogue between these two parties. A few years later, Ferguson (1996) also

published a paper that discussed the changing relationship between archaeologists and

Native Americans, noting that there was an increase in the participation of Native peoples

in archaeological activities. He also noted however that more changes would be needed

within the discipline to respond to Native concerns. What is clear is that the NAGPRA

legislation heralded a new period of cooperation between Native Americans and

archaeologist. This cooperation is perhaps best illustrated in Swindler et al.'s (1997)

book which presents many examples of cooperative work. As is the case in Canada,

American archaeologists do not often describe their work with Native peoples as

"community-based" (Marshall 2002). One exception is provided by Kerber (2003), who

describes a community-based project with the Oneida Nation of New York Youth/Work

Program that provided over 100 teenagers with archaeological training.

Much of the development of the principles and practices of community-based

archaeology in the United States has occurred within projects that involve "descendant"

communities rather than Indigenous ones. There are several examples of community-

based historic archaeology in cooperation with African American communities (McDavid

2002; Young and Crowe 1998). Young and Crowe's (1998) description of the "Digging

for the Dream" project in Mound Bayou, reflects all the same principles and methods used in many Aboriginal community-based projects.

Layton's (1989) work demonstrates that the practice of involving local communities in archaeology has become widespread, and that it is useful to encourage an international dialogue on methodology. In an example from Egypt, Moser et al. (2002) present a methodology for community archaeology that was developed in their project at Quseir. These examples demonstrate other uses for community-based archaeology that fall outside of the Indigenous archaeology arena, yet many of the strategies and structures employed on these projects could be used to develop principles for Aboriginal community-based archaeology in Canada.

The Difficulties of Aboriginal Community-based Archaeology

Obviously, there are some difficulties to overcome while working within this type of community-based context. The first is the need for cross-cultural understanding and for promoting different worldviews within the archaeology projects. The second is to utilize both Western academic knowledge and traditional Indigenous knowledge in an effort to decolonize archaeology (Smith 1999).

Translating Worldview

The differences in how Aboriginal and Western people conceive the world and understand history are sites for potential confusion and conflict. Western concepts of time and history contain a bias that can be limited, as they do not allow for multiple interpretations of the world. Fabian (1983:146) explains that Western conceptions of

time (which we use to understand the archaeological record) are inextricably linked to "the emergence of new conceptions of Time [sic] in the wake of a thorough secularization of the Judeo-Christian idea of history." Thus, an unconscious Western bias is contained within the very framework that we use to understand the archaeological record (also see Walsh 1990). Zimmerman (1995) points out the differences and contradictions between Western conceptions of time and Native North American conceptions (see also Sioui 1999, Smith 1999:55, Yellowhorn 1993). Zimmerman suggests that archaeologists' notions of time are in conflict with the non-linear understandings of time that comprise a Native worldview:

> *If the past lives in the present for Indians and does not exist as a separate entity, then archaeologists stating that the past is gone or extinct, send a strong, although unintentional message to Native Americans to the effect that the latter themselves are extinct. Acceptance of the past as archaeologists construct it would actually destroy the present for Indians.* [Zimmerman 1995:34]

An awareness and an open-mindedness to the inclusion of other conceptions of time will strengthen archaeology, by making it more relevant to non-Western cultures and accessible to a wider variety of non-academic audiences.

Defining community

One problem with the application of the PAR methodology is the question of how community is defined. Jackson (1993) notes that while PAR is supposed to benefit the community as a whole, it is the Aboriginal middle class that often reaps most of the financial and educational benefits of research projects. When anthropologists and other researchers discuss their use of PAR, one has to wonder how fully the opinions of all of the local population are being considered. Ryan's (1995) Community Advisory Council worked on consensus, yet who had the authority to choose this council? Since it is

unrealistic to think that there would ever be a community or band with no dissenting opinions, it is problematic to state that any research has the approval of the *entire* community. Consensus should be strived for, but not always expected.

Power and authority over the past (multivocality)

Community-based archaeology helps to place the authority over the telling of local histories back with the local communities. If part of the community-based process involves a critique of the status quo, the players in these projects must also assess their own role and the power relationships that surround them. Postprocessual models of archaeology that seek to critique current power relations in society must also explore their own role within this power structure (Leone et al. 1987; Shanks and Tilley 1987a, 1987b). Wylie (1992) disputes the idea that one model for the past will suit all groups that have an interest in the past, thus supporting the common postprocessual agenda of multivocality. As mentioned above, this is a positive development towards multivocality in archaeological discourse, yet the expression of multiple views on the past does not necessarily lead to a more equitable archaeology for Aboriginal people. Simply because multiple interpretations of the past are heard does not mean that they are given equal time or weight within archaeological discourse. In order to avoid simply replicating current power imbalances, these alternative voices must include an analysis of the reasons for their marginalization. Even in this time of change, archaeologists must acknowledge that much authority over the telling of the past still rests securely in the hands of academics, rather than in the possessors of indigenous histories and worldviews about the past (Smith 1994:305). There is still a need for non-Aboriginal archaeologists to act as

advocates of band-directed archaeology as well as critics of archaeology that disregards

Aboriginal issues.

Students of First Nations/Native Studies will understand the contradiction of using

Western academic institutions to promulgate Aboriginal voices, when the institutions are

somewhat historically responsible for this lack of credibility (see Chapter Two). Part of

the reason that community-based methods are not more prevalent within the university

context is that self-determination for Aboriginal people is not often a recognized right

within mainstream academia (Warry 1990:63). The political stand of archaeologists

working with Aboriginal communities should be for Indigenous self-rule and against

further colonial or assimilationist practices, because it is empowering to Aboriginal

people. PAR is acknowledged as part of a counter-hegemonic movement (Hall

1993:xviii), and this may occasionally put archaeologists in conflict with federal and

provincial governments and, sometimes, even the academy. As Ryan and Robinson

(1990:59) note, "...participatory research represented the democratization of research and

a rejection of the domination and hegemony of an intellectual elite." Many of the

theorists discussed in Chapter Two (e.g., Leone et al. 1987; Tilley 1989) are also clearly

anti-establishment in their political views, yet this does not necessarily mean that CBPAR

is only used by those seeking to overthrow the powers that be. There must be a balance

between criticism and realism. By making clear the political objectives of the parties

involved in CBPAR projects, they avoid following any hidden agendas that might be

counter-productive to the self-determination movement. Rejection of hegemony and

domination does not mean an end to academic institutions; it simply requires academics

to relinquish exclusive power over the images presented of the past (Andrews 2001, Warry 1990).

The community-centered model for archaeology that has been presented here requires archaeologists to act as advocates of Aboriginal self-determination and increased control over archaeological undertakings. The potential problem with this model is that it can set up a paternalistic relationship between the outsider archaeologist and the community with whom they are working. Community-based archaeology represents a step on the road towards full Aboriginal control over archaeological work. While community-centered work involves engaging with the community in a cooperative fashion, a model whereby the initiation of the archaeology project and research questions originate within the community might not fit within this model.

Benefits for Archaeology

The discipline of archaeology stands to benefit much from closer relationships with Aboriginal communities. Those undertaking "ethnoarchaeology" have understood the benefits of this kind of collaboration for decades in terms of using contemporary peoples as informants. Deeper understanding of the culture and the environment that shaped the archaeological record would be achieved by closer contact with the land and the local community. Living Aboriginal informants are a rich source of information about the past as it relates to archaeological findings. Through these projects, archaeology demonstrates its usefulness and application to contemporary societal issues.

Through the profound self-analysis of the discipline that is required for CBPAR

archaeology, a deeper understanding of archaeology itself will be achieved. Warry

(1990) believes that participatory research in general "will force us to explicitly recognize

the interchange of knowledge between the researcher and the researched." PAR-based

archaeology thus helps us gain deeper anthropological understanding:

> *Participatory research is nothing more, and nothing less, than the methodological equivalent of cross-cultural awareness. For that reason, if no other, it should be regarded as a mandatory component of our science.* [Warry 1990:70]

Archaeological benefits extend beyond scholarly ones as well, to include increased public

awareness and support for archaeological work by making archaeology more accessible

and relevant to contemporary issues. By involving the Aboriginal public, community-

based archaeology projects demonstrate a response to the modern social context of

Canada. This type of cooperation provides new perspectives into how and why

archaeology is undertaken and causes archaeologists to consider the ethical consequences

of their discipline. I believe that this questioning will lead to the building of a stronger

archaeology.

Benefits for Aboriginal People

In order for it to work effectively, CBPAR archaeology must demonstrates direct benefits

to Aboriginal communities. These may include financial benefits such as training and job

creation in the heritage management field, encouraging youth to pursue these types of

careers. Local historical knowledge may increase and some communities may choose to

use archaeology as a teaching tool or to expand the projects to encourage tourism in the

form of a community-run museum or heritage centre that can be used as a teaching tool to

the local as well as international non-Aboriginal public. Benefits to the wider Aboriginal community are also possible through a closer and more equitable relationship with archaeology.

Small-scale partnerships may be the first step in creating larger and more permanent national heritage management programs. Popular images and tales of Canada's past may also begin to be rewritten by encouraging and aiding Aboriginal historians and archaeologists to write both academic and traditional histories (Nicholas 1997:93). Downum and Price (1999:4) note that Aboriginal archaeology stands to revitalize cultural traditions that have been undermined by Euro-American contact, and that community solidarity and cultural vitality is enriched by the preservation of cultural material history.

