INDIGENOUS VALUES AND METHODS IN ARCHAEOLOGICAL PRACTICE: LOW-IMPACT ARCHAEOLOGY THROUGH THE KASHAYA POMO INTERPRETIVE TRAIL PROJECT

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As federally and non-federally recognized tribal communities assert control over the management of tribal heritage, there is a significant opportunity to work with these nations to further refine and develop approaches to archaeological practice that work for the long-term care and protection of tribal heritage. This article evaluates the methodological implications of integrating indigenous values and cultural protocols into archaeological practice and tribal historic preservation. Drawing upon the example of the Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail Project at Fort Ross State Historic Park, I examine how respectful, engaged, community-based dialogue with the Kashia Band of Pomo Indians led to the development of a low-impact archaeological methodology that contributes to the capacity of the Kashia Tribal Historic Preservation Office (THPO) to employ archaeology as a tool of historic preservation. Although this methodology was developed with specific reference to the needs and cultural protocols of the Kashaya Pomo, it provides a salient model of a sovereignty-based approach to tribal historic preservation that may be relevant to other tribal heritage managers. The application of a suite of low-impact survey methods, including the catch-and-release surface collection strategy, also provides tribal and non-tribal heritage professionals with additional tools for recovering data from cultural resources with minimal impact.

A medida que las comunidades tribales, tanto las reconocidas federalmente como las que no lo están, reivindican su derecho para ejercer el control sobre la gestión de su patrimonio cultural, se presenta una gran oportunidad de trabajo con dichas naciones para desarrollar y refinar estrategias de práctica arqueológica que resulten efectivas para una mejor protección y conservación del patrimonio tribal a largo plazo. Este artículo evalúa las implicaciones metodológicas derivadas de la integración de los valores y protocolos culturales indígenas en la práctica arqueológica y en la preservación de su patrimonio histórico. Basándonos en el ejemplo del proyecto Kashaya Pomo Interpretative Trail desarrollado en el parque histórico estatal de Fort Ross, examinamos cómo el trabajo basado en el compromiso, el respeto y el diálogo con la comunidad Kashia de indígenas Pomo ha permitido desarrollar un método arqueológico de mínimo impacto que contribuye con la capacidad de la oficina de conservación de historia tribal de los Kashia Tribal Historic Preservation Office, (THPO por sus siglas en inglés) para favorecer el uso de la arqueología como herramienta para la conservación histórica. A pesar de que el método presentado en este trabajo fue desarrollado en base a las necesidades específicas y protocolos culturales de los Kashaya Pomo, éste proporciona un modelo destacado de acercamiento a la conservación histórica indígena basado en la soberanía de los pueblos. Dicho modelo puede resultar de interés para otros gestores del patrimonio cultural tribal y oficinas de gestión del patrimonio (THPOs). La aplicación de una serie de métodos de prospección de bajo impacto, incluyendo la estrategia de prospección en superficie sin recojo de materiales, proporciona además herramientas metodológicas adicionales para la recopilación de datos sobre recursos culturales con un impacto mínimo, las cuales pueden ser de interés tanto para los profesionales del patrimonio tribal como para el resto.

Since the 1992 amendments to the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA, 16 U.S.C. § 470), approximately 154 federally recognized tribal nations in the United States have been granted status to open a Tribal Historic Preservation Office (THPO). In addition to these offices, many other tribal communities—federally and non-federally recognized—operate similar types of cultural resources programs charged with identifying, recording, and protecting tribal cultural resources for future generations. Obtaining THPO status or opening a cultural resources office is a significant step towards self-governance and self-determination for indigenous nations. However,

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achieving these goals is not solely an issue of a native nation asserting control over the management of its cultural resources. It also involves implementing approaches to tribal historic preservation that are grounded in the values and cultural protocols of the tribal nation.

Archaeologists have invested considerable effort in evaluating the frameworks and methods of contemporary cultural resource management and historic preservation in the United States. Yet, few consider the specific challenges and needs of tribal historic preservation in the U.S. (Anyon et al. 2000; Hunter 2008; King 2002, 2003; Klesert et al. 1990; Stapp and Burney 2002; Two Bears 2008). Using the case study of the Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail Project (KPITP), a community-based participatory research initiative involving the Kashia Band of Pomo Indians, archaeologists from UC Berkeley and the University of Washington, and the California Department of Parks and Recreation (CA DPR), I assess how U.S. tribal nations and THPOs are developing approaches to tribal historic preservation that bridge community values within the practice of archaeology. [1]

This article has three goals. First, I present how KPITP established an archaeological practice grounded in respect. Respect for the knowledge and values of all research partners, for tribal cultural resources, and, finally, for the relations between the Kashaya community and their ancestral homeland, *Metini,* created the condition in which the KPITP research partners could work together to develop a cultural heritage trail at Fort Ross State Historic Park (FRSHP). Alongside the community-based participatory framework, this was the primary mechanism for integrating Kashaya values and cultural protocols into both the research design of KPITP and the methods it uses to document and represent tribal heritage within the park.

Second, I evaluate the methodological implications of KPITP's indigenous, community-based, participatory approach to archaeology. Disciplinary assessments of the value of indigenous archaeologies emphasize how respectful, engaged research practice with, by, and for indigenous communities results in more holistic, inclusive, and epistemically diverse interpretations of indigenous heritage (Colwell-Chanthaphonh et al. 2010:233–4; Silliman and Ferguson 2010:56–62). While these ethical and interpretive benefits are

well documented within the literature (Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2008; Nicholas and Andrews 1997; Silliman ed. 2008; Smith and Wobst 2005), as Atalay notes (2014:52–55) the wide-ranging contributions of indigenous archaeologies to archaeological practice and methodology are less considered. In the case of KPITP, collaborative thinking between the Kashia THPO and project partners resulted in the KPITP low-impact archaeological methodology, which uses Kashaya heritage values and cultural protocols for dealing with the sacred to structure the practice of archaeology and tribal historic preservation.

Third, I stress that the low-impact approach of KPITP reflects a progressive shift in archaeological priorities towards more context-sensitive methods that attempt to mitigate the damage of archaeology to cultural resources (Ferris and Welch 2014:231–232; Welch and Ferris 2014:102–3). The project's use of this methodology not only improved the ability of the KPITP and Kashia THPO to study tribal cultural resources within the park; it also led to the creation of the catch-and-release surface collection strategy, which was developed by the project in 2004 (Gonzalez et al. 2006). This innovative, curation-minded, and culturally sensitive site survey method encapsulates how indigenous, collaborative archaeologies are pushing the boundaries of disciplinary practice by refining the application of low-impact research methods that may, in turn, facilitate greater opportunities for collaboration with tribal communities. Preliminary outcomes indicate the potential of catch-and-release as an alternative method of archaeological survey.

