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Author(s): Sara L. Gonzalez, Darren Modzelewski, Lee M. Panich and Tsim D. Schneider

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Archaeology for the Seventh Generation

SARA L. GONZALEZ, DARREN MODZELEWSKI,
LEE M. PANICH, AND TSIM D. SCHNEIDER

Angela Cavender Wilson's 2004 essay "Reclaiming Our Humanity: Decolonization and the Recovery of Indigenous Knowledge" provides a useful starting point for considering the role of decolonization in both the academy and in our everyday lives.¹ Wilson, as an Indigenous scholar, muses, "For what had I been continually seeking an education if not to transform the world around me and create a place where justice for Indigenous people is more than an illusion?"² For Wilson, the writings of Frantz Fanon and Paulo Freire concerning respectively decolonization and praxis provided, as she says, "the language to articulate [her] own struggle."³ Decolonization as Wilson applies it refers to the process of reversing the colonial structures inherent in both the institutions of colonialism and in the minds of the colonized. In relation to the decolonization of Indigenous peoples, Wilson stresses that Indigenous communities must return to their traditions, reassert these traditional cultural and social values and worldviews into their everyday lives, and begin to rebuild their communities accordingly. But it is through praxis, theoretically informed action, that people are able to decolonize themselves and the structures around them. The concept of praxis situates the power of people, as thinking and knowing individuals, to reflect upon their lives and change them through their actions.

For us, four graduate students from mixed backgrounds, the appeal of decolonization lies in our individualized backgrounds as well as in our own desire to make our research matter. We support the notion that by combining our politics with our scholarship we can make a difference to both ourselves and to the communities with which we work. The practice of decolonization is a way for us to think about the political implica-

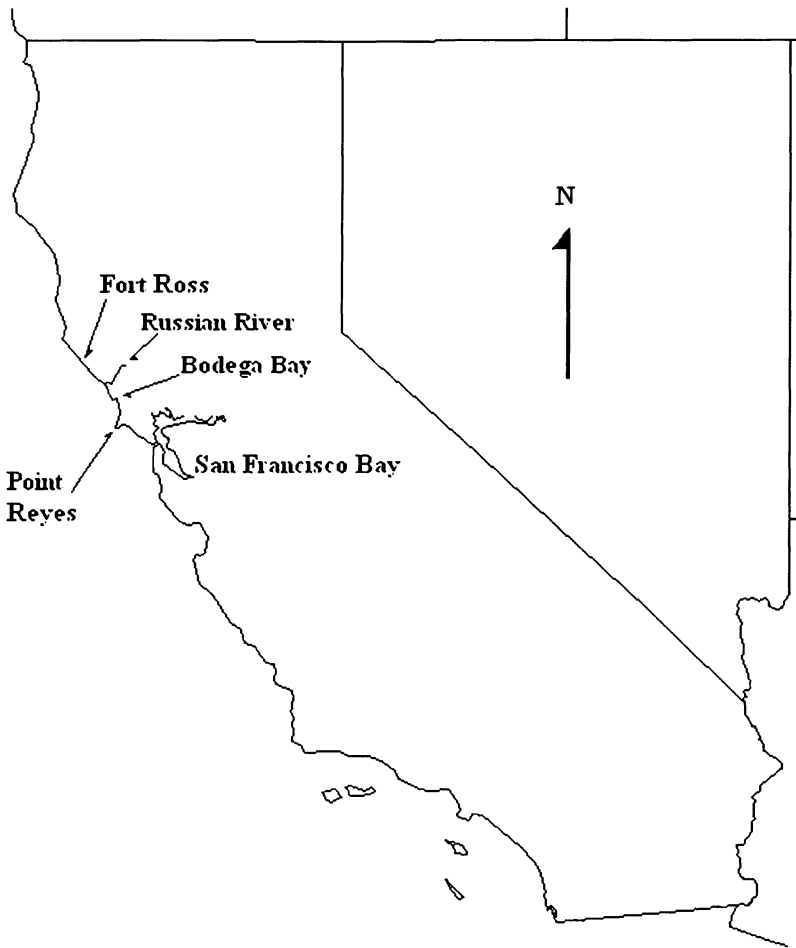


FIGURE 1. Map showing location of Colony Ross on the California coast. Map was created by the authors.

tions of our work as archaeologists, to transform our scholarship so that it benefits those whose heritage we study, and to situate ourselves as individuals within a disciplinary framework. Over the course of a month-long field school sponsored by the University of California, Berkeley, we—Sara Gonzalez, Darren Modzelewski, Lee Panich, and Tsim Schneider—served as graduate student instructors and each led a crew of four undergraduate students. Archaeological field schools are designed to provide undergraduates with hands-on training in archaeological methods and practice. The 2004 summer field program, the Kashaya

Pomo Interpretive Trail Project (КРІТР), is an extension of the Fort Ross Archaeological Project (FRAP). Both are collaborative projects involving UC Berkeley, the California Department of Parks and Recreation, and the Kashaya Pomo tribe. This project is codirected by Kent Lightfoot, professor of anthropology at UC Berkeley, and Otis Parrish (Kashaya Pomo), cultural attaché at the Hearst Museum of Anthropology. Project associates include Roberta Jewett, director of archaeological operations, and Breck Parkman, who coordinates the project for California State Parks. For the past fifteen years FRAP has researched the multi-ethnic colony of Fort Ross and has attempted to study the long-term effects of mercantile colonialism upon the colony's workers and laborers, as well as upon Native Californians within the region.⁴ The current project attempts to integrate the results of the research and present this information to the broader public through the creation of a walkable interpretive trail within Fort Ross State Historic Park.