Nationalism

Yellowhorn (1996) suggests that the "nationalist" phase outlined by Trigger (1996) may hold some interest for Aboriginal archaeology projects in Canada. Nationalist archaeology is described as a contrived method of glorifying the national past and is "probably strongest amongst people who feel politically threatened, insecure or deprived of their collective rights by more powerful nations..." (Trigger 1996:620). This ongoing nationalist process also involves the display of recovered material culture for the purposes of educating and informing the public though tourism (Kohl 1998:240). While both Trigger (1996) and Kohl (1998) see nationalist archaeology as a potentially dangerous form of politics, it has potential to be a beneficial model for Aboriginal people in Canada who are managing their heritage. Yellowhorn (1993:26) sees this nationalist ideology as playing a role in the ongoing development of Aboriginal national identities.

In this context, the concept of bolstering national pride becomes one not of glorifying a colonial past, but of resisting a colonial present. By localizing the benefits of research and training, community-based research empowers the community and encourages self-determination (Jackson et al 1982; Smith 1999; Warry 1990).

Many Canadian researchers have noted the benefits of using community-based methods for work with Aboriginal communities (St. Denis 1992; Warry 1990). If Canadian archaeologists wish to develop better relationships with Aboriginal peoples, and to encourage more Aboriginal youth to undertake degrees and become involved in this field, it would be wise to borrow from methods that have already proven effective. Benefits well beyond those listed above are possible if more effort is put into cooperative projects between archaeologists and Aboriginal communities. While community-based methods offer a way to involve the community more fully in the research process, those undertaking this type of research must be critical of their place in the study and ensure that paternalistic relationships do not exist. This chapter has outlined what community-based archaeology might look like and some examples of how this works on the ground have been presented. Many of the examples are of public heritage projects and field schools. This model demonstrates the emphasis on local training as well as the use of this type of archaeology to change public ideas about history. The following chapter is a case study of community-based archaeology that will be used to explore some of the issues presented above in more detail.

Chapter Four – The Upper Similkameen Indian Band and Archaeology

The last chapter discussed the principles of community-based participant action research and provided several examples of community-based archaeology. This chapter provides a study of an example of this type of archaeology. The Upper Similkameen Indian Band's (USIB) archaeology experience is used to illustrate how one Aboriginal community in British Columbia negotiates these theoretical and historical considerations within a community-based setting. My goal is to provide closer analysis of community-based archaeology "in action" and to glean some understanding of how the community participants feel about this kind of work. The intention of this case study is clearly not to pass judgment on the USIB and its Archaeology Department or to make an assessment of how their archaeology is undertaken. This example will provide deeper understanding into the functions of community-based archaeological projects. While the USIB do undertake cultural resource management, their archaeology is certainly not limited to management. It extends beyond CRM because the USIB uses archaeology as a tool for enriching cultural and historical knowledge, as well as tourism, rather than simply managing it as a resource.

Every Aboriginal community is unique and any archaeological undertakings that follow a community-based participant action methodology will reflect their individuality. Thus, what works for one band will not necessarily work for others. The USIB community and territory are fairly small, comprising 50 band members, making communication with the band as a whole straightforward. The importance of the fact that the band manager and council are open to the idea of archaeology should not be downplayed, as resistance from

this political sector could inhibit any archaeological management programs from ever occurring. The USIB have an Archaeology Department that is housed under the band structure. It is run by archaeologist and non-band member Brenda Gould and employs several band members, the most involved being Charlene Holmes who is also a band councilor. The administration and protection of heritage objects and archaeological sites is high on the band's list of priorities, which is often not the case for Aboriginal communities with pressing economic and social concerns. The USIB territory is also rich in visible archaeological sites including many pictograph sites. These elements combine to create a situation fertile for community-based archaeology.

Scope and Limitations of Study

This study was conducted on the Upper Similkameen territory (primarily surrounding the town of Hedley, British Columbia) and took the form of several interviews with band members and archaeologists working with the band. This research can be considered a "case study" for the reasons laid out by LeCompte and Schensul (1999); the focus of the study is on a single unit for investigation, it involves a consideration of people and events in their natural settings, and that it uses participant observation and interviews. In this case, the unit of investigation is an exploration of the USIB's archaeological activities and the ways in which this archaeology has influenced local views of history. Ironically, the case study format places the researcher in a position of power that does not encourage community participation. While the interviewees had a chance to say whatever they wanted due to the open ended nature of the questions, I developed them without consultation with the members of the band or the band archaeologist. The nature of this kind of case study posits the researcher/anthropologist as the outside expert who uses the

participants to answer questions and further the researchers work. In this way, the case study may be labeled community-placed, but does not follow a community-centered method (McDonald 2004:5).

Brenda Gould presented a summary of the purpose and goals of my study to the Chief and Council during a band meeting and the band subsequently approved my research. Despite the fact that I was an outsider seeking to solicit opinions from band members for my own research, there are some ways in which this research was of interest to the band, particularly its archaeology department. The people who were interviewed were curious and excited by the idea of being part of a community-based archaeology "movement", since their way of working in the past had been to follow their own instincts about how to run things rather than comparing their community-based methods with those of other bands. While the USIB Archaeology Department has spent a lot of time developing their own heritage strategies, they had not had the opportunity to compare their methods with those of other bands. I wanted to demonstrate that the USIB are part of a growing trend and to outline what their experience had in common with others. This is one benefit that my research would bring to the band.

Before I arrived on USIB territory, I had little knowledge of the area, the band or their archaeology. My experience of archaeology consist of several years of academic training, some field experience outside of the Canadian context, and a general idea of First Nations issues, primarily from an Eastern Canadian perspective. This meant that my knowledge of the USIB situation could have benefited from much more knowledge of

British Columbian legalities surrounding archaeology and First Nations. I did learn much about this during the course of the study and while undertaking additional research for this thesis. My academic background caused me to make two major flaws in method. The first was that I did not expect to find the interviewees had definitions for archaeology that were different from my academic one. The second flaw was that I did not know that the Elders would be against being taped and would expect me to make repeat visits. Because of my lack of knowledge on these two fronts, my study was thus limited in ways that could have been avoided. The intention of this case study was not to undertake community-based or participant action research. As an outside researcher, I wanted to study the way the USIB does archaeology. My actions as a outsider in this case were not damaging to the community, but neither should they be considered an example of community-based research as the community was not involved enough in the research design.

Due to my lack of knowledge and contacts within the community, I relied heavily on Brenda Gould who was my primary contact in the band, my host, and my liaison to the other band members. As the director of the archaeology department, who holds a Bachelor of Arts in archaeology and the permit for excavation with the British Columbian government, she was also my primary source of information. Brenda is both stakeholder and gatekeeper in my research design. LeCompte and Schensul (1999:176) define the stakeholder as "...people or groups that are involved with the project or program and have a vested interest in its outcome", and gatekeeper as "...people who control access to information or to the research site itself". Brenda fulfilled both of these

roles, as she spoke on my behalf to the chief and council in order that my research permit be approved, also playing the role of an advocate with respect to my research. While Brenda herself is not a band member, she is a full-time employee of the band and the level of authority that she has been granted in her job speaks for the chief and council's trust and confidence in her work. Following Ryan and Robinson's (1996) model for PAR, Brenda Gould can also be seen as the "external research facilitator" as she is a non-band member who is academically trained and is undertaking a long-term commitment of undertaking archaeology with the band. She is therefore an appropriate contact for this research. While the archaeology department has an official office in Keremeos, Brenda's house in Hedley functions as an unofficial archaeology department office where meetings with colleagues are conducted and communications through phone, fax, and email are sent and received.

My relationship with Brenda and her relationship to the band had an influence on the results of my study. Brenda has had a central role in developing the archaeological department in USIB and therefore her bias in introducing it to me is clear; she is understandably proud and committed to the work she is doing and this came through in our discussions. While this bias certainly filtered through into this thesis, I believe that Brenda's input was more helpful than not, and I owe her a debt of gratitude for spending so much time with me and providing me with the information I was seeking. Since all my contact with community members was mediated through her, it makes it hard to gauge what the community as a whole thinks of her work and the archaeology department in

general. This means that I had little access to those community members who were

opposed to or merely ambivalent towards archaeology.

Other than the two flaws in method mentioned above, there are other factors that limited

this research. Time, finances, and resources are common limiting factors in research and

in this case it is certainly true. The ten days spent on the territory undertaking six

interviews did not allow me time to make community contacts independently or to

develop meaningful rapport with community elders and other band members. After my

initial visit, I realized that uncovering the true idea of what community members thought

of archaeology would have taken multiple visits that were not possible. This study does

not therefore represent "true" insight into how many different members of the community

feel about and how they understand the archaeology programs occurring on their

territory. The study should be seen as a glimpse into some of the views of some of the

band members with regards to archaeology. The primary role of the study is in its

presentation of an example of community-based archaeology in action that demonstrates

some of the value in band-controlled archaeology.