Self-Governance, Self-Determination, and Capacity Building

The U.S. Department of the Interior Indian Affairs Office, as part of its trust responsibility, has traditionally assisted federally recognized tribes in the process of governance, assuming responsibility, for example, for the management of natural resources and trust lands, economic development, education, and health care. Under this arrangement, the priorities, methods, and means of governing are determined by a source other than the tribal government and community. Today, many tribal communities assert their status as sovereign nations

by reclaiming authority from the federal government to directly manage their affairs and thus determine the values, models, and practices of tribal governance. Becoming fully self-governed and self-determined, however, depends upon a tribe having the capacity—the necessary infrastructure and resources—to make these goals possible.

Federally recognized tribal communities in the U.S. can apply under Section 101(d)(2) of the NHPA to assume the duties associated with environmental review and historic preservation on tribal and ancestral lands. Prior to the creation of THPO programs, State Historic Preservation Officers (SHPO) managed these duties. This left tribes with minimal input into, or authority over, how their cultural resources were identified and evaluated as significant under the Section 106 process and in National Environmental Protection Act (NEPA) reviews. Obtaining THPO status, thus, reasserts direct tribal authority over the care of and disposition of tribal cultural resources.

The Challenges of Tribal Historic Preservation

THPOs face several capacity-related challenges, including having the necessary economic and human resources to fully assume duties from the SHPO.[2] In addition to these structural limitations, the regulatory framework of historic preservation in the U.S. places significant obstacles in the path of a THPO seeking to articulate and implement a self-determined historic preservation plan rooted in the cultural values and protocols of a sovereign tribal nation (Atalay et al. 2014:12; Hunter 2008; Stapp and Burney 2002). For example, Welch and Ferris (2014:95–96) and Ferris and Welch (2014:221–223) argue that historic preservation in North America is archaeo-centric in two ways. First, it ascribes high value to tangible resources such as artifacts and archaeological sites. Second, mitigation and preservation is often achieved through archaeological intervention, which can lead to the destruction of the archaeological record.

Privileging archaeology as the primary tool of historic preservation can be problematic for a THPO in several regards. For example, the use of archaeological value as the primary factor that determines whether a site is eligible for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Properties often conflicts with the heritage values of Native communities. Within this framework, intangible heritage resources—tribal histories, songs, oral traditions, language, etc.—are often ascribed less value in relation to tangible, material resources in determinations of significance (Ferris and Welch 2014:222; Smith and Akagawa 2009). The Kashia THPO is not unique in arguing that the tribal nation has the ultimate authority to define what is sacred for them and, thus, what qualifies as a site of cultural and religious significance under NHPA and NEPA (Parrish et al. 2000:87). Opposed to relying solely upon places and things to define significance, many THPOs, such as that of the Kashia, work with federal agencies to outline tribally defined approaches to significance that include, and indeed depend upon, tribal histories, practices, and knowledge (see Ball et al. 2015; Edwards and Thorsgard 2012:5–6; King 2003:99–105; Stapp and Burney 2002:85–66; Two Bears 2008:191–194).

Since 2011, native nations and Native Hawaiian Organizations have worked with the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation to develop an action plan for protecting traditional cultural landscapes, large-scale sites whose significance stems from the relations and histories attached to and between things, places, and people (Advisory Council on Historic Preservation 2011). The designation of traditional cultural landscapes and properties gives tribal communities and federal and state agencies a common language with which to develop procedures for identifying and evaluating places of religious and cultural significance for tribal communities (King 2003; Stapp and Burney 2002:152–165). These categories give THPOs a tool with which to protect a fuller spectrum of tribal heritage and expand the focus of eligibility reviews beyond site-based determinations.

Indigenous communities often view archaeological practices that disturb places and ancestors as harmful to a community's health and well-being (Burke et al. 2008; Dowdall and Parrish 2003; Mihesuah 2000). Due to this concern, some THPO programs opt to conserve tangible resources in situ on reservation and trust lands (i.e., lands owned and managed directly by the tribe) with little to no archaeological intervention. Other THPO programs such as those operated by the Kashia Band of Pomo Indians, the Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians, the Ho-Chunk Nation, the United Tribes of Auburn, and Jemez Pueblo

rely upon non-invasive archaeological techniques such as geophysical survey to assess, monitor, and mitigate the impact of development upon tribal cultural resources on lands directly managed by the THPO. In yet other cases, THPOs direct tribal archaeology programs that employ a wider range of archaeological techniques (e.g., the Colville Confederated Tribes, Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde Community of Oregon, Gila River Indian Community, Rocky Boy Nation, Seminole Nation, Eastern Band of Cherokees, and Mohegan Tribe).

Across this spectrum of approaches to tribal historic preservation, each THPO endeavors to make archaeology and historic preservation *work for* and *in accordance* with the cultural values and protocols of the tribal nation. There is also a concerted effort by each of these THPOs to implement these tribally developed strategies for tribal historic preservation through the consultation process established by NHPA and NEPA. This reframing integrates a tribe's values into a regulatory context not originally developed for their specific values, needs, or perspectives. When the development of tribally specific historic preservation plans and archaeology programs is situated in relation to the goal of self-governance, these actions are reoriented as expressions of sovereignty by self-determined nations.

With the goal of self-governance in mind, how might archaeologists and heritage managers work with THPOs to build their capacity to identify, record, manage, and protect tribal heritage for future generations? I turn now to an examination of the Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail Project as an example of one way in which archaeologists and heritage managers have partnered with a tribal nation to integrate indigenous values and methods into the care of tribal cultural resources and heritage.

The Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail Project: Building Capacity with the Kashia Band of Pomo Indians and THPO

The Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail Project is the outgrowth of over 20 years of archaeological research by the Fort Ross Archaeological Project (FRAP) in Fort Ross State Historic Park (FRSHP). This project investigated the remains of a nineteenth-century Russian American Company

(RAC) mercantile settlement established in 1812 on the Sonoma coast of northern California amid the Kashia Band of Pomo Indians' ancestral territory of *Metini* (Figure 1). Specifically, the project focused on the daily lives and experiences of the Native Alaskan and Native Californian residents of *Metini* and Fort Ross (Lightfoot et al. 1991, 1997; Parrish et al. 2000; Lightfoot and Gonzalez 2016). Following the Kashia Band of Pomo Indian's collaboration with FRAP on archaeological research at Metini Village, a nineteenth-century Kashaya settlement located within FRSHP, the tribe and its research partners planned for the development of the Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail, a cultural heritage trail currently under construction at the park. In this section, I outline how KPITP meets two critical, capacity-related needs identified by the Kashia Band of Pomo Indians.