The project itself did not self-consciously attempt to decolonize archaeology, but from our vantage point, the Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail Project and summer field school contributed to these goals through the operation of the field school, implementation of archaeological methods, and the ongoing process of collaboration with Kashaya Pomo tribal elders and council members. In this article we will address how each aspect of the project has contributed to a form of scholarship that attempts to blend Kashaya ceremony with the science of archaeology. Kashaya perspectives on cultural heritage are integrated into the archaeological project and site preservation. This project provides a venue for the training of archaeologists; it also serves as a model for collaborative research. In this dual capacity the project and field school have provided students with a rare chance to learn firsthand the nature of archaeological collaboration and practice decolonizing archaeology.

DECOLONIZING ARCHAEOLOGY

In reflecting on our experiences over the summer, we believe that decolonizing archaeology involves a reconfiguration of archaeological goals. Devon Abbott Mihesuah and Angela Cavender Wilson have asserted that academics, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous, can contribute to decolonization by helping Indigenous communities recover their traditions.⁵ Research concerning the effects of colonialism upon community

traditions is particularly valuable because it can help the community reincorporate lost tribal traditions as well as be used to understand the specific effects of colonialism upon their community. This knowledge of traditions and colonialism is, in turn, essential for Indigenous communities to decolonize their identities. That is, thorough knowledge of one's traditions combined with self-conscious knowledge about how both the community and individual have been colonized strips away colonial mindset and reconstructs decolonized identities.

To simply study colonialism or repatriate knowledge of tribal traditions back to communities misses the point: this is not scholarship for the sake of scholarship but scholarship in aid of the community. In writing about "others" we commit political acts by choosing what is important, whose voices really matter, and interpreting events based upon these decisions.⁶ By failing to incorporate Indigenous voices into histories of colonialism, our histories become colonial. While a new generation of authors claim to write with a native perspective, according to Mihesuah, often these perspectives are gleaned from ethnohistorical documents, sources with questionable authority to speak for their tribe or invented altogether by the author. We feel that academics bear the responsibility, however, to actually consult and collaborate with the communities that they study.⁷

Incorporating Native perspectives is not just about asking Indigenous communities directly about their pasts but also involves making them part of the research process itself. Copious amounts of literature exist on countless features of Native American history and cosmology, but how much of this research has actually benefited specific communities? Mihesuah suggests that academics should question their motives for research and ask themselves how their research matters to Indigenous communities. In order to determine whether or not their research is beneficial, communities again must be consulted and given authority to veto research projects or amend them so that the research projects' goals mirror those of the community. The community, within this framework, is a shareholder in the project, and as such their specific needs and wishes are placed at the forefront of a project's goals.⁸

A decolonizing archaeology, then, cannot simply be a practice in writing or excavating the histories of "others." Archaeology may have the ability to recover evidence of Native American heritage and make contributions to the study of colonial time periods, but it is not enough to simply repatriate the products of this research back to a community. As

archaeologists we must question how our research contributes to community goals and be flexible and willing to cope with criticism. Collaboration with Indigenous communities must be a central part of our research, and we should endeavor to incorporate community interests into all aspects of our research, from its inception to its methodologies and interpretations.⁹ By doing this we can help to empower the communities that we are ethically accountable to, create more inclusive histories of the past, and contribute to an Indigenized archaeology.¹⁰

Archaeological Frameworks for Consultation

While decolonization suggests that voluntary collaboration with Indigenous communities is key to decolonizing the relationships between academics and Native people, archaeologists in the United States today are in many instances legally obligated to consult with local Native American groups. Depending on whom you talk to, however, consultation has very different meanings. Within the arena of federal policy and undertakings, consultation is best understood as an act conducted on a government-to-government level. This government-to-government interaction first acknowledges the pre-existing (before the creation of the U.S. Constitution) sovereignty of Indian Nations and is further recognized by the U.S. government through treaty and statute. For archaeologists not working for the U.S. government or having to comply with federal statutes, on the other hand, the idea of consultation is more akin to “collaboration.” When used in these contexts, “consultation” does not carry with it the inherently legal overtones and is often discussed in terms of disciplinary ethics and responsibilities. As such, consultation explicitly recognizes tribal sovereignty whereas collaboration does so only implicitly.¹¹ Whether in the context of consultation or collaboration, however, the degree and extent to which the spirits of these two approaches are practiced depends on context and the individual practitioner. For North American archaeology, one of the most rancorous and heated epistemological and ethical debates since the 1960s concerns the way in which archaeologists investigating Indian pasts should and do interact with descendant communities, or communities that have cultural or lineal ties to the past peoples or groups of people being studied.¹²

In 1969, Vine Deloria Jr. published *Custer Died for Your Sins*, which

included a scathing attack on American anthropology and archaeology and presented the discipline with a new and largely unexpected task of “dealing” with Indians.¹³ The condemnation of archaeological practice by Deloria and others began a maelstrom of debate over the very nature of disciplinary procedure. Because of these pointed critiques over the past forty years, archaeology is today a very different discipline. Within a wide spectrum of experiences and expectations, North American archaeologists studying Indian pasts are aware of a new set of ethical rules (SAA, AAA, and WAC codes of ethics) and legislation standards to which they are held accountable. Since the passage of the National Historic Preservation Act in 1966 (NHPA), there have been a series of statutes that effect the discipline of archaeology. The most controversial of these is the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA), passed in 1990.¹⁴ The purpose of NAGPRA, as stated in the Code of Federal Regulations is for “determining the rights of lineal descendants and Indian tribes and Native Hawaiian organizations to certain Native American human remains, funerary objects, sacred objects, or object of cultural patrimony with which they are affiliated.”¹⁵ The most weighty reevaluation has been of a revered archaeological assumption: that archaeologists are the best and only stewards, preservationists, curators, and owners of the past—no matter whose it may be.¹⁶