Setting

USIB territory is located in the South Okanagan Valley between the towns of Keremeos

and Hedley, south of Princeton on Highway 3 just north of the United States border (see

fig. 1). According to USIB (2003), there are approximately 55 band members living on

the territory. The most populated area is Chuchuwayha Reserve No. 2, located adjacent

to the town of Hedley, British Columbia. USIB territory is rich in archaeological sites

and features, including an extensive and dense assembly of pictographs (Brenda Gould,
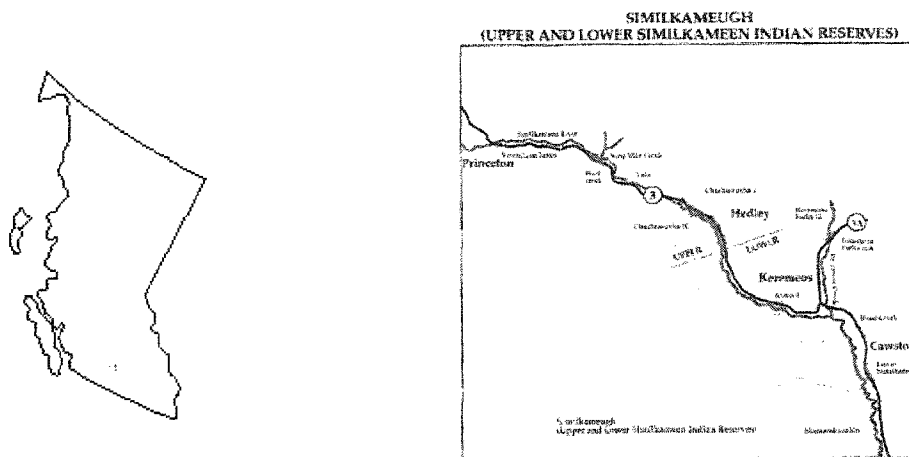
Figure 1: Map of British Columbia with Detail of Upper Similkameen Territory

personal communication). The USIB forms a part of the Okanagan Nation Alliance

along with seven other nations. There is some suggestion in the early ethnographic

literature that there was a linguistic and cultural distinction between the people in the

Similkameen Valley and those in the surrounding area (Copp 1997:5-6). The Upper

Similkameen separated from the Similkameen Band (subsequently called Lower

Similkameen) in the 1960s. Their political structure follows the guidelines laid out in the

Indian Act.

I was initially alerted to the USIB's archaeology work through a field school

announcement from Langara College, as well as by word of mouth from Michael

Klassen, a heritage consultant who has done some work with the band. The Langara

archaeology field school is directed and taught by Stan Copp in close cooperation with

the USIB. Given to the cooperative approach of this field school, it appeared to be an

appropriate example of cooperation between a First Nation and an academic institution. I

contacted Stan Copp who encouraged me to use the field school as a case study for my

thesis. I subsequently found out that in addition to directing the Upper Similkameen field

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school, Stan is a director of Itkus Heritage Consulting and has been working within Upper Similkameen territory for about 30 years in this capacity. Stan put me in touch with Brenda Gould. All of my further contact with the band until my arrival was through Brenda by email and phone. The administrative bodies from the University of Northern British Columbia (UNBC) and the USIB approved my research proposal.

The bulk of the research was undertaken during a six-day stay in Hedley British Columbia, in July 2001. Brenda generously allowed me to be a guest at her house for the duration of my research. Two informal interviews (band manager Philippe Batini and band member and elder Ramona Holmes) and four formal tape-recorded interviews (Brenda Gould, band member Danette Whitney, band councilor Charlene Allison and Stan Copp) were conducted at this time. As the initial interview with Stan Copp was inadequate due to technical problems with the audio recording, a second interview was undertaken at Simon Fraser University on October 27th, 2001. A second research trip to USIB occurred from October 28th to 30th, 2001, and again I stayed with Brenda and her family. An interview with Elder Hazel Squakin occurred at this time. This trip also gave me the opportunity to present the participants with transcripts of their interviews for their review. Given the size of the community, I believed that the identities of the participants would be clear to the other members of the band. I therefore requested and was granted permission from the participants to use their names in print.

Heritage and the Upper Similkameen Indian Band

Copp (2001) notes that most, if not all, of the archaeological projects that have occurred in the Similkameen Valley have been guided by industrial and resource management

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concerns rather than focusing on academic study or community needs. Copp's (2002) own Ph.D. work that has been ongoing since 1990 also follows this trend by featuring multiple applications that rest outside of strictly academic research. As a consulting archaeologist, Copp has been commissioned to undertake various archaeological impact assessments on the territory in order to plan for natural resource economic development projects by industry.

The USIB archaeology department was officially created in 1999, when the band paired up with the Nicola Tribal Association to undertake the Tulameen Fire Archaeology/ Traditional Use Overview project. The goal of the creation of this department was to manage the archaeological resources of the band allowing USIB increased participation in their own archaeology. Charlene Allison (2001) notes that this move was made partly in response to the Delgamukw decision that required the crown to consult with the band. This, combined with a desire to take more of an active role in the management of USIB heritage, led to the development of a Heritage Resource Policy (HRP) by the band in 2000 and put into effect on April 1, 2001. The Policy states:

> *It is the mandate of the Upper Similkameen Indian Band to protect and preserve all of our heritage resources. The Archaeology Department is responsible for notifying the proper authorities when non-referral related developments are thought to be impacting potential heritage resources such as those that occur on private lands. If no resolution is reached then the matter will be referred to the Chief and Council of the Upper Similkameen Indian Band.* [USIB 2000]

The band also requires that any archaeologist or archaeological firm conducting work on their territory apply for a USIB permit (Allison 2001). Allison goes on to note that this policy does not conflict with the *British Columbia Heritage Conservation Act*, but rather "enhances this legislation in light of the consultation obligations arising out of the

Delgamukw decision" (Allison 2001). In this way, the USIB assert their rights to administer and control any activities involving their cultural heritage by expanding on provincial legislation. Band controlled heritage resource policies are commonplace in British Columbia, and while they are often not legally binding in Canadian court, they are usually followed.

Research Design

Initially, my intent was to use a field school run jointly with Langara College on USIB territory as my case study. As my understanding of the structure of the USIB's Archaeology Department grew, the focus of my inquiry began to change. I soon realized that the Archaeology Department itself was an apt example of community-based archaeology, demonstrating many aspects of the elements outlined in the previous chapter. While the field school could be studied in terms of how an outside archaeological institution interacts with the community, I began to feel that I could gather more information about how the community viewed and used archaeology by examining its relationship to its own archaeology department. The Langara field school can be seen in this context as another related example of community-based archaeology.

I began my study with certain assumptions about the USIB archaeology department and the community involvement in the Langara field school. After having conducted some research on community-based projects, I expected to find that:

- There would be a fair amount of consultation with Elders concerning protocols for archaeology as well as a method of feedback to keep the community members aware of archaeological work and findings;

- Archaeology would be helping to enrich local knowledge about history and that this knowledge would be seen as complimentary to traditional knowledge;

- Archaeology was bringing other benefits in terms of job training to some of the youth of the Upper Similkameen;

- USIB had taken steps to manage and administer any archaeology on their territory. This would include the ability to give some input into the topic and methods used in these projects.

These were working assumptions, rather than hypotheses that would be tested during the course of the research. In order to gauge if these assumptions were correct, it was important to explore the opinions of band members involved with the department in differing capacities. I wanted to have my questions answered from several points of view and developed a list of several types of individuals with whom I would like to speak: 1. Young community member with archaeological experience acquired on territory; 2. Community Elder with some knowledge of USIB archaeology; 3. Archaeological project director.

The first "type" was a band member who had benefited from localized training initiatives, through the field school or who had otherwise been exposed to archaeology solely within their community. The opinions of local Elders were important, since their roles as keepers of tradition and culture in the community, as well as their longer term experience in the Similkameen region meant that they would have a unique perspective on the potential merits and drawbacks of archaeological work. Interviewing what Ryan and Robinson (1993) would call the "outside researcher" was also important as their sense of what was going on in the community could help to round out the other information. I outlined three lists of questions, one for each "type" of individual (archaeology project

director, archaeology student, community member/Elder). The questions were designed

to uncover the following:

1. How is the larger community involved or informed about the archaeological
    work that occurs on their territory?

2. Has the archaeology enriched local historical knowledge, and is this is
    complimentary to traditional ways of understanding the past or contradictory
    to them?

3. What are the other benefits that archaeology is bringing to the community (as
    a whole or band members individually) through the work of the archaeology
    department?

4. What steps has USIB taken to control and direct the nature of archaeological
    inquiry on their territory?

The specific questions that I had developed were used only to guide the interviews.

Many of the questions were answered in the course of conversation, and did not need to

be asked directly. My proposal and questions were submitted to University of Northern

British Columbia Research Ethics Board and were subsequently approved. An

information sheet and a Upper Similkameen Research Permit application were submitted

to the USIB and my research was also approved by the band.

Interviews

The following are descriptions of all the interviews (both casual and formal) that I

conducted for this case study along with additional information about each individual.

Philippe Batini

Philippe Batini is the Band Manager for the USIB. Brenda had spoken to him about my

research. Before I began the interviews, he wished to speak to me personally in order to

understand what this research entailed before I undertook any formal interviews. Our

informal interview lasted 45 minutes while we spoke about my research and his sense of the band's views on archaeology.

Charlene Allison

Charlene Allison is employed full-time as an archaeology field technician in the Band's Archaeology Department. She has been a band councilor since 1990 (minus one two-year term), and became involved in archaeology through this role. She was also a student in the Langara field school in 2000, but otherwise had had no post-secondary academic education. Since the development of the archaeology department, she has worked very closely with Brenda and has been instrumental in the development of archaeology programs for the band. Charlene is a lifelong resident of Hedley, but stated that she was not exposed to much "traditional" culture growing up. She has been making up for this in recent years by seeking out cultural, ethnobotanical and archaeological knowledge about the Upper Similkameen people. Our interview took place on July 10th in the Gould residence.