Capacity Goal 1: Changing the Represented Landscape of Metini

Today, Fort Ross State Historic Park is one of the few places in California where the public has the opportunity to directly experience archaeological heritage through on-site reconstructions of the RAC settlement. The reconstructions of the stockade complex, however, create a disjuncture between what we know the colony to have been—a diverse, multi-ethnic settlement in the heart of *Metini*, which itself has an archaeological and cultural history that goes back at least 8,000 years—and how we see its history now: the legacy of Russian California (Figure 2) (Parkman 1996/1997). In an effort to create more accurate representations of the settlement's mercantile operations and extensive agricultural holdings, the CA DPR and Fort Ross Interpretive Association recently reconstructed the fur warehouse, as well as California's first windmill (to date, the only structure reconstructed outside the stockade walls). In response to feedback, park managers have also attempted to present a more inclusive history of Fort Ross that highlights the contributions of Ross's Native Californian (Kashaya Pomo, Coast Miwok and Southern Pomo) and Native Alaskan residents. For example, the Visitor's Center, located approximately one-quarter of a mile away from the reconstructed stockade, houses exhibits on the history of the Kashia and the other indigenous residents of Colony Ross, and new interpre-
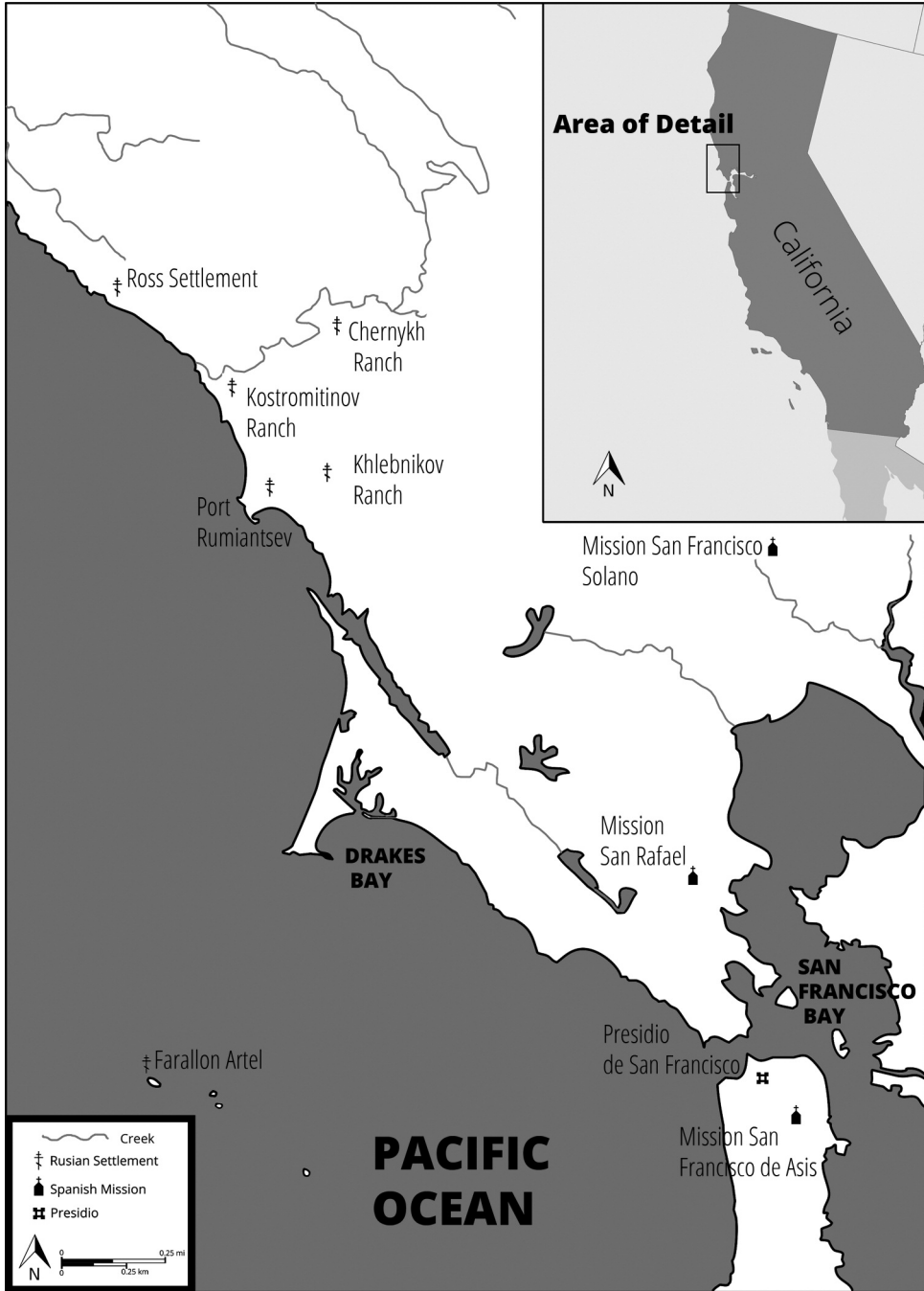
Figure 1. Map of Russian Settlement in California.

tive plaques outside the stockade identify spaces where these residents lived. Unfortunately, these interpretive spaces compete with a reconstructed landscape that obscures the traces of indigenous settlement of *Metini*.

The Kashia Band of Pomo Indians jointly initiated KPITP with the CA DPR and archaeologists as a medium for expanding on-site interpretation of Kashaya heritage at FRSHP. This project is creating a public cultural heritage trail and website

Figure 2. Fort Ross State Historic Park Reconstructed Landscape: Native Alaskan Village Site (top left); FRSHP sign (top middle); view of reconstructed stockade from the west (top right); reconstructed Kuskov house, stockade (bottom left); Fort Ross Cultural Heritage Day, July 2011 (bottom right). (All photographs courtesy of KPITP. Photographers: Lee Panich, Kelly Fong, Darren Modzelewski, and Sara Gonzalez, respectively.)

(Figure 3) that introduces visitors to the Kashia Band of Pomo Indians and to the larger cultural landscape of *Metini*. Through a combination of on-site interpretation of Kashia heritage places, tribal histories and oral traditions, archaeological and environmental data, and historical documents, the trail highlights the history and heritage of the Kashaya Pomo, from time immemorial to the present. The interpretive program is also designed as a cultural program for tribal members, and especially tribal youth, to reconnect with their homeland. To date, KPITP has completed interpretation for the trail and developed a prototype of the website. The project is now working with the tribe and CA DPR on the physical construction of the trail and launching of the website.

Capacity Goal 2: Defining a Kashaya Approach to Tribal Historic Preservation and Archaeological Practice

Coinciding with the initiation of KPITP in 2004, the Kashia applied for and were granted THPO status. The application process was preceded by extensive work on the part of the community and tribal elders to develop culturally sensitive strate-

gies for managing tribal cultural resources within their aboriginal territory (e.g., Dowdall and Parrish 2003:108–111; Gonzalez 2011; Parrish et al. 2000:86–87). Tribal cultural resources within FRSHP are under the management authority of the CA DPR, who has the responsibility to consult with the Kashia THPO. KPITP presented a venue for what Stapp and Burney (2002:122) call meaningful consultation between the Kashia THPO and CA DPR with regards to management and representation of Kashia tribal cultural resources within FRSHP. It is through the process of developing the trail that KPITP, the Kashia THPO, and the CA DPR worked together to develop and implement a research methodology for the interpretive trail, which was grounded in Kashaya values and cultural protocols. Referred to as the KPITP low-impact archaeological methodology, it provided the CA DPR and park managers with a model for managing and representing Kashaya cultural resources within Fort Ross.