Arguments through the 1970s and 1980s concerning how, why, and in what ways archaeologists should, if at all, take into account Indian perspectives generally fell along two lines: those favoring the empirical sanctity of scientific study and those arguing for greater inclusivity. For many archaeologists, the initial shock of being perceived as something other than protectors of the past was uncomfortable.¹⁷ Responses on both sides were aggressive and emotionally charged. Some archaeologists couched their resistance to recognizing an Indian claim to cultural remains in a concern for pandering academic integrity to special interest groups and sacrificing scientific study on the altar of religion.¹⁸ Advocates for increased respect and recognition of diverse cultural views, on the other hand, argued Indian participation would not lead to the feared demise of empirical study in archaeology but would result in more pluralistic interpretations, ethically responsible archaeologists, and Western and Indigenous ideologies strengthening one another.¹⁹ A positive outcome of this polarizing debate is the growth of Indigenous archaeolo-

gies: archaeological practice that takes for its core values consultation, collaboration, the expression and elucidation of multiple interpretations of the past, and respect for Indigenous sovereignty.

The past forty years of cultural resource law have mirrored and informed archaeological practice. About the same time that Deloria made his cutting review of anthropological practice, Congress passed the NHPA.²⁰ Section 106 of the NHPA requires consultation with descendant communities if any federal undertaking might impact “historic properties” (defined in the statute). Similarly, NAGPRA requires consultation with descendant communities for the repatriation of cultural patrimony from federally funded repositories.²¹ Although these two statutes apply to federally funded projects (those conducted on federally controlled or managed land) and reservations and not to private lands, the implications of these laws extend beyond federal contexts. These laws have affected the practice of archaeology in the United States as a whole. There are three points we would like to highlight. First, the impetus for changing archaeological practice originated with Indian communities who expressed their longstanding dissatisfaction with archaeology. Second, legal action affects archaeology: where there exists a federal interest, monetary or other, federal law applies. Third, many academic archaeologists are accepting new ethical standards.

BACKGROUND

The Kashaya Pomo are a Native American group who have occupied their ancestral homeland, in present-day Sonoma County, California, since time immemorial. Even though much of their prehistoric landscape is now under water, their occupation in this region is archaeologically documented from about six to eight thousand years ago. Today, the Fort Ross State Historic Park features the remains of a Russian American Company (RAC) settlement. The RAC, created in 1799 by Russian imperial charter, was a principal participant in the lucrative international fur trade. Named Metini by the Kashaya, Fort Ross was established in the heart of the Kashaya’s territory in 1812 by a contingent of Russian and Native Alaskan RAC workers. The colony and its handful of farms, outlier ranches, Port Rumiantsev in Bodega Bay, and hunting outpost on the Farrallon Islands were established to supply itself and the fifty-eight other

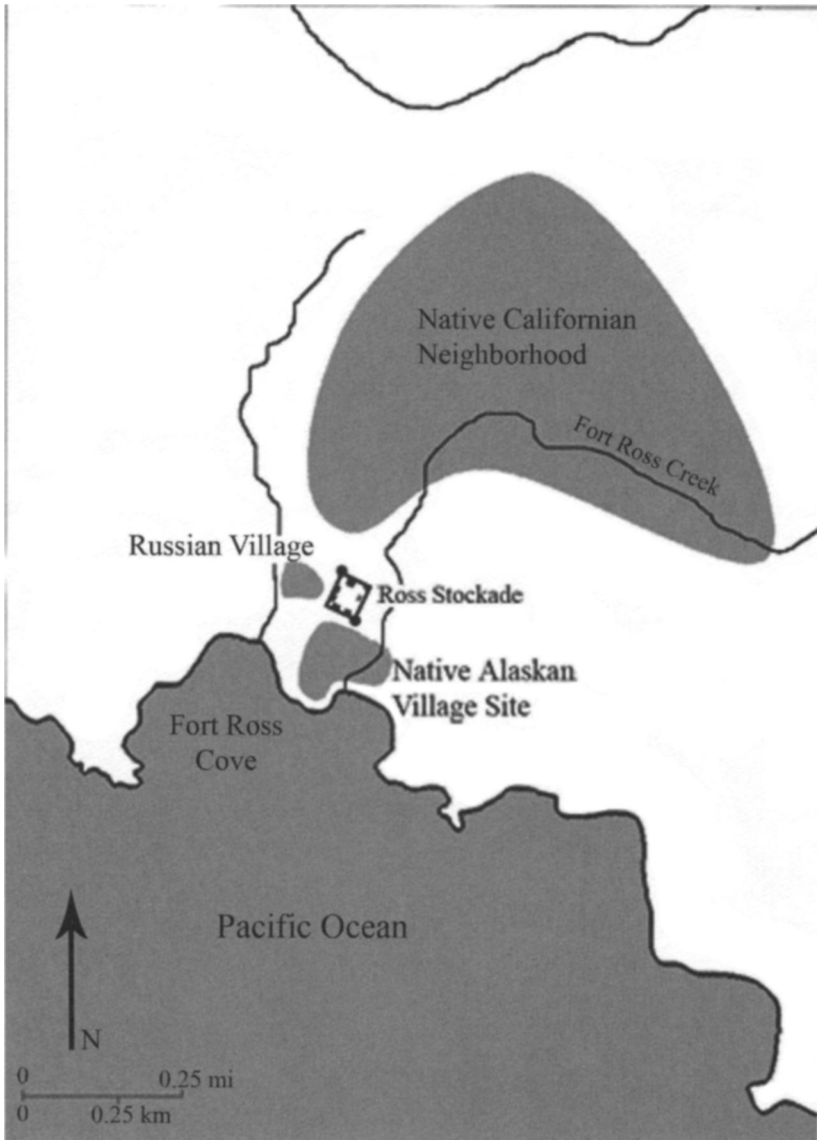


FIGURE 2. "Spatial layout of the Ross settlement." Reproduced with permission from Kent G. Lightfoot, *Indians, Missionaries, and Merchants: The Legacy of Colonial Encounter's on the California Frontiers*. © 2004 by Kent Lightfoot. Berkeley: University of California Press (2005), p. 123.