Danette Whitney

Danette Whitney's introduction to USIB territory occurred as a child when her family spent every summer there. She settled permanently on reserve in 1996. After observing the archaeology department's excavation in 1999, she decided to take the Langara field school the following year. She was also employed to help with some excavation later that summer. Danette had been exposed to traditional history and material culture as a child through some of her relatives, but undertook no formal training in archaeology before 1999. Danette's interview was conducted on July 12th, 2001.

Ramona Holmes

Ramona Holmes is a USIB Elder who has not worked closely with the archaeology department. I spoke to Ramona on July 12th, 2001, in the Holmes residence. She declined to be audio taped, so I took notes after the interview. Stan and Charlene later explained to me that it was common for the Elders to oppose taping as it encouraged careful listening. They preferred instead to be visited several times if more information was needed or points were missed.

Brenda Gould

Brenda Gould holds an Honours degree in archaeology from Simon Fraser University (SFU) completed in 1997. She gained extensive archaeology field experience during the course of her undergraduate degree through the Langara College Study in Africa Program in 1994; the Langara College Fort Langley Field School in 1995; and the SFU Bella Coola Field School in 1996. From 1995 to 1997, Brenda was employed by Stan Copp's Itkus Heritage Consulting during which time she participated with the excavation of the Stirling Creek Bridge Site on USIB territory. She had also done some work with Norcan archaeological consulting in 1997, and was an archaeology crew trainer for the Toosey Indian Band in the summer of 1998. Brenda moved to Hedley and began working in the USIB as a secretary and cultural/heritage site advisor in 1998. As the heritage work increased, the archaeology department grew around her position. Brenda is currently employed as full-time archaeologist for the USIB. She is the only non-band member who works in this department. I conducted a formal interview with Brenda in the evening of July 12, 2001.

Stan Copp

Stan Copp's primary employment for the last 20 or so years has been as an anthropology instructor at Langara College in Vancouver, British Columbia. During this time he has taught several archaeology field schools with Langara and other lower mainland colleges. Stan has also been heavily involved in running Langara's Field Studies in Africa program in Kenya. He is currently pursuing a Ph.D. degree at Simon Fraser University, where he completed both his B.A. and M.A. degrees. He has worked in the consulting field both under his own company, Itkus Heritage Consulting, as well as for other consulting firms. My initial interview with Stan occurred on July 11, 2001 at the Gould residence, but was unusable due to technical difficulties. The second interview was conducted at Simon Fraser University on October 27, 2001.

Hazel Squakin

Hazel Squakin is a USIB elder who works closely with the archaeology department. She was heavily involved in the development of the Heritage Policy. As my interview during the initial research excursion, the interview with Hazel took place on October 29th, 2001, at her residence. It consisted of an hour and a half of conversation that was not audio taped at her request.

Results

In presenting the results of the study, I keep the voices of the interviewees intact by quoting them at length. Long transcribed passages sound informal as a result.

What is archaeology to the USIB?

An interesting, yet somewhat unanticipated restriction that became obvious as I

conducted the interviews was apparent ambiguity of the meaning of the concept of

"archaeology" itself. While I was advised by a member of my thesis committee to ask

the interviewees to define archaeology in their terms, I did not expect that there was such

a range of answers. Archaeology as defined in the university setting is limited to the

study of the human past through the analysis of material remains, yet I found that

archaeology to the USIB members seemed to include a wide variety of concepts covering

all aspects of culture and heritage, present and past and that this definition varied between

individuals [Ramona Holmes, Dannette Whitney]. While I may have anticipated some

disparity or different understanding and alternative view of the term, I did not expect it to

be expanded and redefined for me. I was left wondering if these local more holistic

definitions for archaeology fit more accurately with traditional concepts of history and

heritage that were comprised in the local Upper Similkameen worldview.

My talk with Hazel Squakin was very interesting in terms of understanding a community

perspective on archaeology. My visit with her lasted an hour and a half and the topics

that we covered ranged far and wide from the specifics of archaeology at USIB. She

began by speaking about archaeology. Rather than interrupt and remind her to keep on

track, I let her talk about everything and anything she thought was relevant. This also

emphasized the fact to me that in her mind her life story and experiences were connected

to the community's heritage. We spoke a lot about her work teaching language to the

school-aged children. Hazel acknowledged archaeology's value as a tool for educating

youth about their cultural history, yet also noted that this should not be the only source of cultural knowledge.

Questions and Responses

1. How is the larger community involved or informed about the archaeological work that occurs on their territory?

Although some of the consultants that worked on the territory did not make the effort to do any public outreach regarding their work, the band has seen a transition take place to a more open communication between any consultants working on the territory. Charlene described the fashion by which many consulting archaeologists involved the band in the past. While she says that many people have studied the landscape and people of the Similkameen Valley, she points out that, "almost all of this research was done without consultation and, in many cases without our knowledge" (Allison 2001). She goes on to say that it has only been due to her recent interest and subsequent research that the band came to find out that many of the studies had taken place. She describes her early interactions with the consultants working on the band territory:

> *When I did go out with the consultants, I really wasn't quite sure what was going on and why I was doing what I was doing because they just had me follow them around and just pick me up and give me a pay cheque at the end of the day and "thank you very much" and "we'll see ya" ...I didn't realize the importance of what they were doing and why they were doing it.* [Charlene Allison, July 10, 2001]

Stan Copp has worked on USIB territory and has collaborated with bands in various degrees throughout his work. His philosophy regarding community involvement within his research design is becoming more common, but his attitudes have existed for his entire experience in the Similkameen.

I've always been an advocate of band-oriented, band-controlled archaeology, which does raise some ruffles with the more strictly science-oriented archaeologists...

In the Similkameen, I know I can name... consultants... who are not particularly welcome back in because they didn't incorporate band issues in their reports. Because they didn't have to, right? It's just an ethical thing. It depends on the individual. But I always figured, hell, its their histories, their prehistory, its just a different spin on it, right? You try and walk both worlds there...

That's what it is, a mutual thing. It has to be mutually advantageous and the band, not really the band members, but the ones who are helping organize this and working within it, you have to be in each other's loop, so you know what is going on, what the expectations are...

The band manager was very supportive. If I hadn't had that support from him, then I wouldn't be able to develop the relationship as easily or as quickly. So again, It's people. You've got to have the key people who are supportive. [Stan Copp, October 27, 2001]

Charlene Allison says, in regards to Stan's relationship with the band:

I think with the continuity of one person coming in and getting to know the people and understand and passing thought, and even if he was just passing though stop to say hello and shake everybody's hand, whoever's present, you know at the office or at home... Stan always had a few special people he would stop in and say hello to and give an update and you know a basic little visit, say "I was over here and this is what I did", but yeah, I think that's why I am so comfortable with Stan, because my mom knows him, my aunt knows him, my uncle knows him. [Charlene Allison, July 10, 2001]

"Information Flow"

Brenda Gould says that the USIB Archaeology department, "was created and based on levels of trust and that were there in the very beginning". She describes what she calls "the program of information flow" between the archaeology department and the rest of the band;

Well, consultation is kind of a bad word. You don't consult with the community. ...We don't go door to door with every little thing. But what we do is we set up a program of information flow. We spend one afternoon a week with kids in the daycare telling them about what we do and what we found and showing them our pictures, and it's kind of like show and tell. Artifacts we have now, plants we've

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collected, you know, articles we can snip out of books and stuff. And then about three or four times a year we have these community information meetings where we put up displays of all our work in progress that we're doing and all our photographs, maps and stuff. And we invite the community and we spend the whole day there and they just come and go as they please. We usually put on a lunch and then they ask us questions and we give them a little introduction of our project. But because for the last two years and this is our third year of doing the exact same thing, with a different watershed, they're getting pretty in tune with how [it works]... and we send out a newsletter, its supposed to be monthly, but its turning out to be quarterly...

Well, that's the thing. We get all the school children to come to our dig and they just love it and we get the community to come to our dig. And whoever wants to come and we announce it at our Bingo and we say "visitors welcome- if you dare" most of them are pretty old and a lot of them don't come, but we get phone calls all the time from people who found artifacts and want us to come see their stuff because they read about us in the paper...[Brenda Gould, July12, 2001]

Brenda describes how information about archaeology also disseminates following

traditional patterns (word of mouth):

...There's a few band members working on the creek and they talk to their families. ...in the band there's three different family groups represented in our department to try and govern our department traditionally, we have a representative of each family in our crew. Sometimes its not always balanced. Like right now Sammy is our Holmes representative, but he's only a youth and he cannot be expected to represent his whole family, but at least he can go talk to his family and tell them what we're doing and "oh goodie look what I found". And Jessie is related to Char, she's in the Allison clan there and Dee-Dee's in the Squakin clan and so is Chris...the scale gets imbalanced a little bit. Sometimes it's just me and Char and Nat and its two Allisons and a white chick. So you know it just depends on the time of year that we're working, but we just try to keep it balanced and that way each of the people are disseminating information through their families and through our contact with our elders. [Brenda Gould, July12, 2001]

Stan Copp describes his methods of keeping the band informed:

It filters through; it comes through the field school. But I obviously send [the band] copies of reports, and I have given workshops for them. We've done tours through the valley with elders and kids and everybody else. That's the other part – the feedback's important. It's quite difficult to do sometimes when you're several hundred kilometers away from each other [Stan lives in Vancouver in the winter months], but there's different venues that are possible. And with the advent of the new Power Point, I mean, what's easier? ...It's at the band hall; we

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have a dinner or something and show slides. I mean we've done that in the past and talked about things. Because part of the problem is, even if you do write reports, they sometimes tend to disappear into an office and not everybody's aware of what's going on. But like everything else, awareness is a major issue. If people aren't aware of what's going on, then you develop problems. Fortunately for the Upper Similkameen, 52 people is not a large number of people for an area. And half of them are kids. [Stan Copp, October 27, 2001]

It's been quite unique here because Stan Copp has been in contact with our elders since 1971 so they kinda know him, or 1974... so archaeology has been introduced over a period of time, so "I would like to talk to you guys and can I have your blessings to study the pictographs" and they say yes you can and then in fact they were taking a few band members also to go along with them and record and they would get a copy of what Stan was doing. So over these past few years most people have a pretty good idea of what archaeology is about and how it really hasn't harmed people in any way, probably because we haven't come into any contentious issues such as burials being destroyed and so I think when burials start popping up and ceremonial sacred sites would be impacted, then that's when issues would arise. But for the finding of locations of new locations of sites, I believe they're more than happy to know the information and "oh yes, that rings a bell, my grandpa told me about that place, I knew it was there, but I forgot". [Charlene Allison, July 10, 2001]

If you're serious about archaeology as far as learning something about an area, you've really got to live it and breathe it almost. Part of that is meeting with the people that are there and spending time with them and... try to look at it from their perspective. When you do that you have to address the archaeology and sometimes you are [doing predictive] modeling and everything from a different perspective. And it still works out. I mean we haven't had any trouble with doing sort of a holistic archaeology within the community and you know, not getting the job done right or anything. We involve the community to a large extent and because we need their support. [Brenda Gould, July 12, 2001]

Work with Elders

We have one elder Hazel Squakin, we spend a lot of time with her, because she comes to the office and sits with us a lot. She's mobile and has her own rig and everything. So she just comes down and hangs with us. "How's it going' girls? What are you up to?" and we tell her what we're doing that day and what we're doing and she asks us questions and she was pretty helpful when we did our policy document [the Upper Similkameen Heritage Policy]. *She reviewed that. I bet she read that about 10 times. Out of all the elders, she's spent the most time, getting us to tone it down, like the politics and stuff a little bit. I still think it maybe needs to be toned down more, to her liking... So she sort of provides a weekly visit and we have updates with her and show her what we're doing. And the other elders, we gather them together maybe four, five, six, times a year and*

have lunch with them, and tell them all the stuff we're doing and a lot of times its not so much the project we're doing but it's the issues we're encountering out there that we need guidance on how to resolve. You know when somebody's picking on us, we ask our elders, "do we fight back or do we sit back and watch?" A lot of times they sort of counsel us I guess...because it can be very political. It can be ugly; sometimes it's not pretty. When we need to go cry somewhere its usually to our elders. And then they give us really helpful advice, you know, the usually give us the "be cool, take a deep breath, sticks and stones will break my bones" sort of talk and then we feel better and have a smudge and go back to work. [Brenda Gould, July 12, 2001]

2. Has the archaeology enriched local historical knowledge, and whether this is complimentary to traditional ways of understanding the past or contradictory to them?

USIB archaeology as holistic

> *Upper Similkameen history is anchored in antiquity and is intimately connected with the cultural and physical landscape. Our people believe it is artificial to separate matters of spiritual, social, heritage and economic significance.* [USIB Heritage Resource Policy, page 1]

> *We [the USIB archaeology department] focus on other things, but we still try to maintain a primary focus of archaeology...You do a lot of things, but its all sort of historically based and culturally relevant...that includes Bingo.* [Brenda Gould, July 12, 2001]

They do undertake traditional and contemporary aboriginal use studies, but often keep the information secret to respect local beliefs and traditions.

> *We talk generally because we don't want to give away locations of medicinal plants or spiritual locations...we don't collect any information that –for now– isn't already public knowledge... so we try to focus on archaeology, but there is other stuff there. I mean- we count animals* [Brenda Gould, July 12, 2001]

The department includes disclaimers for their Archaeological Impact Assessments:

> *When I do my referral letters and we say there's a low potential* [for archaeology sites]*...we always disclaimer it and say 'but this does not include traditional use or other Aboriginal interest or wildlife or environmental issues'. We do consider those things but not officially.* [Brenda Gould, July 12, 2001]

Danette illustrates this point clearly:

You can't define archaeology by just rocks [stone tools and flakes], *depressions. I go as far as vegetation, medicines, animals, the mother earth, things that it gives to me and can help me...archaeology to me is a very wide area, its not just the rocks, it has a lot to do with other things; pictographs, land forms, the history - its in the earth. That's what I see.* [Danette Whitney, July 12, 2001]

My entire conversation with elder Hazel Squakin was illustrative of the belief in connectedness between all aspects of culture, heritage, language and personal life history. Although she understood that I was asking her to speak about archaeology, we spoke at length for almost three hours and archaeology was only briefly touched upon. The discussions about archaeology led Hazel to tell me details about her personal life history and her involvement with local Okanagan language programs. To me, this indicates her belief that all aspects of culture, history and heritage are connected and should not be limited by Western conceptions that separate lived experience from the distant past. It was evident to me that Hazel saw her culture and experience as holistic, and that she understood archaeology as being such. Thus, when asked to speak on her and her peoples' involvement in archaeology, she felt that all other aspects of interaction between the band and the federal government or non-Native people are relevant. The ways in which colonialism impacted Hazel's life were relevant to the conversation.

Archaeology enriching local cultural knowledge

> *Well, one of the main aspects for the band was to raise awareness of what archaeology is, what it does. And my perspective was Brenda's, and of course Char's was what are the advantages of doing archaeology, as opposed to saying "no, we don't want it done" because there's the ultimate issues in terms of land claims. But also in terms of the increasing cultural awareness within band members. A lot of young people have, you know kids everywhere, may not have an interest in heritage. And when it shows up, guess what, the elders are gone. So it's a multi-dimensional set of issues where the bands are getting definite advantages and benefits out of it as well as I am in doing the archaeology.* [Stan Copp, October 27, 2001]

There's a lot of people out there with a lot of knowledge but because they have the attitude of their own past history of their families being abused or scorned throughout the time that the children who hold the information that are my age now, still hold that big grudge against the people and are which are its um and yet they hold a lot of information and they are feared but I figure if I can understand and learn to talk to them, where some of these people hold some, its not secret, some of the knowledge, the traditional ways and cultural ways and why things are done in certain ways and that it will be better to teach me because like I say I didn't participate in any of those, but yet I know people my age that did go out with their grandparents and did go out with their aunts and uncles to do the hunt, to do the berry picking that all has a spiritual aspect to it in giving thanks and giving respect and honoring the plants and animals and ultimately with archaeology, that's what's happening in the past, it was, they had to make the tools and the pits and the house dwellings and throughout all that it was always based on honor abide by the natural laws of the land at that time and so because it is all tied hand in hand and way back then and what's happening today, the philosophy is the same, its just kind of, some of it's been lost or forgotten, so where I'm concerned, I really want to learn and find out more and through this process, its like starting at the beginning and working up to today and how can I change that to be better for the future for tomorrow. [Charlene Allison, July 10, 2001]

The importance for me to have the willing[ness] and the drive to learn more about our past and our future and how its going to bring everybody's self-esteem and pride back to where it should be. [Charlene Allison, July 10, 2001]

3. What other benefits archaeology brings to the community (as a whole or band members individually) through the work of the archaeology department

Educational benefits

Having the field school here is not so much, well its part of the community based program in that it takes place in the community, but really the field school for the community is an outlet for education for people who would not otherwise get the education. And that is the First Nations who are in the bands, and even neighboring bands... We've trained almost every able-bodied band member in archaeology. And we're working on the little children now. We'll take them when they get any age. [Brenda Gould, July 12, 2001]

Financial benefits

Brenda's comment highlighted the economic benefits that the archaeology department

brings to the band. The importance of economics should not be downplayed, as many

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First Nations band's economic concerns range far above that of heritage management.

These two aspects overlap as training equals job opportunities:

> *But the archaeology department that we've created with Philippe, and now Char and everything else, out of all the departments in the whole band have the most band members working in it. Most of the time, I am the only non-band member working in the department. And once and a while we have a Native person that's not from the band, but that's from another band working with us...*
>
> *And so in this day...the money for those projects stays in the community, the band administers all the projects that we've done out here. Even the stuff that Stan's done, we administer it and subcontract to Stan for his portions of it. And that way any profits that are made on that money stays in the local area. And a few people get a job and training and whatever. And so we've been doing it that way for you know, this is our second year pretty much, not controlling, but administering and taking charge of all the archaeology in our area...*
>
> *So from an economic point of view, community based archaeology and control of archaeological resources is the way to go, because you do, you keep what little there is in the little community. There's not a lot here, but you get a fair amount and First Nations have a reasonable access to funding, its not always there for First Nations, but we haven't had any trouble getting funding for projects.*
> [Brenda Gould, July 12, 2001]

4. What steps USIB has taken to control and direct the nature of archaeological inquiry on their territory

The creation of the Heritage Resource Policy illustrates that USIB is attempting to

enforce band controlled and band administered archaeology on their territory. The

document lays out the heritage philosophy of the band as follows:

- *The Upper Similkameen Indian Band has an inherent right and obligation to maintain and preserve a distinct cultural identity and way of life for both present and future generations; and*

- *The Upper Similkameen Indian Band must have a meaningful say in all matters relating to the preservation, identification and interpretation of Upper Similkameen Indian Band culture, heritage and spiritual traditions, through full consultations with all levels of government, researchers, developers and other agencies or special interest groups who may be carrying out activities within our area of interest.* [USIB:1]

Phillippe says the band philosophy on archaeology is "we try to do it ourselves".

