




Imagining Indigenous and Archaeological Futures: Building Capacity with the Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde

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ABSTRACT

Collaborative archaeological research with indigenous communities, in addition to fostering culturally specific, community-centred research programmes, also encourages meaningful shifts in archaeological research on the ground. Field Methods in Indigenous Archaeology (FMIA), a community-based research partnership between the University of Washington and the Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde, highlights these dual possibilities. The project seeks to strengthen the tribe's capacity to care for cultural resources, to recover histories of survivance on the Grand Ronde Reservation, and to develop a low-impact, Grand Ronde archaeological methodology. These goals are realized through a summer field school, which joins comprehensive field instruction with overviews of tribal historic preservation and engagement with the Grand Ronde community. FMIA encapsulates the ethical imperative to work with, for, and by indigenous communities in archaeological research and the opportunities such work brings in transforming archaeological method, theory, and practice.

Résumé: La recherche archéologique collaborative impliquant les communautés autochtones favorise non seulement la mise en œuvre de programmes de recherche à spécificité culturelle axés sur la communauté, mais elle encourage aussi la transition éclairée des études archéologiques

sur le terrain. Le partenariat Field Methods in Indigenous Archaeology (FMIA) impliquant l'Université de Washington et les Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde met ses possibilités en valeur. Le projet tente de renforcer la capacité de la tribu à préserver ses ressources culturelles, recouvrir les récits de survie de la réserve de Grand Ronde et créer une méthodologie archéologique à faible impact pour Grand Ronde. Ces objectifs sont atteints dans le cadre d'un camp d'été qui offre des instructions complètes sur le terrain, ainsi qu'un aperçu des méthodes de préservation historique et de mobilisation de la communauté de Grand Ronde. Le FMIA intègre l'impératif moral du travail réalisé en collaboration avec les communautés autochtones, pour elles et par elles dans le cadre de la recherche archéologique, ainsi que les perspectives d'un tel travail en matière de transformation des méthodes, théories et pratiques archéologiques.

Resumen: La investigación arqueológica en colaboración con las comunidades indígenas, además de promover programas centrados en las comunidades y culturalmente específicos, también fomenta cambios significativos en la investigación arqueológica sobre el terreno. Field Methods in Indigenous Archaeology (FMIA), una asociación de investigación basada en la comunidad entre la Universidad de Washington y las Tribus Confederadas de Grand Ronde, pone de manifiesto estas dos posibilidades. El proyecto tiene como objetivo reforzar la capacidad de la tribu para cuidar los recursos culturales, recuperar historias de supervivencia en la Reserva de Grand Ronde y desarrollar una metodología arqueológica de bajo impacto para Grand Ronde. Estos objetivos se logran a través de una escuela de verano sobre el terreno, que aúna la instrucción integral sobre el terreno con apreciaciones generales sobre la preservación tribal histórica y el compromiso con la comunidad de Grand Ronde. FMIA engloba el imperativo ético de trabajar con, para y por las comunidades indígenas en la investigación arqueológica y las oportunidades que ese trabajo aporta para transformar el método, la teoría y la práctica arqueológica.

KEY WORDS

Indigenous archaeology, Community-based participatory research, Tribal historic preservation, Field school pedagogy

In 2000 Joe Watkins' *Indigenous Archaeology* named an approach to archaeology that recognizes the colonial underpinnings of our discipline and places indigenous peoples' needs and perspectives at the centre of caring for their heritage. Almost two decades later, indigenous archaeologies continue to expand what it means to do archaeology "with, for, and by"

indigenous communities (Nicholas and Andrews 1997:3). Atalay's assessment of the subfield (2012:39) clarifies that these contemporary approaches are unified by their active commitment to integrating indigenous knowledges and ways of knowing into archaeological theory and method. Following this framing, indigenous archaeologies become mediums for achieving justice by transforming the process of knowledge production in archaeology to include indigenous perspectives. The result is a practice that fundamentally respects the sovereignty of indigenous peoples to produce knowledge about their past.

This paper offers a case study in Field Methods in Indigenous Archaeology (FMIA), a community-based participatory research project undertaken by the Confederated Tribes of the Grand Ronde Community of Oregon's Historic Preservation Office (Grand Ronde HPO) and researchers from the University of Washington (UW). A growing corpus of literature in archaeology highlights the collaborative elements of indigenous archaeologies, using them to demonstrate the ethical value of engaging in more equitable forms of archaeological practice. Yet few studies examine the epistemological and methodological benefits of indigenous, community-based archaeologies. The purpose of this article is to go beyond a discussion of the ethical virtues of working collaboratively with a tribal community to evaluate how thinking with and from a Grand Ronde perspective transforms FMIA's approach to archaeological interpretation and field practice on the ground. We argue that FMIA's indigenous and community-based framework results in a culturally and context-sensitive archaeological approach that enhances the project's and HPO's ability to recover tribal histories and to care for the cultural landscape of the Grand Ronde Reservation in north-western Oregon.