RAC outposts in the north and tropical Pacific. Its location eighty miles north of San Francisco Bay offered the RAC ample opportunity to exploit an abundant sea otter and fur seal population, as well as to develop illicit trading relations with the Spanish in Alta California. Throughout its operation (1812–41), Fort Ross was a pluralistic colonial setting, bringing together Russians, Creoles (people of mixed Russian and Indigenous ancestry), Native Alaskans, Native Californians, and others. The multi-ethnic communities encompassing the stockade are no longer visible within the contemporary park; however, their archaeological remains provide a fascinating account of daily life within a colonial context.

The Fort Ross Archaeological Project began in 1988 to investigate the lives of Fort Ross's diverse colonists and inhabitants. Investigations at the Native Alaskan Village Site, home to the RAC's Native Alaskan workers, their wives (most often of Native Californian ancestry), and families in particular, explored the ways in which the Kashaya and other Native Californians were able to successfully negotiate the colonial worlds that were thrust upon them. KPITP, the latest component of FRAP, in coordination with the Kashaya Pomo Tribe and California State Parks, is expanding upon this initial research in order represent Fort Ross as a pluralistic heritage site, or as Breck Parkman has called it, a "global village."²²

As we noted earlier, the KPITP did not consciously set out to decolonize archaeology. In light of recent decolonization, federal statute, new disciplinary ethical standards, and an increasing number of Indian people participating in archaeology, the summer 2004 KPITP and previous investigation under FRAP are doing just that. KPITP and FRAP have a reciprocal relationship with the Kashaya community and Tribal Council. We agree with authors John C. Ravesloot and Dorothy Lippert, who are critical of the idea that simply teaching Indian people about archaeology will ameliorate strained relationships and provide a foundation for better ones in the future.²³ This stance is paternalistic and colonial—information flow is unidirectional, from archaeologist to Indian. The archaeological projects at Fort Ross however are based on long-term reciprocal relationships. This long-term relationship restructures archaeological practice in terms of research orientation and methods as well as the training of undergraduate students. As Reno Franklin, the tribal historic preservation officer, said, "you're [the field school] teaching me, you're teaching Eric [Wilder, the tribal chair], and you're teaching our elders, which is a good thing"²⁴ This relationship worked both ways. Ka-

shaya input engendered creative and novel archaeological methods that challenged the status quo of archaeological practice. In short, the archaeologists learned too. Collaboration was not a taken for granted process but rather a serious one that implicates future generations of archaeologists and Kashaya people. Archaeology for the seventh generation, then, is concerned with not only the next seven generations of archaeologists but also Indian people and their cultural heritage. It is an archaeology that seeks not just common ground but sustainability and longevity of cultural integrity and vitality. Eric Wilder stated that the Kashaya were in a “crisis mode” to preserve their culture, and an archaeology for the seventh generation does not ignore this issue.

FIELD SCHOOL: TEACHING THE NEXT GENERATION

The field school is a rite of passage for most students of archaeology working in the United States. Primarily oriented toward undergraduates, it is where aspiring archaeologists decide whether or not they enjoy the physical aspects of “real” archaeology. If they can survive through long hours of tedious excavation and lab work, then they have what it takes to pursue future employment on other archaeological campaigns. This depiction raises at least three issues that are of central importance when trying to understand field school practice. First, as Rosemary A. Joyce points out, archaeological and field school terminology is rife with military references, such as “crew chiefs,” “crews,” “grids,” “reconnaissance,” and so on.²⁵ Second, field school promotes a “doctrine of discovery”—the Indiana Jones mentality of finding lost treasures of a vanished people.²⁶ Third, field schools promote a structured learning hierarchy: the field director at the top, graduate students in the middle, and undergraduates at the bottom. The three aspects of archaeological practice as we’ve outlined them contribute to continuing archaeology as a colonial process. In each point knowledge production and control resides firmly in the hands of the archaeologist.

The first two issues relate directly to our understanding of archaeology, and by extension, field schools, as a colonial process. In our discussion of the third issue, we acknowledge the positive contribution of “archaeologists . . . long credit[ing] local and descendant communities with the ability to help field directors interpret the material culture they recover,” but we also recognize statements such as this are unidirectional.²⁷

Knowledge, in this model, is extracted from the earth and descendant communities. The result is a clear benefit to the archaeologist studying, writing, publishing, and furthering his or her career. What is lacking is a concern for the effects and benefits of archaeological practice on and in descendant communities. In many cases, the archaeologist is still in a position of power, exercising decision-making control over a material culture and heritage that is, in most cases, not his or her own.

This tightly structured hierarchy is a particularly problematic feature of field schools, especially those promoting consultation and collaboration. The hierarchy of decision-making parallels the hierarchy of knowledge production.²⁸ It is often a field director who tells students, both graduate and undergraduate, how to interpret certain features or artifacts.²⁹ This top-down model preserves dichotomous thinking about “us” and “them.”³⁰ Even if the field director is consulting with tribal members, it is, in the view of students, the field director who has the power to accept or reject tribal knowledge. The divide separating Eurocentric archaeological-empirical study (often viewed by those with decision-making power as unquestioned sources of data) and oral tradition and history (often viewed as questionable, unstable sources of data) is strengthened. Students are fed two conflicting models, one spoken and one actualized. As Paul Connerton reminds us, “embodied practice” structures thought and later action.³¹

Nevertheless, some degree of hierarchy is necessary for a field school to function smoothly. At Fort Ross, the graduate student instructors served mainly as intermediaries between Roberta Jewett, the archaeology director, and the undergraduate students. In this capacity, we worked directly with the students and were primarily responsible for helping the students put the method and theory they learn in the classroom into practice in the field. Yet we believe that students are active stakeholders in the archaeological process and need to be treated as such. The undergraduate students interacted freely with the project directors, the graduate student instructors, state park officials, and, most important, with our Kashaya collaborators and consultants. The 2004 field school was designed to give interested undergraduates a chance to participate in the creation of the Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail. This involved the identification and assessment of archaeological sites that may be impacted by the trail, speaking to specialists about interpretation and trail design, as well as working with members of the Kashaya Pomo Tribe to gain in-

sights into how to interpret various aspects of their cultural heritage. The students also enjoyed a certain degree of autonomy and responsibility as they completed their contributions to the existing public interpretive program at the Fort Ross State Historic Park.