KPITP Projects

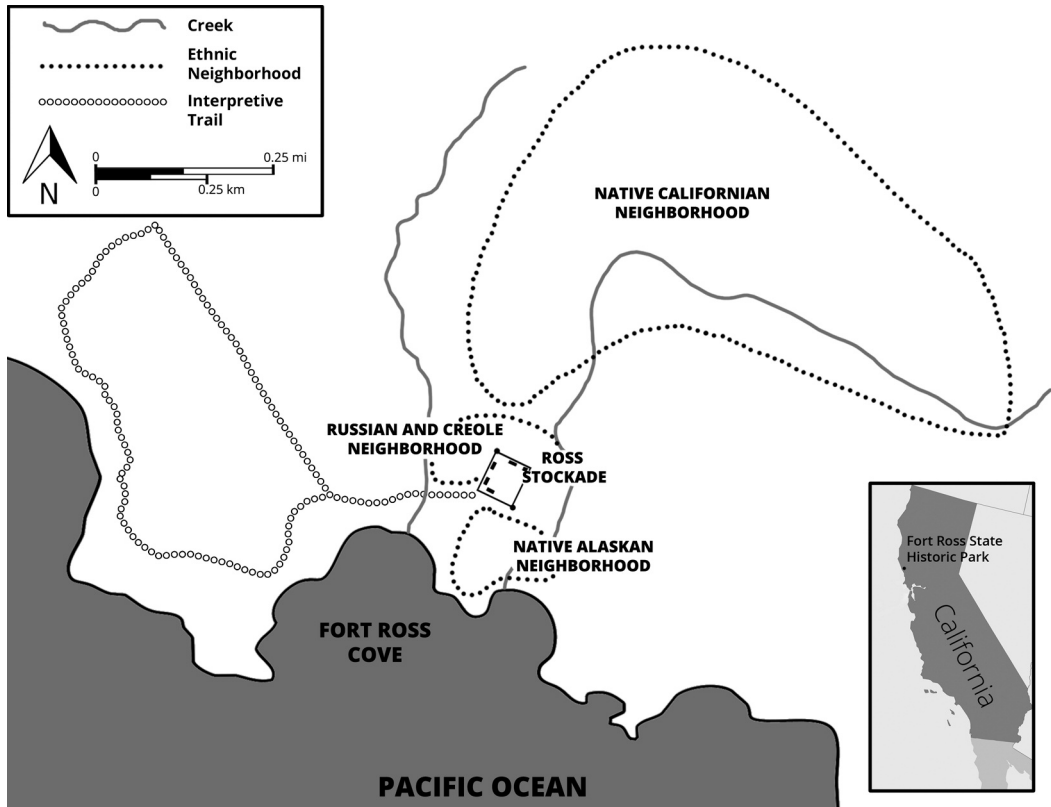KPITP consists of three related project elements. First, the project completed an ethnographic and

Figure 3. Map of Fort Ross State Historic Park showing the location of the ethnic neighborhoods and the proposed pathway of the Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail.

archaeological compliance survey for cultural resources located on the marine terraces at FRSHP. Through this work, KPITP and the Kashia THPO identified tribal cultural resources for on-site interpretation, located the pathway for the trail and the placement of individual trail stops, and developed interpretations for each trail stop. Second, the project initiated a detailed archaeological study of the North Wall Community, one of the proposed stops on the interpretive trail (Gonzalez 2011). As director of these investigations, I designed this study to assist the Kashia THPO in documenting the location of households established by Kashaya women and men at the RAC settlement. Third, KPITP and the Kashia THPO co-sponsored an undergraduate archaeological and ethnographic field school in the summers of 2004, 2005, 2007, 2008, and 2011, which offered undergraduate students training in archaeological, ethnographic, and community-based research methods. Kashaya elders and the Kashia THPO assisted not only as project partners but as instructors of the field

school. In this role, they taught archaeologists-in-training about the significance of using cultural protocols to recover and document Kashaya heritage, as well as the importance of collaboration and consultation with the tribal community (Gonzalez et al. 2006:409–410; Parrish et al. 2000:85).

As part of these related projects, KPITP implemented and refined a low-impact archaeological research methodology that integrates Kashaya heritage values and cultural protocols into the management and representation of tribal resources within *Metini*. Grounding the selection and use of archaeological methods according to tribal principles mitigates what the Kashia THPO identifies as the danger of using archaeological techniques to record and preserve Kashaya cultural resources. It is important to note that the Kashia Band of Pomo Indians decided to use archaeology as a method of tribal historic preservation in order to document and recover tribal histories for future generations (Dowdall and Parrish 2003).

Below, I outline how a collaborative and re-

spectful dialogue with the Kashia THPO and Kashaya community opened up new pathways for archaeological collaboration through KPITP. The outcome of this collaboration is a methodology for the study and management of tribal cultural resources that minimizes harm to the Kashaya Pomo community.

Cultivating a Respectful Archaeology through an Indigenous, Collaborative Archaeological Approach

The Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail Project contributes to a growing field of indigenous archaeologies. These approaches recognize the human rights of indigenous communities to determine the nature and scope of research on and about them and to reflect the desire of researchers to construct a way of doing archaeology that respects these rights. My use of *archaeologies* is purposeful, indicating that the partners of an indigenous archaeological project develop a research protocol in reference to the unique context of collaboration and to the specific values and needs of the community partners (Silliman 2008:11–16). Atalay (2012:39) notes, "'Indigenous Archaeology' and 'collaboration' are not synonymous," for the goals of indigenous archaeology are broader than solely creating collaborative relationships between indigenous peoples and archaeologists. Nonetheless, collaboration is an integral aspect of these approaches and archaeologists employ it to create a more equitable and socially just practice of archaeology.

To achieve these goals, indigenous archaeologies increasingly rely upon collaboration as implemented through community-based participatory research (CBPR) or participatory action research (PAR) frameworks (Atalay 2012). The value of CBPR and PAR for indigenous archaeologies is that they acknowledge the rights of a community to determine when and how research is conducted within the community. They also provide a model for research partners to share authority over the design, implementation, interpretation, and dissemination of research (Atalay 2012:66–77). In relation to the collaborative continuum identified by Colwell-Chanthaponh and Ferguson (2008:30) and expanded upon by Atalay (2012:44–51), community-based research is framed as a democratic process that should, ultimately, benefit both re-

searchers and communities. As such, these approaches achieve a primary objective of indigenous archaeologies: the integration of indigenous values, knowledge, ethics, perspectives, and practices into the theory and practice of archaeology (Atalay 2012:38–41; Colwell-Chanthaphonh et al. 2010:229; Nicholas 2008:1660).