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So we kind of started to do that and we've always had a really good relationship with the licensees and what not and our archaeology program, they thought it was great because all they saw was that we were saving them a whole bunch of money because when they needed a map looked at they didn't have to courier it to a consultant or pay for a consultant to come up and look at it to tell them that maybe it should be walked through before they know if it should have an AIA [Archaeological Impact Assessment] and then paying for that and the consultants would come up. And we're like "we can do all this stuff" and they were like "cool, well while you're doing that, make sure the band is happy", but since it's the band that's doing it, obviously its done to their satisfaction because they're the ones doing it. And so it's just worked out and every licensee in the area has bought on to the project and fully cooperating and they haven't had to spend a lot of money on archaeology. They are spending the same amount of money, but we're going to way more places and we're sort of selecting the places to go to. We haven't messed up yet. There hasn't been a site found on a place that we wrote off yet. [Brenda Gould, July 12, 2001]

Charlene was conscious of the urgency of the need for heritage management:

Now that I understand the importance of the significance and I see the rate of development and some of the potentials of destruction to archaeology sites and knowing how important it is today and how it could impact the future with regards to land claims settlements and politics and preservation and heritage and who owns what and rights to is quite complicated but as I learn more and am starting to understand the phases and the time depth of how long people have been here, it really is quite significant and important for me to be educated and to educate the children within the band and the elders and other members and the community at large, so they all have a better understanding of First Nations issues. When in the political world most people believe that first nations get everything for free, that first nations get a free ride, first nations suck and they should just go away and be as one and to me its really important...that if we can educate the public and have their support then life would be easier for everybody. Stop the racism. [Charlene Allison, July 10, 2001]

Discussion

Theory and USIB archaeology

Below is Brenda's description of the "type" of archaeology that is undertaken in the

USIB archaeology department:

> *We presently see four separate groups of archaeologists. These can be generally categorized as First Nations, Academics (research oriented), Consultants (resource managers) and Government... these four groups represent different theoretical paradigms, ...which do not always work well together. We understand this as simply a diversity of perspective...Right now the Band's Archaeology Department sees itself as a combination of the First Nations, academic and government archaeology. To complete our vision we are attempting to establish ourselves as archaeology resource managers. We need to do this so that we may complete the circle, gathering knowledge from all perspectives and thus gaining some insight into the larger picture of archaeology as a whole in the Similkameen. [Gould 2001]*

This suggests that the USIB archaeology department has an understanding of the

differing theoretical influences within archaeology and are seeking to use archaeological

theories in ways that fits their needs. As mentioned in the previous chapter, other

archaeologists working with Indigenous communities have recommended such an

approach (Duke 1995; Smith 1994).

The USIB Heritage Resource Policy states the following:

> *Without restricting academic inquiry, and in the interest of respect and authenticity, all such investigations should be carried out under and Upper Similkameen Indian Band Heritage Investigation Permit and/or Research Permit.* [Upper Similkameen Indian Band 2000:3]

These two passages exhibit carefully chosen language that allows for flexibility of

heritage projects, yet band maintains control and veto power.

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Table 1 demonstrates the commonalities between the USIB archaeology department and

Andrews' (1997) principles for collaborative research, as well as some of those set out by

Principle	Present at USIB
Mutual Respect	Respect certainly exists between Brenda (as the archaeology representative) and the band, while it was evident that Hazel did not necessarily support archaeology, she was willing to have a dialogue with Brenda, this demonstrates a mutual respect.
Building Relationships	Brenda's relationship with USIB is a strong one, since she lives permanently on the territory. Stan has built various personal relationships with local community members for the last 30 years.
Collaborative Research Design	How collaborative the research design is with the whole community is ambiguous. Some community members, such as Charlene, are directly involved with project planning, but it is unclear whether other members have direct input into research design.
Willingness to subordinate academic objectives	As Brenda does not have any academic objectives in working with the USIB, there is no conflict. Stan Copp is using his studies at USIB for his Ph.D., but the bulk of this research was commissioned by either the band or local industry and aided the USIB in making resource management decisions.
Flexibility	Flexibility is built right into the activities of the USIB archaeology department. As part of the band political structure, it responds easily to band protocols and emergencies.
Localization of project benefits	All the projects undertaken by the USIB archaeology department occur on the territory. Community members have been involved as students of the Langara field school as well as employees of various USIB archaeology projects. Stan's work previous to the foundation of the archaeology department has helped USIB to map their material heritage.
Sharing credit and voice	Brenda, Charlene and Danette have traveled to conferences and have all spoken about the archaeological activities and experiences at USIB. It is unclear how much other community involvement there is in authoring papers or speeches about archaeology at USIB.
Participation in corollary projects	Brenda describes the non-archaeological work of the archaeology department, such as use studies and animal counting.
Sharing of expertise, resources, and access to resources	Brenda shares all her expertise with the band. In terms of resources, she began her work with the band council by helping them apply for funding to gain access to more computers etc.

Table 1

Moser et al. (2002). There is an absence of formal methods to ensure that the band has direct input into the design and interpretation of results does not mean that no collaboration exists. Rather than setting up a formal consultation board, the USIB archaeology department relies on word of mouth (i.e. "information flow") to disseminate information about its undertakings to the rest of the band. While this informal structure may be effective for the USIB, it does not ensure cooperation within its design. The level of collaboration in terms of project design and site interpretation between the band as a whole and the archaeology department is somewhat ambiguous. Brenda Gould's role as research facilitator is also worth examination. If archaeology at USIB strives to be community-based, then Brenda must work to assess and justify her role in the process and ensure that the voices and wishes of the community are central to the department.

In terms of the principles of mutual respect, relationship building, involvement in other projects and localizing benefits, USIB has a great advantage in having its own archaeological department on the territory. This fact, coupled with their Heritage Resource Policy, ensures that the band has a say in the type of archaeological work occurring. It also allows the band's needs to come first before that of "pure research" that might be detrimental to the band. Many band members have received some level of archaeology training through the field school or their participation in excavation, ensuring that any archaeology-related employment opportunities would remain in the hands of band members.

It is unclear whether the USIB has any plans to engage with the academic archaeological community. Members of the department have made presentations at the annual Archaeology Forum conference, but have not attempted to share their experience of archaeology through publishing academic papers. While this is certainly not a requirement for community-based archaeology, those undertaking community-based projects in Canada may benefit from increased shared dialogue. Many archaeologists not undertaking community-based methods might also benefit from hearing about more examples of this type of work, particularly a discussion of methodology.

While this study served to provide detail on the functioning of community-based archaeology, the study was limited by certain flaws in the method. The initial scope and goals of this case study could have been more focused, this would have allowed for more precise and focused questions and answers. The sample size of the informants was also limited. The information and insight I gained from Ramona was therefore minimal since my method did not allow for repeat visits. It was also difficult to translate her non-linear style of speaking into academic writing suitable for this thesis. If the intention was to gain knowledge about what the Elders though, my method would have had to include repeat visits. My study might also have benefited from a higher degree of independence in terms of transportation around the reserve. Ideally, I would have liked to participate in a non-archaeological band event to meet other band members in another context and develop rapport with them. While Brenda facilitated my research, I did not have a chance to mingle with the community independently.

Through this case study I learned some lessons about my own role as an outsider, academic and researcher. While undertaking the research, I realized that not being known by the community gave me limited access to the opinions of the community members. I relied heavily on my education to guide me in this research and therefore followed a framework for this study that was not community-centered. Brenda was the only person I met at USIB with a degree in archaeology and thus she easily understood my research goals. This meant that she took on the role of helping me explain my research as she introduced me to my interviewees. This case study would have benefited from more self-reflection regarding my own Eastern Canadian-trained academic bias right at the outset, rather than during and after the research. Ultimately, this case study was undertaken for personal and professional reasons that do not bring substantial benefits to the community. I learned a valuable lesson about how my own research agenda can interfere with community-based methods, since my questions were developed independently I neglected to undertake any consultation with regards to research design. This contradiction between the methods I propose and the methods that I follow limits the validity of this study.

The introduction to this chapter mentioned the uniqueness of the USIB, yet it is also appropriate to point out the similarities of this band to others. Many aspects of the USIB's experience display commonalities with other Aboriginal communities. Western scholars and explorers have removed artifacts from USIB territory. The Upper Similkameen people have felt the impact of colonialism, as their traditional language has

been lost[9]. Their experience is similar to that of many other Indigenous people and therefore one could assume that the decolonizing of archaeology might benefit other communities in similar ways. The development of a semi-autonomous archaeology department within the band political structure may not be possible for many communities, but some of the general elements of the USIB archaeology could easily be applied in other circumstances (such as the development of a Heritage Resource Policy). The USIB example fits in with the trends outlined in the previous chapter.