While research remains an important component of the field school, its primary function is educational. To that end, the first week of the four-week field school was spent teaching archaeological methods and discussing issues pertinent to the summer's project. This involved various activities, lectures, and conversations designed to familiarize the students with the project's goals and methods. For example, Garry Shannon of California State Parks lectured to students about the problems and advantages of creating an interpretative trail from the perspective of the state parks. The students also learned about the history of FRAP, as well as other collaborative projects between archaeologists and Kashaya scholars and elders.³² Early on, Otis Parrish, a member of the Kashaya Pomo tribe and codirector of the field project, talked to the students about the culture and history of the Kashaya people. He began by explaining to the students that the Kashaya have been living on this part of the coast since time immemorial. It is their homeland, and they welcome us so that they may learn about their ancestors through archaeology. Like other important Kashaya leaders, the elders of today value education and embrace opportunities to learn new things about their past and to teach Kashaya Pomo youth and others about Kashaya history and culture. Having Otis Parrish speak to the students on the second day of the field school underscored the fact that this is a Kashaya project as well as an academic one.

CREATING A CONTEXT FOR CONSULTATION AT FORT ROSS

One of the most important prerequisites for educating field school students about Kashesya culture was that they see tribal members as individuals, not just "Indians." As has been noted elsewhere, collaboration with Native American elders depends upon the cultivation of relationships of mutual respect, inclusivity, and reciprocity. As in other collaborative projects between archaeologists and Native peoples, building and maintaining rapport between Kashaya, ethnographers, and archaeologists has been an essential part of successful relationships between researchers and tribal elders.³³

In order to increase familiarity among undergraduate students, grad-



FIGURE 3. Violet Parrish Chappel, Vivian Parrish Wilder, and Reno Franklin during field school consultation.

uate students, and Kashaya elders, Otis Parrish suggested that the two primary consultants, Violet Parrish Chappel and Vivian Parrish Wilder, also be employed as field school cooks. In their function as camp cooks, Violet and Vivian were in camp nearly every day for both consultations and to oversee the preparation of evening meals. Each day two students were assigned to help Violet and Vivian prepare dinner and to clean up. This task rotated through all of the field school participants, including the staff, and allowed for daily interactions between field school participants and Kashaya elders. In addition to the dinners they prepared, Violet and Vivian also treated crew and staff to Kashaya delicacies such as fried seaweed, acorn porridge, and huckleberry pudding.

While cooking is often a low status task in field schools, among the Kashaya cooking for large groups of people is a highly respected and dignified activity. In offering Violet and Vivian these roles, we were able to confer to them our appreciation for their contributions to the project and camp and place them in a high status role. The sharing of food, and of work in the kitchen, also created an atmosphere of respect and friend-

ship among the collaborators and broke down potential communication boundaries between Violet and Vivian and project participants.

For many of the students, the field school was their first experience working in a collaborative environment and for most their first opportunity to meet and interact with members of a Native American nation. The students met many members of the Kashaya community—Otis, Vivian, Violet, Paul Chappel, Eric Wilder, the tribal chair, and Reno Franklin, the tribal historic preservation officer, not to mention numerous tribal members who visited the camp, helped out in the kitchen, and shared meals with us. On the whole, everyone was appreciative of this environment and had a positive experience.

Yet some aspects of collaboration were more difficult than others and presented potential problems. As with other archaeological projects with the Kashaya, alcohol abstention was a facet of research.³⁴ Due to the ceremonial nature of archaeological field work, the occurrence of consultations on Kashaya heritage, which itself was “of the spirit” and of a ceremonial nature, and the presence of elders in camp, the Kashaya requested that all crew members refrain from things “of the earth,” such as drinking alcohol. Alcohol abstention was a sign of respect for the elders in camp, and it was agreed that no alcohol would be consumed so long as elders were in camp and that crews would refrain from drinking entirely on days when they would be working with the Kashaya elders. By agreeing to restrictions on alcohol consumption during these specified periods, the students helped make the field camp a place in which the Kashaya elders felt comfortable. This also, in effect, created a dry field season. Happily, all participants met these rules with understanding rather than dissent, and drinking alcohol in camp never presented itself as an issue. Both the students and crew understood the importance of following this rule considering the negative role alcohol has played within Indigenous communities.

In addition to alcohol abstention, all field school participants also honored *k^hela* rules. As Dowdall and Parrish and Lightfoot et al have discussed, menstruating women, who are “of the earth” during this period of time, are forbidden from coming into contact with anything “of the spirit,” that which is sacred or ceremonial in nature.³⁵ Traditionally, any woman who was *k^hela* was forbidden from handling food, hunting, or going near water, which is seen as a sacred place. In following with

past practice, female staff members remained off-site during their menstrual periods and were either rotated to survey at non-Kashaya sites, worked in camp, or were given the day off. K^hela women could also not participate in consultations because of their ceremonial nature, and it was further suggested that they refrain from visiting with Violet and Vivian during this period, as coming into contact with a k^hela woman was dangerous for them. In addition to these work restrictions, k^hela women were not allowed to enter the kitchen, prepare food, serve themselves, or wash dishes. This last restriction was of special importance to Violet and Vivian, who explained to us that if any of these rules were broken, the kitchen would become contaminated and could poison them, as well as their brother Otis. In respecting their requests, all k^hela dishes—that is all the utensils and plates used by menstruating women—had to be washed separately from all other dishes. At all times, k^hela women were also not to handle food, and an alternative person was responsible for serving them dinner, as well as preparing their morning and afternoon meals.