In the case of KPITP, implementing a community-based research framework cultivated respect between research partners, which created a foundation for open communication and productive dialogue between the research partners of KPITP. Respect was premised upon KPITP's acknowledgment of the authority of the Kashia Band of Pomo Indians to define what is sacred for them (Parrish et al. 2000:87). As such, KPITP worked directly with the Kashia THPO, the governmental agency responsible for making decisions related to tribal cultural resources, on the development of all research associated with KPITP. Additionally, KPITP and the Kashia THPO received approval for all elements of the research project from the Kashia tribal council. Within KPITP, the Kashia THPO had decision-making authority: (1) to identify tribal elders, scholars, and community members who might contribute to the projects sponsored through KPITP; (2) to facilitate collaboration between tribal elders and scholars, KPITP, and the CA DPR; (3) to seek comment, review, and formal approval on proposed research from tribal elders and cultural advisers, and ultimately, from tribal council; and (4) to supervise all archaeological and ethnographic research conducted by KPITP.

From this starting point, the current co-directors of KPITP, Kent Lightfoot and myself, worked with the Kashia THPO and tribal elders and CA State Park Archaeologists to define a research protocol that reflected the goals and needs of KPITP's research partners (Gonzalez 2011:104–105).[3] As an outcome of this process, KPITP adopted and refined a ritual blueprint for archaeological practice, which the tribe first developed working with FRAP (Lightfoot and Gonzalez 2016; Parrish et al. 2000) and the California Department of Transportation (Dowdall and Parrish 2003).

A Blueprint for Action

Kashaya cultural laws consider sacred places "of the spirit" and, as such, these places should not

come into contact with things determined to be "of the earth." Archaeological practices that result in ground disturbance break this law and thus have the potential to result in spiritual—as well as physical—harm to those involved in the transgression (Dowdall and Parrish 2003; Parrish et al. 2000). The ritual blueprint that the tribe developed with its research partners mitigates the potential dangers of archaeology by observing Kashaya laws and rituals for dealing with the sacred. Reframed as a spiritual practice, the Kashia THPO can now safely employ archaeology as a technique of tribal historic preservation and to augment tribal histories.

KPITP's adoption of the Kashaya ritual blueprint resulted in four key outcomes. First, the project acknowledged that all Kashaya ancestral sites are sacred and, as such, approached them with respect and caution. Second, the tribe determined that spiritual practice could mitigate the danger of using archaeology to study ancestral places. As part of these practices, tribal elders conducted ceremonies prior to and at the conclusion of archaeological research to demonstrate respect for these sacred places and the ancestors, and to protect tribal members and project members from any particular spiritual harm that might result from the disturbance of the ground. All project participants further mitigated these spiritual dangers by adhering to cultural laws associated with sacred places in field practice and daily life (Gonzalez et al. 2006:401–403). This created an additional context of respect, wherein participants honored the exchange of knowledge among collaborators and through each individual's engagements with ancestral places. Third, the Kashia THPO and cultural advisers mandated that archaeological practice should not disturb ceremonial places such as roundhouses, sweat houses, or burials because spiritual dangers could not be mitigated at these places. KPITP used tribal knowledge and archaeological information to identify these places and excluded them from the study. Finally, on the basis of these guidelines, the project identified research methods that would minimize physical disturbance to tribal cultural resources.

Creating Knowledge with the Kashaya Pomo

In practicing community-based research with the Kashia and observing their ritual blueprint, project members moved away from generating *knowledge about* the Kashaya to creating *knowledge with* the tribe (Tamisari 2006:24). *Knowledge about* refers to an extractive relationship in which the researcher observes from a privileged vantage point without a responsibility to give back to those they research. Producing *knowledge with* a community is distinguished by the formation of personal, reciprocal relationships between researcher and community in which research partners acknowledge the individual contributions and shared knowledge of collaborators. In this way, KPITP approached its partnership with the Kashia as the result of personal, social relationships that proceeded from a place of mutual respect, honesty, integrity, and trust. This, in turn, fostered an openness of communication so that tribal elders, scholars, and community members could remember and, importantly, share histories of Fort Ross and *Metini*.

According to Reno Franklin, the first Kashia THPO and now current Chairman of the Kashia Band of Pomo Indians (personal communication, 2004), the purpose of the Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail is to show the public "how Kashaya have learned to walk in two worlds." In approaching the study and representation of *Metini* as a cultural landscape, KPITP acknowledged the deep relation between the tribal community and their homeland and recognized the importance of integrating Kashaya histories and perspectives into both Fort Ross Interpretive Programs and into any research of Kashaya history and heritage. KPITP's use of a collaborative, community-based approach is a direct reflection of these acknowledgments.

I argue that the process of community-based collaboration facilitated rigorous and creative thinking about the ways in which KPITP could balance the project partners' shared desire to recover and document tribal heritage with the need to protect the tribal community from harm. What resulted from this collaborative inquiry was a low-impact archaeological methodology that led to the development of a novel method of intensive site survey, the catch-and-release surface collection strategy. The following discussion presents this approach to doing archaeology with the Kashia Band of Pomo Indians and assesses its wider relevance within tribal historic preservation and archaeological practice.

Low-Impact Archaeology through KPITP

Low-impact archaeology as KPITP practiced it with the Kashia Band of Pomo Indians is premised on recovering a maximal amount of information from resources while minimizing physical and spiritual disturbance to them. As previously noted, archaeology often results in the physical disturbance of ancestral sites and resources, thus, potentially resulting in spiritual or even physical harm to the individuals involved, as well as to the larger community. Contributing further to this potential harm, the collection of cultural materials from ancestral, sacred sites often both results in the permanent removal of these objects from these places and involves curation at a non-accessible facility—going into the "black hole," as Reno Franklin and others in the tribal community described it. Despite these concerns, the current needs of both the tribal community and Kashia THPO warrant the use of archaeology as a technique of tribal historic preservation when steps are taken to mitigate these sources of harm. The ritual blueprint KPITP adopted was critical here, as it presented Kashaya methods for making archaeology safe to practice by both tribal and non-tribal members. KPITP's use and exploration of minimally invasive techniques and strategies for data recovery presented an additional means of limiting the dangers created through disturbance to tribal cultural resources.