The value and importance of community involvement and band control over archaeology were illustrated though this example. These benefits extend not only to band members but to professional archaeologists working on their territory and to citizens in neighboring towns. These benefits are mainly educational in nature, but may also have economic benefits through tourism to the area. As Brenda mentioned, many of the USIB members have participated in the Langara field school thus benefiting by receiving locally relevant archaeological training. The USIB members have therefore become participators in archaeological research. As Charlene Allison (2001) puts it: "[a]s an Indian person I am now not merely a 'collector' or 'informant' but a participant and collaborator in the archaeology process."

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[9] While their own Athapaskan-based "Similkameen" language has been lost, there are currently efforts to strengthen the traditional Okanagan language that was traditionally spoken by the nearby communities. Hazel Squakin plays an instrumental role in the language program.

Chapter Five – Common Themes of Community-Based Archaeology

There is a trend in Canadian archaeology towards increased cooperation between archaeologists and Aboriginal people, as well as community-based work. While principles have been developed to guide community archaeology in other regions of the world (Greer et al. 2002; Kerber 2003; Marshall 2002; Moser et al. 2002; Ross and Coghill 2000), Canadian archaeology lacks formal guidelines or shared set of principles for undertaking community-based archaeology. In order to encourage its further development, common themes should be laid out and discussed. The following list are common themes based on both the literature explored in this thesis, as well as the practical examples mentioned in the last two chapters. It is not exhaustive, and neither is it meant to suggest that any projects not exhibiting the following elements should not be labeled "community-based". It is simply a starting point for further discussion and demonstrates that there is indeed a trend that is observable within Canadian archaeology. Based on the research presented in this thesis, I have identified nine key elements of Canadian community-based archaeology: 1) Understanding of Aboriginal issues by Archaeologists; 2) Local Aboriginal involvement in research; 3) Respecting community protocols and traditions; 4) Local training and education; 5) Community curation; 6) Local culture histories; 7) Involvement in long-term projects; 8) Accessible results; 9) Aboriginal rights above academic or institutional interests.

1. Understanding of Aboriginal issues by Archaeologists

For non-Aboriginal archaeologists working in Canada, the first step must be to increase their awareness of the history behind the current political, social, and economic issues of

Aboriginal people in Canada. Many non-Aboriginal Canadians are not educated about Aboriginal socio-political issues, particularly not from an Aboriginal point of view. It is a vital step for those wishing to work with Aboriginal peoples that they are able to think about Canadian history and society from the perspective of the colonized, rather than the newcomers. While there is certainly a need for Aboriginal people to also learn more about archaeology, archaeologists could take the initiative and expand their educational base to include some Native/First Nations studies courses. Sioui (1999:51) goes a step further by reminding us of the historical relationship between Aboriginal people and archaeologists: "...since Native people are clearly the injured party here, it is the responsibility of archaeologists to understand fully the profound nature of aboriginal grievances".

2. Local Aboriginal involvement in research

Following the PAR philosophy, the local community members should be involved at every level, from implementation to interpretation (Jamieson 1999:10). Local communities could form a special council for ongoing consultation during the archaeological project (see for example, Ryan 1995). At the UNBC/Cariboo Tribal Council Soda Creek field school, for example, band council members were fully informed of all the curriculum and were frequent visitors to the excavation site. Band members can be involved as consultants to the project in a variety of ways, from providing valuable input into the selection of excavation areas, to contributing valuable cultural knowledge in the form of oral history, to providing information on the recent history of the territory. This involvement is vital to the success of community-based projects.

Questions about the past should be developed in partnership with the community as well. Yellowhorn (1993, 2002) shows how research questions for archaeological investigation can originate from a band's oral histories and other interests. The involvement of the largest possible number of community members as possible in every aspect of archaeology projects occurring on their territories acknowledges the rights of Aboriginal people over their own heritage.

3. Respecting community protocols and traditions

Close contact and communication with community Elders is a primary requirement for this guideline, and goes beyond the practical aspects of what and where to excavate, and to how it is to be excavated. Many of the community projects I have visited undertake smudging ceremonies to bless the site at the onset and conclusion of the excavation period. This is done with the help of Elders and others to show respect for the ancestors and their objects. Opening and closing ceremonies for the site may also involve prayer. Other spiritual aspects, such as beliefs about women's "moon time", may also come into play during the project. The Upper Similkameen Indian Band, for example, has protocols requiring that women not excavate during their menses [Brenda Gould, personal communication 2001]. The USIB has also developed a protocol that requires that most of the artifacts recovered (primarily debitage from tool-making) be reburied after it has been weighed and analyzed to keep the material on the territory. This protocol was influenced by the spiritual belief that the ancestors would want their objects to remain on the territory (Brenda Gould, personal communication 2001). Traditionally, archaeologists will take all the material uncovered in the excavation away from the community and back

to an institution such as a museum or university. By keeping the bulk of the material in the community, it ensures a higher level of ownership and control over the artifacts. Such beliefs, traditions, and protocols require flexibility of everybody involved, yet the benefits make it worthwhile. By doing archaeology in a culturally appropriate way, trust is enriched, and respect is demonstrated to the local people.

4. Local training and education

The local training and education of Aboriginal people is key, both as an empowerment strategy for the band and as a way of localizing project benefits. An offshoot of this is to encourage Aboriginal students to pursue degrees in archaeology in order to help to change the discipline from within (Reimer 1998). Aboriginal people may also become involved in archaeology through on-the-job training with consulting archaeologists. Field schools are useful in this way and at both Soda Creek and Upper Similkameen, many local band members participated as students in the field schools. Band members without a background in archaeology may be taken on as volunteers and thus gain training in the field. The educational aspect of a dig or project does not necessarily need to be limited to the local Aboriginal community, but may extend to the neighboring residents. Brenda Gould (2001) noted that the USIB archaeology department has made presentations about local history and archaeology to elementary schools in local towns.

5. Community curation

This thesis has not dealt with issues of repatriation and curation of material recovered in archaeological excavation (for more information see Ames 1992; Cole 1985). While space here has not allowed for this discussion, it is an important aspect of community-based archaeology. The community should have a hand in deciding the best place to

house material remains uncovered through archaeological projects. This is best done before excavation occurs to avoid any misunderstandings. If appropriate facilities exist within a community, artifacts may remain there. Often, however, a band will ask a university or other appropriate institution to hold the artifacts "in trust". The key factor in a community-based setting is the recognition of community ownership of the material recovered. Ultimately, decisions regarding artifact management must be in the hands of community authorities.

6. Local culture histories

Canada's landscape was colonized both by people and through the (re)naming of its geography, a practice which reflects European places and explorers. In order to "decolonize" archaeology, local Aboriginal names should be used instead of or along side "colonial" names. Culture histories that are developed as a result of archaeological undertakings should also respect local indigenous names and languages. Copp (2003), Harris (1999), McDonald (2003), Yellowhorn (1993) and Sioui (1999) have produced culture histories for geographic regions that reflect local place names, languages and oral histories. For example, Copp (2003) utilizes Okanagan names for his proposed Similkameen culture history sequence. This naming does not interfere in any way with archaeological inquiry. By reclaiming Aboriginal place names and historical sequences, Aboriginal history is placed in context and respect is shown for local culture.

7. Involvement in long-term projects

The development of ongoing "rapport building" and mutual education between archaeologists and Aboriginal communities means an investment by the archaeologist for long-term (i.e., several year) archaeology projects. Many Aboriginal communities

participate in other heritage projects such as language projects, Traditional Use Studies, and the recording of oral histories. While an archaeologist working with a band may not be an expert in these fields, they should not hesitate to lend their expertise when asked. As the Upper Similkameen example shows, archaeology can overlap with other heritage interests, and this interdisciplinary approach to the study of history should be encouraged. As well, there is a need as well for archaeologists to develop personal rapport with community members by participating in local social and cultural events. As Sioui (1999:53-4) puts it, "[t]hose involved in archaeology, especially Amerindian archaeology, must *socialize* with the peoples who have enabled it to exist in the first place".

8. Accessible results

Legislation exists in Canadian provinces that demand archaeologists file reports as part of the permit system that is required for excavation. The writing of these reports does not sufficiently meet the needs of reporting back to the community. Printed material that is free of jargon and accessible to a non-academic audience must be provided to the community (see Yukon Gov. [2003] for a creative example). Holding public meetings and site tours for local residents (Native and non-Native) will also aid in disseminating information about specific projects and garnering public support for archeology in general. The wider academic audience may also benefit from papers written regarding the community-based process that was used for the project. By moving beyond scientific reports, archaeologists enrich the learning experience of community-based projects.

9. Aboriginal rights above academic or institutional interests

This proposition may sound like the most frightening to archaeologists who are used to undertaking research-oriented archaeology. Many wonder if an adherence to this guideline means an end to "research for research sake" (Jamieson 1999:10). The bottom line is that respect for people must come before the furthering of academic careers and the pursuit of science. "Old school" archaeologists may find, however, that communities are much more flexible about providing the material for research if the project demonstrates respect and benefits to the band. While some research questions may emanate from the academy, these must be critically applied and community concerns must take precedence. Conversely, the archaeologists should not be pressured into finding certain results that are seen as more favorable by the community. The development of the research goals must be cooperative and yield mutual benefits. This process could eventually enable communities to develop research questions that are relevant to both their own internal interests as well as questions that reflect academic interest.