The majority of the field school was comprised of young women, all of whom were gracious in honoring k^hela. However, honoring k^hela is a very public act, and in a mixed-sex field school setting created some friction. In the beginning of the field school it was assumed that k^hela rules would be followed for dinner meals and all archaeological and ethnographic fieldwork. During the course of the summer Violet and Vivian requested that we honor k^hela for all meals, which meant that k^hela students would not be able to prepare any of their meals and that a designated person would be responsible for serving them. While students understood the importance of honoring k^hela, many voiced concerns over the level of discreteness with which k^hela was handled. Students were not so much uncomfortable with the idea of respecting k^hela rules but in having no control over preserving a modicum of privacy in the field school setting. There was also unease with the female students regarding how the male students were treated. Traditionally, k^hela rules are followed by women, as well as their husbands. Husbands of k^hela women face similar restrictions on their movements and actions. Though none of our male field school student participants were married, many had girlfriends, and some of the females felt that they should also honor k^hela rules accordingly.

Many of the females suggested to Sara, the only female graduate stu-

dent and the head of an all-female crew, that an open discussion with Violet and Vivian would benefit them and their understandings of what *k^hela* is and how we should be honoring it in camp. Following these recommendations, we had a general field school meeting at which Otis, Violet, and Vivian clarified *k^hela* for all of the students. The feedback Sara received from the female students was very positive, and they came away with a better appreciation for *k^hela* and its role in camp. In the end it was also agreed among the students to deal with kitchen and work related *k^hela* restrictions more discretely so that no one would be embarrassed. Honoring *k^hela* rules was an important part of our collaboration with the Kashaya and a significant aspect of making Violet and Vivian feel comfortable in the kitchen and in camp. While students felt a conflict between their own privacy and honoring *k^hela*, these awkward moments emphasized the degree of compromise and understanding that accompanies any attempt at a collaborative field school.

SUSTAINABLE ARCHAEOLOGY AT FORT ROSS

In the case of FRAP and the KPITP, consultation has been an important feature of research. Collaboration with Kashaya elders and the tribal council has led to important decisions to incorporate the science of archaeology with Kashaya ceremony.³⁶ This collaboration between the Kashaya and archaeologists is a rather new occurrence, as under their previous spiritual leader, Essie Parrish, contact with archaeologists was forbidden because archaeology was considered dangerous in that it excavated sacred places (ancestral sites) and the earth.³⁷ The decision to collaborate with archaeologists came about only after thorough discussion over how to best incorporate Kashaya worldviews with the process of archaeology in order to make archaeology safe for the Kashaya involved in the project. Negotiation between archaeologists and the Kashaya led to the incorporation of a ritual blueprint into archaeological practice, whereby ceremonies were conducted to protect the Kashaya through archaeological work and low impact archaeological methods were used to minimize intrusion into the ground and sacred village spaces.

Just as important to modified field methods was the structuring of archaeological field schools at Fort Ross. With both the Metini Village Project and the current KPITP, the field school was an active place of decolonization in which primarily Euro-American undergraduate students



FIGURE 4. Field school students and Kashaya Pomo tribal members learning archaeological mapping techniques.

learned from the Kashaya their heritage and perspectives on archaeology. As noted earlier, field school students participated in the collaborative process and honored certain Kashaya traditions on site and in camp. Negotiations of participant behavior was a significant contribution toward meeting the needs of Kashaya stakeholders and ensuring their comfort in collaborations. Honoring certain practices also provided a way for us to provide sacrifices to the Kashaya and repay them for their own sacrifices of time and knowledge.

Collaborative efforts are not new to FRAP. For over ten years research at Fort Ross State Historic Park in California has addressed and incorporated the insights and concerns of Native Californian, Native Alaskan, Russian Orthodox, and other communities connected to the area in collaborative and sensitive research designs.³⁸ Following Ian Hodder, research agendas cultivate “non-dichotomous thinking” that solicit multiple ways of viewing the archaeological record at Fort Ross and avoid singular or narrow conclusions.³⁹ This reflexive methodology forces ongoing critical assessment of research designs throughout a field season. Moreover, nondichotomous research designs challenge the borders that

traditionally segregate archaeologists from affected communities and often aggravate those whose past is under investigation. As Hodder makes clear, “if the boundaries around the discipline, site, team, and author are broken down, then it cannot any longer be adequate to separate an objective past defined by archaeologists and a subjective past defined by non-archaeologists.”⁴⁰

Collaborative efforts at Fort Ross extend beyond the park boundaries to influence interactions between the Kashaya Pomo and state agencies like the California Department of Transportation (CALTRANS). Highway construction near one ancestral Kashaya site (CA-Son-1661) compromised the integrity of the site as an important facet of the Kashaya Pomo traditional homeland. The site is part of Chitibida-qalli, a traditional use area identified by Kashaya Pomo as a valuable location for gathering seaweed, salmon fishing, and gathering acorns and other plant and animal species. Meetings between Kashaya elders and CALTRANS representatives produced a research design that intermingled the concerns of regulatory historic preservation with Kashaya cultural preservation.⁴¹ The project addressed both the necessity of Section 106, whereby federal agencies are responsible for taking into account the effects of their project, activity, or program on historic property, and the Kashaya ritual framework adopted by the tribe to mitigate the effect of construction on sacred landscapes.