KPITP found considerable common ground with the Kashia THPO in the shared desire to preserve tribal resources for future generations and to use the knowledge generated from these resources for the benefit of the tribal community. This included providing opportunities for tribal youth to learn about their heritage through the interpretive trail, teaching the KPITP field school students about the values and dangers of archaeology for the Kashaya, and introducing visitors to Fort Ross about the history and heritage of the Kashaya Pomo within their homeland, *Metini*. The project and Kashia THPO also saw considerable potential for developing a low-impact archaeological methodology that uses Kashaya and archaeological methods to minimize the physical and spiritual impacts of archaeological practice. The value of this approach is that it provides not only KPITP and the Fort Ross park managers, but also other archaeologists as well as state and federal agencies, with a model for how and in what ways archaeological practice can and should proceed when Kashaya resources are involved. In other words, it represents a series of priorities and practices that demonstrate how to best care for Kashaya cultural resources.

The KPITP Low-Impact Archaeological Methodology

The KPITP low-impact archaeological methodology consists of a multistage field strategy and employs a suite of complementary, non-destructive, or minimally invasive data collection methods (planimetric and topographic mapping, site survey, ethnographic interviews, archival research, etc.) in successive stages to build an increasingly detailed and informed understanding of near-surface and subsurface archaeological deposits (Greenfield 2000). At each stage of data recovery, potential correlations between observed topographic and surface features, geophysical features, and distributions of material remains across a site were used to identify potential subsurface features that either should be avoided in future phases of fieldwork due to their ceremonial and sacred nature or were potentially suitable for further investigation. The Kashia THPO and KPITP made the determination to initiate further, invasive forms of subsurface testing of a site (e.g., 1-x-1-m test units or more extensive vertical or horizontal excavations) only after all lower-impact site testing methods were completed and when the following conditions were met. First, information gained from prior phases of site testing had to indicate substantial potential to reveal knowledge of importance to both the THPO and the project. Second, this information also had to provide a sufficient basis on which to narrow the scope and impact of proposed subsurface investigations so that they could proceed akin to a precise, surgical operation (Lightfoot 2008). KPIPT's investigations at the North Wall Community, a residential community associated with Native Californian women and their families living at Fort Ross, presented the only case where these conditions were met (Gonzalez 2011).

A Culturally Sensitive and Curation-Minded Archaeological Survey Method: Catch-and-Release

In preparation for the compliance survey and visitor impact assessment, KPITP worked with the Kashia THPO to determine when and how to implement data recovery methods as part of the low-impact archaeological methodology. In previous pedestrian surveys of the park, researchers noted poor site visibility on the coastal terraces of Fort Ross; this made it difficult to characterize the extent of sites and to identify their components (Lightfoot et al. 1991). Project partners thus concluded that they needed an alternative strategy for surface collection that would produce reliable data with which to monitor long-term site impacts related to the development of the Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail.

Archaeologists commonly use intensive site survey methods such as soil augers and test excavations (trenches, 1-x-1-m test units, or shovel test pits/units) to reveal subsurface deposits and thus determine the extent and distribution of materials across and between sites. The Kashia THPO and KPITP recognized that although these methods are appropriate in certain contexts, they were too invasive for the needs of this compliance survey. Following continued conversations between the Kashia THPO, KPITP, and CA DPR, the project developed the "catch-and-release" surface collection strategy (Gonzalez et al. 2006:406–407; Gonzalez 2011:145–147).

This intensive site survey technique systematically collects cultural materials from surface and near-surface cultural deposits. Following collection, KPITP researchers and students catalogued, analyzed, and photographed all artifacts and faunal remains in the lab. As the release part of the method indicates, the research team and Kashia THPO placed all surface finds back into the surface collection unit from which they were originally collected after completion of artifact analysis and all site investigations. This approach to surface collection balances the needs of data recovery with the responsibility of KPITP to limit physical damage to Kashaya cultural resources and to minimize the spiritual danger associated with ground disturbance and artifact collection. The following review outlines this method as it was applied through the KPITP compliance.

Implementation of the Method

Using a systematic stratified sampling strategy, the project collected a 4 percent sample of surface materials from each of the 12 sites located during the 2004 surface pedestrian survey of the Northwest Cape and Fort Ross terraces. Following this initial survey, at each site, KPITP established a site datum and laid out a 5-x-5-m surface collection survey grid. One 1-x-1-m Surface Test Unit (STU) was then randomly selected within each of the 5-x-5-m survey blocks for surface collection (Figure 4). Due to the density of ground cover, the team peeled back the sod in each STU, collecting artifacts from the surface and the 5- to 10-cm-thick root mat. Under the co-directors' supervision, undergraduate researchers and KPITP team members then analyzed all artifacts at the UC Berkeley California Archaeology Lab. Lab analysis included sorting, weighing, and counting all material classes; species-level identification and calculation of Minimum Number of Individuals for all faunal remains; lithic and debitage analysis for all lithics and worked glass (both attribute and mass-analysis); table-top X-Ray Fluorescence analysis of glass beads and obsidian artifacts at the University of California, Berkeley XRF Lab; and additional materials analyses for historic artifacts (glass, ceramics, building finishes, etc.). Finally, KPITP photographed all collected remains and entered the results of analysis, along with primary site forms and related student and researcher notes into a relational database (FileMaker).