Difficulties of Community-Based Methods

Shortness of both time and money are limiting factors in most archaeological undertakings and this may be exacerbated with community-based projects (Warry 1990:66). In order to follow the guidelines above, substantial funding is required, and the source of this funding can be contentious. The source of the funding has a good chance of affecting the research process and relationship between the community and the facilitator; if the funding for the project relies entirely on the outside researcher's grant, paternalistic relationships may be reinforced rather than dismantled. Hedley (1986)

suggests that band-oriented archaeological research is more likely to benefit the community if the funds stem from the band itself, rather than from an outside source. The ideal situation, therefore, would be to bring together both outside research funds and money from the band or community so that the financial situation and responsibilities are balanced. The CTC/UNBC field school was jointly funded by the university and the band with much success.

The amount of time a project takes can also affect how much money it costs, and the two are closely related. In most areas of Canada, the archaeological field season is brief, and there is a lot of pressure to get enough excavation done in the time allotted. Community-based projects must be set up in a way to allow for community emergencies and other unforeseen events. The archaeologist/facilitator must often be in consultation with the necessary parties throughout the year, which may be difficult for many who have other teaching and research obligations. All those involved in community-based archaeology must be committed to an investment of ample time.

Personality comes into play as many people must come together in a cooperative way, making group dynamics of the participants key in its success (St. Denis 1992). The typical archaeologist in this scenario should be someone who is trained in ethnographic methods, since this type of work involves learning about contemporary Aboriginal culture and is more likely to require interviewing methods. This model hinges on respect both for the community in general, but also requires mutual respect between Indigenous and Western knowledge and ways of learning. Unless this respect exists, the method will not work, and this may be the largest stumbling block to overcome (Sioui 1999). Mutual

understanding, respect and willingness to learn are key ingredients for all parties involved if community-based archaeology is to be successful.

As is the case with many academic trends, changes in thinking almost always precede changes in practice and method. The cooperative and egalitarian intentions of community-based methods are not always reflected in practice. The common themes presented above are not easy to follow for those trained in a purely academic setting. It is also not easy to remove colonialism or paternalism from a model that relies on the role of a researcher who is trained in Western academic knowledge. This contradiction is unlikely to disappear and thus becomes something that must be discussed throughout the project. Community-based archaeology provides a site for discussion about colonialism and power of authority over archaeological undertakings. While these methods may not mean an end to colonial bias, they might cause this bias to be mediated and recognized.

The Future of Community-Based Archaeology in Canada

Canadian archaeology needs to place greater emphasis on Aboriginal involvement in archaeology and to ensure that archaeologists continue to incorporate "decolonizing methodologies" (after Smith 1999) within their discipline. These would include:

- Increased Aboriginal participation in archaeology, both at the community level and at the post-secondary and graduate level;

- An ongoing discussion of theory to assess its relevance to community-based archaeology and to encourage the internalist theory development;

- A commitment to long-term collaborative archaeological projects;

- A renewed commitment to encourage awareness of Aboriginal rights and issues within archaeology;

- And, most importantly, an ongoing discussion of community-based methods within the archaeological discourse.

A commitment to community-based archaeology is not easy: it will involve much negotiation, patience and funding. As an archaeology that responds to current issues and involves people that have long been overlooked in the discipline, community-based archaeology may revitalize the discipline and earn it more public support. Ignoring problems within archaeology will not make them disappear, but it is only through frank dialogue between archaeologists, Aboriginal people and the public that solutions can be found to archaeological and heritage management which both preserves these resources and allows Aboriginal people a just level of self-representation. These changes will encourage further Aboriginal participation in Canadian archaeology and will benefit Aboriginal people and enrich archaeological knowledge. If archaeology is truly a sub-field of anthropology, and the goal of anthropology is the study of human culture and society, then the increased cultural awareness that is a result of archaeologists working more closely with Aboriginal communities fulfils the mandate of both disciplines.

There is an implicit belief in this thesis that past and present images and stereotypes of Aboriginal people have been and are both influenced by – and exert influence on – the development and direction of archaeology in Canada. In order to debunk lingering colonial stereotypes about Aboriginal history, Aboriginal people must be given the power to negotiate their own public images, including how others see their history. It is

imperative that archaeologists ensure they do not reproduce the already existing negative stereotypes of Aboriginal peoples through their work. In fact, it should be part of that work to disrupt these stereotypes by demonstrating their inaccuracy and ensuring that Aboriginal people have a voice within the discipline. This voice can only be assured through increased involvement of Aboriginal peoples within Canadian archaeology. Through this process of partnership and mutual education, the popular image of Aboriginal history and identity will increasingly be told from the Aboriginal perspective. To quote George Sioui (1999:54), "Let archaeologists and Amerindians educate each other about their languages and ideas. We will all be the winners."

Value of this Study

The problem presented at the outset of this thesis was that archaeology contained a colonial bias that was not conducive to Aboriginal people's involvement in the discipline. The solution to this problem involves a closer dialogue between archaeologists and Aboriginal people. Community-based methods are well suited to this kind of mutual learning. This thesis has also demonstrated the need for further dialogue within archaeological literature concerning the ongoing development of community-based archaeology. It has underscored the importance of a careful consideration of what images are being portrayed of Aboriginal people through archaeological undertakings. Finally, it has posited that only through increased Aboriginal involvement can we ensure that more ethical images of Aboriginal people and their history will be presented. While community-based methods do exist within Canadian archaeology, they have not been identified as part of a tradition or developed in any formal way. Steps towards the further development of this tradition should be encouraged.

As mentioned in the introduction, there seems to be increasing interest in the developing

field of "Indigenous archaeology" in Canada (Ferris 2003). Eldon Yellowhorn's work in

particular demonstrates an exiting trend towards "internalist archaeology" whereby new

strategies are developed for Aboriginal "home-grown" archaeology. As a member of the

Peigan nation, Yellowhorn is able to critique and develop archaeology from the band and

the academic perspective. Community-based practice has been developing slowly for

approximately 15 years, but there has been an unfortunate gap between the on-the-ground

practice of archaeology and the academic discussion of it. This has meant that in-depth

discussion of community-based/Indigenous/internalist archaeology is only now becoming

commonplace. Archaeology departments throughout Canada are including more

Aboriginal community-focused material in their curriculum (for example see Simon

Fraser University and Trent University). The fact that this type of archaeology is

surfacing at this point in history suggests that the dominant discourse might finally have

made room for Aboriginal perspectives.

While some Canadian authors (Andrews 2001; De Paoli 1999; Nicholas 2004b; Nicholas

and Andrews 1997; Robinson 1996; Yellowhorn 1993, 1996) have discussed many of the

issues laid out in this study, its strength lies in the wide perspective that it provides.

Other authors have written about colonial bias in archeology, but in this case, it provided

much-needed historical context for the development of community-based archaeology.

Archaeologists have rarely written directly about using CBPAR methods in their work as

this thesis has done. The detailed examples of how communities can be involved in

archaeology, along with a list of the common themes of these projects, are helpful in recognizing the trend of cooperation within Canadian archaeology. The strength of this study is the combination of all of these elements to create a more complete picture of community-based archaeology, from the founding of archaeology in Canada to its future direction. By writing this thesis I hope to encourage others to think about how their work may contribute to positive changes in cooperation with Aboriginal peoples and to make moves towards the discussion of this tradition.

There are many related topics that this thesis has only briefly touched upon that merit further discussion. These include issues of repatriation, curation, and management of material culture recovered in archaeological undertakings. I chose to look at Canada as a whole during the course of this work; however, more detailed regional analysis regarding the existence of community-based projects is certainly warranted. There is much indication that the working relationship between archaeologists and Aboriginal people is much more developed in the Western and Northern regions of this country (Phil Hobler, personal communication 2003). An in-depth study of one particular cooperative project may be useful to undertake as well.

Personal Reflections

This thesis is the result of a multi-disciplinary university education that began in Ontario. I am a non-Native with a lifelong interest in archaeology that led me to major in anthropology. A first year Native Studies class allowed me a more balanced perspective on the knowledge I was gaining in anthropology and led me to take this on as a double major. As an undergraduate, I was frustrated at the lack of literature available to me that

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illustrated the intersections between my two areas of academic interest, rather than literature that placed these interests in conflict. I chose to take my study interests to the graduate level to get a chance to study in-depth the issue of cooperation between archaeologists and Aboriginal Peoples. Through this study I have had to reassess my misconceptions of the state of the relationship between archaeology and Aboriginal peoples several times and have also come face to face with some stark differences between Central and Western Canada.

I have learned some lessons about my own colonial biases during the course of this research. As an academic, I still have inherent power to chose whether to follow community-based methods or not, my knowledge is legitimized through my institution and society. As a non-Aboriginal person, I advocate community-based methods from a sense of morality, but as an outsider, I do not have to live with the consequences of being the "subject" of research or of having my community affected. My motivation as well as that of other non-Aboriginal archaeologists must be to undertake community-based research because it is the right thing to do. At the present moment, the development of many advanced Aboriginal Internalist archaeologies is unrealistic due to the lack of Aboriginal people in Canada who have the education or desire to undertake this kind of research. Until this situation changes, movements towards increased Aboriginal involvement and eventual control over archaeology will require that more non-Aboriginal archaeologists encourage community involvement through their methods. This increased collaboration and advocacy is the first step on the road to decolonization, yet it may still contain colonial biases. The challenge for both archaeologists and Aboriginal people is to

develop a common language in order to bring together differing worldviews and

incorporate potentially differing agendas for archaeological heritage in Canada.

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