Research at the Metini Village site (CA-Son-175) followed a similar inclusive format that weaved archaeological procedure with a Kashaya ritual blueprint that serves a dual purpose.⁴² First, the ritual blueprint allows Kashaya Pomo and archaeologist coworkers to ritualize important issues that might arise during fieldwork as a problem solving method. Second, the ritual blueprint integrates and operationalizes Kashaya Pomo conceptions of the Fort Ross landscape into a functioning research design. Both components solicit input from tribal elders, integrating critical knowledge of taboos, rituals, and other Kashaya Pomo traditions and practices.

Metini was a principal village inhabited by the Kashaya Pomo throughout the nineteenth century and is located near the stockade of Fort Ross. The site provided an opportunity to examine Kashaya Pomo interactions with Russian, Creole, Native Alaskan, and other Native Californian groups, who all resided within the stockade or in the vicinity of the mercantile operation. However, the presence of a large round house depression, a sacred space where a ceremonial round house once stood,

required full collaboration during the project, including development of a research design and implementation of a public education program.⁴³ Project phases benefited from input from Kashaya monitors before and following each phase.

The collection of artifactual material from Metini was nonintrusive, maximizing information gathered during surface collection and subsurface geophysical survey. Each stage of research was not carried out until the impact, benefits, and importance of the procedure were discussed with Kashaya Pomo liaisons. Furthermore, each phase maximized information on surface and near-surface features, which slowly, but surely, produced a model of the site's structure without intensive trenching and shovel test sampling. The first phase involved the creation of topographic maps using an optical transit and tape measure, which helped guide a subsequent stage of geophysical prospection. During this phase, a cesium gradiometer and electromagnetic resistivity device allowed archaeologists to create a subsurface map of all structures, features, and anomalous objects within the sample area. Topographic maps and subsurface imaging, in turn, aided the selection and precise placement of excavation units by forecasting areas where excavation could or could not take place. The round house feature, for instance, was not excavated because of its ceremonial nature.⁴⁴ The low impact methodology extended to the collection of artifacts from the units sampled at Metini. After selecting a sampling strategy, sample size, and sample units, excavation included the removal of the overlying grass turf, which ranged in depth from eight to ten centimeters, to expose cultural levels. Artifacts were given a provenience number, which details the position of the artifact within the sample unit and site, and then collected.

As discussed earlier, a collaborative atmosphere was created at the field camp, while fieldwork during the 2004 КРІТР field school specifically expanded on low impact sampling strategies. These low impact sampling strategies limited the amount of artifacts collected from each excavation unit and created a program whereby artifacts collected during the project would be returned to the excavation units from which they came. Provenience *in situ* follows similar phases as those mentioned above and was developed in collaboration with the local Kashaya Pomo tribe and California State Park archaeologists to minimize the disturbance of the Kashaya cultural landscape, mitigate the impact of archaeology, and lessen

the amount of curated artifactual materials at the already overburdened State Archaeological Collection and Research Facility in Sacramento. The method specifically builds on a holistic approach that utilizes ethnography, ethnohistory, oral traditions, and site survey to adumbrate subsurface features and to pinpoint specific locations for excavation.⁴⁵ Following a systematic unaligned sample of the area, one-by-one-meter collection units were laid out, and the eight to ten centimeters of root mat was peeled back to expose manageable soils. Artifacts encountered were collected, and their unit numbers were noted. However, extreme surface erosion from precipitation and rodent activity influenced the decision not to note the exact position of an artifact within a sample unit.

The next phase of the provenience *in situ* method entails lab analysis of materials. As the name implies, artifacts are collected, provenienced, and analyzed in the field, or *in situ*. However, factors that influenced the decision not to conduct lab analysis in the field include the cost of setting up a field lab, the price of purchasing and insuring portable lab equipment, an absence of adequate lab space, inclement weather, and time constraints in a four-week field school. Artifacts collected from Fort Ross during the 2004 field season are currently being analyzed at the California Archaeology Laboratory at the University of California, Berkeley. As in other projects on state parks land, artifactual materials are typically shipped to the state collections facility in Sacramento after analysis. With the provenience *in situ* method, however, artifacts will be returned to Fort Ross State Historic Park and their respective excavation units based on prior provenience. Because the artifacts are ultimately returned to their place of origin, this approach has also been called the “catch and release” method. Problems may arise when returning the artifacts to their units of origin, specifically the placement of the artifacts within the unit and indicating to future archaeologists whether or not an artifact was collected and analyzed. In addition, provenience *in situ* may not be feasible in other archaeological scenarios. Unlike sites under investigation by contract archaeologists, the method is appropriate at places like Fort Ross where the loss of an archaeological record is not threatened daily by construction.

Although the exact methodological implications of the catch and release concept are still being worked through, this method helped to instill the values of conservation and collaboration in our undergradu-

ate field school students. Archaeology is by its very nature destructive, but through careful implementation of low impact methodology and by working with other stakeholders, the FRAP field school teaches an approach to research that we hope will help archaeology become a more sustainable discipline. From the very beginning of the 2004 field season, the archaeological fieldwork in which the students participated was presented in terms of identifying and protecting archaeological resources as well as working with the Kashaya community whose heritage those resources represent. In keeping with our commitment to teaching, we openly discussed the reasoning behind the field methodology with the students, rather than simply putting them to work. Provenience in situ is a natural outgrowth of the concerns of this project for the future of archaeology, and it is therefore just as important to teach low impact field methods as it is to practice them.