KPITP implemented the final phase of its intensive site survey strategy—releasing all analyzed and documented remains back to their original 1-x-1-m STU provenience—during the 2011 field season. The original plan was to relocate each STU, re-peel the sod, and place artifacts back under the root mat. Tribal protocols for repatriation of human remains stipulate that Kashaya elders conduct a ceremony for each individual instance of ground disturbance. Given the number of STUs ($n = 171$) and sites ($n = 12$) into which artifacts would be returned, the Kashia THPO and KPITP acknowledged that this would place a large emotional and physical burden upon tribal elders and THPO staff. This protocol would also be time consuming for the archaeological field crew and leave large expanses of archaeological sites exposed in
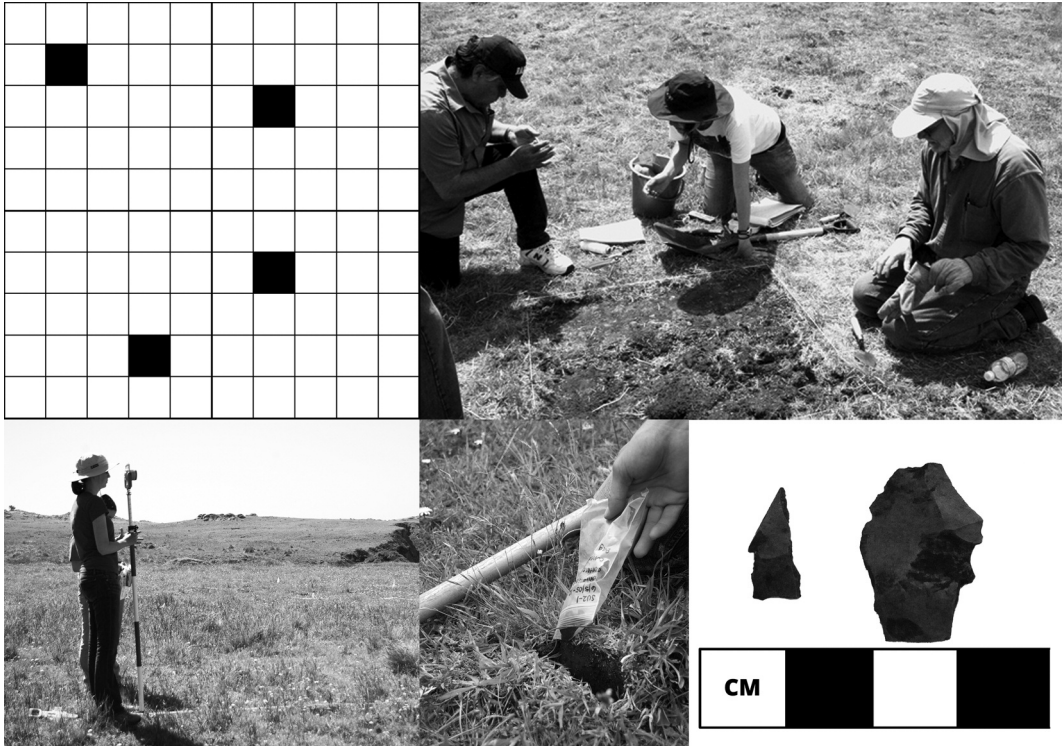
Figure 4. Stages of the catch-and-release surface collection strategy: selection of STUs (top left); Kashaya elder and THPO cultural advisor Walter Antone, KPITP student Anneke Janzen, and KPITP co-director Kent Lightfoot (from left to right), peeling back the sod in an STU (top right); KPITP students Chloe Peterson-Cochrane (foreground) and Victoria Weiss relocating STU datum points in 2011 (bottom left); replacement of cultural materials back into an STU (bottom middle); photographic record of surface-collected materials (bottom right).

between the relocation of STUs and replacement of artifacts within them. In order to minimize these burdens and risks, KPITP and the Kashia THPO developed an alternate plan of work.

Following discussions between KPITP and the Kashia THPO, project partners agreed that tribal elders would use ceremony to prepare each site—rather than each STU—for the return of artifacts prior to the initiation of any field work. For each site, the KPITP archaeological team relocated the site datum, remapped the site using a total station and a GNSS hand-held receiver (Trimble GeoXH6000), pin-flagged the corners of each 1-x-1-m STU, and recorded the location of each STU datum with the Trimble instrument. Elders then returned to the site to conduct ceremonies after which the archaeological team—under the supervision of the Kashia THPO and elders—placed artifacts back into their original STU. For the last step, the Kashia THPO, cultural advisers, and KPITP determined that instead of peeling

back the sod in each STU, the archaeological team could minimize further disturbance to ancestral places by using a combination of sod cutters and trowels to slip artifacts under the root mat. This method left no visible trace of the artifacts' return, which was important for keeping these tangible remains and ancestral places safe from further disturbance by park visitors.

Discussion: Minimizing Impacts

As KPITP worked with the Kashia THPO and CA DPR to develop the catch-and-release surface collection strategy, two issues emerged in relation to the applicability of the method. First, a key concern of KPITP was whether or not catch-and-release would provide representative samples of near-surface and below-surface archaeological deposits at the open-air sites on the marine terraces. Second, the project questioned whether returning cultural materials to their 1-x-1-m unit prove-

nience would disturb the integrity of archaeological sites by altering observed distributions or densities of artifacts across a site.

Soils and sediments on the Fort Ross terraces are generally between 60 cm and 1 m in depth, with the biomantle or A-horizon soils extending 15–20 cm below the ground surface (Lightfoot et al. 1991). Likewise, archaeological sites and deposits here are also typically shallow (less than 1 m from the ground surface) and exhibit extensive floral and faunalturbation. This results in active depositional environments and mixed deposits for sites on the terraces. On the basis of this information, KPITP determined that the project's surface collection strategy would produce representative samples of underlying deposits and, thus, be an effective and viable means of determining the variability and extent of artifacts within the observed sites on the Fort Ross and adjacent marine terraces. The project began implementation of the method in the 2004 field season.

During the final field season in 2011, KPITP made a key observation related to formation and transformation processes on the coastal terrace that further supported the use of this surface collection method. In the interim between the initial site surveys (2004, 2005, 2007, 2008) and the final phase of the catch-and-release surface collection strategy (2011), all site datums were buried between 8 and 10 cm underground. This observance further indicates the active depositional environments of open-air sites located on the coastal terraces, suggesting that catch-and-release's disturbance of the root mat has a negligible impact upon the integrity of underlying cultural deposits at these sites.

In order to test these assumptions, KPITP plans to resurvey a selection of archaeological sites on the terrace. The goal of this study is to collect longitudinal data that KPITP, the Kashia THPO, and park managers can use to calculate rates of soil turnover and accumulation. This study will also evaluate the long-term impacts of the catch-and-release method by comparing observed densities of cultural materials between the studies and by tracking the movement of surface-collected remains within previously tested sites. Given initial results from the 2011 study, the project hopes that it may further demonstrate the efficacy of catch-and-release as a form of intensive site survey

for shallow, open-air sites with active soils. Though further work must be done in order to assess its relevance for multi-component or deeply stratified sites, I argue that this method may also be particularly applicable within these contexts when implemented as part of a field methodology that integrates multiple methods of surface and subsurface survey, as it was employed in the KPITP low-impact archaeological methodology.

Minimal Impacts:
Respect for Community and Resources

The catch-and-release surface collection strategy encapsulates how KPITP's low-impact archaeological methodology uses both Kashaya and archaeological principles to structure the practice of archaeology and historic preservation at Fort Ross State Historic Park. The project balanced the needs of historic preservation at FRSHP with the needs of the tribal community by, first, acknowledging the sacred nature of Kashaya cultural resources and, second, by understanding how the practice of heritage management and archaeology is connected to the contemporary community's health. This resulted in an archaeological practice that minimizes impact upon both tribal cultural resources and the tribal community.

From KPITP's standpoint, catch-and-release represents a curation-minded approach to site survey and data collection that is consistent not only with the project's respect for the tribal community's health and well-being, but also with disciplinary and ethical principles relating to the long-term preservation and protection of cultural resources. Used in conjunction with a suite of low-impact and minimally invasive data recovery methods, this strategy represents an alternative means of gathering information that archaeologists and both tribal and non-tribal heritage managers can use to monitor and manage tribal cultural resources. Although this method results in the lack of curated surface-collected materials to reanalyze, the project justifies the method on the following grounds.

Archaeologists and cultural resource managers continue to employ excavation and the subsequent curation of excavated materials and associated data, as the primary tools for the preservation of tangible cultural resources. This strategy results in the growing inability of both privately and publicly funded institutions to properly care for and

manage the data that archaeologists have—and indeed continue to generate—through disciplinary practice (Advisory Committee on Curation 2003; California State Historical Resources Commission 2010; Childs 2004). In response to the curation dilemma and the reassessment of the value of what are referred to as orphaned or legacy collections—abandoned or never-analyzed collections—archaeologists and curators are returning to the archives and museums in order to generate new knowledge. Of note, many of the examples of research on extant collections are associated with collaborative research initiatives involving descendant and indigenous communities (e.g., Bruchac 2011; Haakanson 2015; Modzelewski 2013; Schneider 2010; Voss 2012). These examples of collaborative, collections-based approaches to archaeological practice are making significant contributions to disciplinary and community understandings of the material histories and curatorial legacies of collections—the social relations and routes these objects took once entered into a collection.

While these directions are encouraging, there is a need for archaeologists and heritage managers to think critically about the needs of historic preservation so that the tools employed are mindful of and demonstrate respect for the needs and rights of tribal nations as they relate to tribal cultural resources. In some cases, excavation might represent the best solution for preserving tribal cultural resources; however, as the examples above illustrate, collaborative practice with tribal nations is inspiring alternate routes of archaeological practice and leading to more context-sensitive and culturally sensitive methods of tribal historic preservation. In the case of KPITP, the issues associated with using archaeology to document Kashia cultural resources resulted in an archaeological field practice that used a combination of indigenous methods (e.g., Kashaya ceremonies and cultural protocols) and archaeological methods (e.g., low-impact or minimally invasive field methods) to minimize harm to the tribal community and their cultural resources.

It was in this spirit that the catch-and-release surface collection strategy presented a working solution for the shared concerns of KPITP, the Kashia THPO, and the CA DPR over the curation impact of the project's field investigations and the shared desire to minimize the harm associated with archaeological collection practices. Although this method results in the inaccessibility of surface-collected materials for subsequent analysis by researchers, its adoption occurs with complete documentation of all tangible remains recovered through the method and relies on subsequent curation of associated data. KPITP also sees research value in curating these cultural resources "in the field." This practice results in minimal impacts to site integrity, thus reducing the likelihood that KPITP's site investigations will encumber any future studies of these sites.

The KPITP approach to surface collection and curation may not present the best option for preserving tribal cultural resources in certain contexts. For example, it may not be a suitable option in situations where development may result in the complete destruction of a resource or in contexts where this approach to curation may conflict with the heritage values of a tribal nation. Nonetheless, the catch-and-release surface collection strategy is an effective intensive site survey method that limits the curation impact of archaeological investigations. In adhering to Kashaya perspectives on the proper disposition of tribal cultural resources, it also presents a new and effective tool of tribal historic preservation for the Kashia THPO. Subsequent to KPITP, the Kashia THPO has successfully implemented the method through its government-to-government consultations with the CA DPR and other state agencies. This is an example of the flexibility and potential wider applicability of catch-and-release within a variety of management and site contexts.

Conclusion

A respectful archaeology as practiced with the Kashia Band of Pomo Indians through KPITP recognizes and acknowledges the many complex relations that exist between the Kashaya and their homeland. From this starting point, the community-based participatory archaeology project developed a culturally sensitive, low-impact research methodology for studying sacred resources that contributed to the in situ preservation of tribal cultural resources. Subsequent to KPITP, the Kashia THPO has worked to implement the KPITP low-impact archaeological methodology and catch-and-release surface collection strategy

through consultation with the CA DPR and other agencies. Viewed in this light, the KPITP low-impact methodology is a significant resource that can help guide agencies in their management of Kashaya cultural resources.

The KPITP low-impact archaeological methodology and the catch-and-release surface collection strategy encapsulate the potential and very real value attached to collaborative and epistemically diverse thinking. This characteristic is not unique to KPITP, but rather is indicative of how indigenous, collaborative archaeologies result in a framework for critically evaluating archaeological methods, procedures, and outcomes in ways that ultimately benefit both indigenous communities and our discipline (Atalay 2012; Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2008; Ferguson and Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2006; Nicholas and Andrews 1997; Nicholas and Andrews, ed. 1997; Silliman ed. 2008; Smith and Wobst 2005). As KPITP, the Kashia THPO, and CA DPR finalize construction of the interpretive trail, the Kashia THPO and KPITP remain hopeful that both the low-impact archaeological methodology and the catch-and-release surface collection strategy may provide other THPOs and tribal cultural resource managers with additional tools for caring for tribal heritage.

Of note, both the KPITP low-impact archaeological methodology and the catch-and-release surface collection strategy have been implemented by several THPOs and collaborative archaeology projects in California (Lightfoot et al. 2013; Schneider 2010), Oregon, and elsewhere. These applications suggest that the indigenous methodology and methods inspired by KPITP are not only flexible and adaptable enough to fit the individualized needs of other indigenous archaeology projects, but are also relevant tools within the wider practice of archaeology and heritage management.

KPITP's use of low-impact methods is not unique to this project or other indigenous archaeologies (e.g., Liebmann 2012:18–24). Indeed, low-impact methods are now commonly used in archaeology because they are time and cost effective. But it would be a mistake only to envision how minimally invasive methods may facilitate collaboration with indigenous communities without considering how this collaboration might contribute to the further refinement of these methods. Working together, THPOs, Native American communities, archaeologists, and heritage managers have the opportunity to contribute to our shared capacity to care for tribal heritage in ways that are meaningful to and that benefit each community.

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Notes

1. The Kashia Band of Pomo Indians of Stewart's Point Rancheria is the official, political name of the federally recognized tribal government. Tribal members and anthropologists also commonly use the alternate spelling "Kashaya" to refer to the tribal community. Here, I use Kashia to refer to the tribal government and Kashaya or Kashaya Pomo to refer to the tribal community.

2. THPOs in the U.S. are eligible for grants through the Historic Preservation Fund administered through the National Parks Service. The average funding grant for a THPO in 2014 was $58,147; in that same year the Kashia THPO received a grant of $50,350 (National Association for Tribal Historic Preservation Officers 2014).

3. In addition to the current project co-directors, KPITP has included the following members: Otis Parrish (Project co-director 2004–2006; Kashia Band of Pomo Indians, tribal elder and scholar;), Reno Franklin (Kashia Band of Pomo Indians, Tribal Historic Preservation Officer 2004–2010), Roberta Jewett (Archaeological Research Facility), Breck Parkman (CA State Park Archaeologist), Glenn Farris (CA State Park Archaeologist), Gary Shannon (CA State Park Trail Specialist), Violet Parrish Chappell (Kashia Band of Pomo Indians, tribal elder and scholar), Vivian Wilder Parrish (Kashia Band of Pomo Indians, tribal elder and scholar), and Walter Antone (Kashia Band of Pomo Indians, tribal elder and scholar).