The use of Kashaya oral traditions, oral histories, and contemporary conversations are also a crucial component of the methodology employed at Fort Ross. While some archaeologists question the usefulness of Indigenous oral narratives to illuminate aspects of the archaeological record, we believe that oral traditions are a valid way of knowing the past, one that needs to be respected in both scholarly and public interpretations.⁴⁶ In terms of the academic treatment of archaeological investigations conducted at Fort Ross, oral traditions are used alongside archaeological evidence and European and ethnographic accounts in a holistic, historical anthropological approach.⁴⁷ As part of the planning for the Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail, field school students collected aspects of Kashaya oral tradition through conversations with tribal elders. In the third week of the field school, each crew had the opportunity to ask specific questions of Violet and Vivian at proposed trail stops. Various project staff also participated in these consultations, but the undergraduates served as the primary interviewers. In addition to student note-taking, all consultations were either videotaped or audio recorded for the use of the Kashaya Pomo Tribe.

By having the students interview Kashaya elders at various points during the implementation of the archaeological fieldwork, students were able to see firsthand the connection between the Kashaya people of today and the archaeological sites that are the record of their ancestors' lives and connection to the land. Indeed, one of the most important les-

sons of the 2004 field school is the continuity between past and present. The landscape around Fort Ross is often imagined as a colonial one, but we envision a public interpretation that focuses instead on the Kashaya landscape, both past and present. During the Russian colonial occupation from 1812 to 1841, the Kashaya maintained a strong relationship with their homeland as they continued to engage in their seasonal rounds, moving from the interior ridges to the coast and back again. Although the American period (1846–present) brought new colonial intrusions, the Kashaya maintained a strong affinity to the land, in part through oral traditions that tie features of the landscape to past people and events, which in turn have relevant lessons for the present. This “active staying”—as James Clifford has termed it—and movement of ancestors between points within the traditional Kashaya territory prevented the land from becoming a single chronicle of colonialism.⁴⁸ Today, Kashaya culture is active and dynamic, and the archaeological sites that we investigate in our research, some of them thousands of years old, continue to have meaning for contemporary Kashaya people. By spending time with Kashaya elders and hearing their oral traditions, the students and staff of the 2004 field school gained a deeper insight into the significance of the Kashaya cultural resources and landscapes around Fort Ross and how they might be interpreted to general audiences.

The culmination of the work conducted by the 2004 field school, and of all of the archaeological work conducted in and around the Fort Ross State Historic Park over the last fifteen years, is the Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail. This trail will take visitors out of the reconstructed Russian stockade and provide interpretations that reflect the multi-ethnic heritage of Fort Ross. In many instances the insights gained from the field school interviews will be used alongside archaeological evidence to provide a Native perspective on the archaeology and landscape around the park. The trail will be divided into an east loop and a west loop. While the east loop will encircle the stockade and teach visitors about the pluralistic colonial encounters that unfolded at Colony Ross, the west loop moves away from the stockade and onto a coastal terrace where pre-contact archaeological sites will be presented together with Kashaya accounts of traditional and contemporary practices. Field school students had direct input into the placement of the trail stops and the interpretive content to be used at each one. Through their participation in this

project, these students learned that consultation and respect are crucial components of all aspects of archaeology, from methodology to the final interpretation.

CONCLUSION

Earlier in this article we asked how the decolonization of archaeology benefits Indigenous communities. Ultimately, this question can only be answered by Native people themselves, but from our perspective, we offer a few concluding thoughts based on our experiences working with the Kashaya. Most importantly, the Kashaya help shape the archaeological research design. The FRAP and the KPIITP are the outgrowth of Kashaya community questions and concerns. Through Otis Parrish and other tribal members, Kashaya involvement and input occurs at all levels of the project. Similarly, the Kashaya are ensured that the archaeology conducted on their ancestral homeland is done with respect for their heritage and in accordance with the proper ritual. Additionally, the Kashaya have a strong voice in the public—and academic—interpretation of their culture and history. Although not all Native groups want their cultural information to be in the public domain, our conversations with Violet, Vivian, Otis, and other tribal members indicate that the Kashaya feel it is just as important to educate non-Kashaya about Kashaya history and culture as it is tribal members. The field school and the trail are perfect venues for this and are laying the foundation for future Kashaya involvement with public interpretation. Lastly, and significantly, the Kashaya are helping to decolonize archaeology by instructing the next generation of archaeologists and encouraging them to think about how their work relates to Indigenous communities.

At the end of the field school, the students presented their proposed trail stops at a roundtable discussion attended by tribal members, park staff, members of the Fort Ross Interpretive Association, and area residents. This event provided a productive atmosphere in which all of the stakeholders were able to voice their concerns over the development of the trail. The roundtable concluded with a speech by Eric Wilder, the Kashaya tribal chair, in which he expressed his gratitude for the students' eagerness to learn about Kashaya culture and the sacrifices they made in passing that information on to others. The Kashaya tribe reiterated this sentiment the following evening as they sponsored a feast,

recognizing the hard work and contributions of all the project collaborators. The feast provided closure and a point of reflection for the lessons learned through this collaborative project. Whether or not the student participants continue on in the field of archaeology, we hope that their experiences in the 2004 field school are something that they will carry with them. In terms of decolonizing archaeology, we hope that our commitment to restructuring some of the fundamentals of archaeological field schools will have a positive impact and reverberate within the discipline. We, the authors, found ourselves functioning as both teachers and students—two important, though not mutually exclusive, roles. In our position as teaching assistants, we acknowledged the responsibilities of teaching the next generation of archaeologists. We felt honored to be part of this ongoing project and understood the importance of embodying the values of collaborative archaeology at the same time that we taught these values, along with archaeological methods, to our students. As students and representatives of uc Berkeley, we were constantly aware of the other partners in the project, and we tried to integrate the collaborative spirit into the daily workings of the field school, both in the field and in camp. This awareness of diverse stakeholders is something that the project directors have integrated into the long-term workings of the project, and it is something that we, as graduate student instructors, passed on to our students.

NOTES

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