We identify three critical aspects of indigenizing archaeology with the Grand Ronde HPO. First, we begin with an assessment of FMIA's community-based participatory research framework. This discussion highlights the project's process for reciprocal collaboration with the Grand Ronde HPO and tribal community. We argue that this approach to collaboration cultivates a critical reflexivity that is necessary to integrating Grand Ronde perspectives and cultural protocols into our archaeological practice (Conkey 2005:16; Haber and Gnecco 2007:345–347).

Next, we outline the goals of the UW-Grand Ronde partnership, which emphasize building the capacity of the Grand Ronde HPO to identify, record, and protect tribal heritage on the reservation. In the 1850s, the federal government removed over 27 western Oregon bands and tribes to the Grand Ronde Reservation. Over the next 150 years, these diverse groups overcame sustained government efforts to terminate traditional lifeways, forming a new sense of community as the Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde. The HPO is responsible for the identification and protection of

Grand Ronde heritage in the tribe's 14 million acres of ceded lands and approximately 15,000 acres managed directly by the tribe. Yet with a four-person staff and a Historic Preservation Fund Grant of \$57,885, the HPO has limited financial and human resources with which to carry out these duties. The HPO and FMIA identified three project goals that address capacity-related needs within the HPO: (1) the development of the Grand Ronde tribal historic preservation plan, (2) the recovery of histories of tribal survivance, and (3) the creation of the FMIA field school, which provides training in tribal historic preservation for tribal and non-tribal undergraduate and graduate students.

Finally, we examine the value of approaching archaeology as an exercise in capacity building. While indigenous archaeologies stress the need for an archaeology that acts in service of community, preliminary outcomes from FMIA suggest that indigenizing archaeology builds archaeologists' own capacity to work with and care for tribal heritage. We also see specific pedagogical value in regard to student training, which has the capacity to transform not just our relationships with and to indigenous peoples, but also the relations that exist within archaeology.

Community-Based Participatory Research with the Grand Ronde

The continuum of collaborative practice in archaeology ranges from archaeologists assuming direct control over the archaeological record to sharing or ceding control to descendant communities over the process and products of research (Atalay 2012:43–50; Colwell 2016:116–117; Nicholas 2008). Although the current emphasis on community engagement and accountability in archaeology is attributed, at least in part, to the rise of indigenous archaeologies, community engagement as employed by indigenous archaeologies involves more than a desire to educate or involve a broader public (Atalay 2012:39). Rather, it represents a commitment to developing archaeological approaches that recognize indigenous peoples' right to be active participants in creating knowledge about their past, contribute directly to the specific needs of an indigenous community, and use indigenous knowledges and histories to interpret tribal heritage (Atalay 2012:65–77). It is within this context that indigenous archaeologies employ collaboration—and, increasingly, community-based participatory research (CBPR) or participatory action research frameworks (PAR). CBPR and PAR offer concrete tools for generating community-driven research designed to benefit participants, as opposed to being of sole benefit to scholars or institutions.

CBPR emerged as a critique of and solution to extractive models of research, wherein the individuals or groups under study have minimal input into or control over the research process (Fortmann 2008; Freire 2000; Maguire 1987; Smith 1999; Strand et al. 2003). The political and action-oriented frameworks of CBPR reframe research as a co-investigatory process in which impacted individuals or groups share ownership and decision-making authority. Through reciprocal collaboration partners work together to integrate their individual needs, goals, and perspectives into the research process—from the design of study questions, to research methodology, to the interpretation and dissemination of results. A natural intersection exists between the goals and methods of CBPR and those of indigenous archaeology. Specifically, CBPR offers indigenous archaeologies a framework for establishing an equitable, participatory research practice that is premised on the acknowledgement of the sovereign right of indigenous nations to define the nature and scope of research on and about their communities. In the following section we provide a brief overview of FMIA's indigenous and community-based research protocol, highlighting the role it plays in integrating Grand Ronde values and cultural protocols into archaeological practice.

Designing a Community-Based, Participatory Archaeology with the Grand Ronde

Echoing the literature regarding the importance of relationships grounded in trust and respect within indigenous archaeologies (Atalay 2012; Colwell-Chanthaphonh et al. 2010; Watkins 2000), the formation of the FMIA partnership developed through an extended, 8-year personal relationship between members of the Grand Ronde HPO and Sara Gonzalez. Following Gonzalez's appointment at the University of Washington, the HPO staff extended an invitation to discuss initiating a research and training programme in indigenous archaeology. This invitation stemmed from Gonzalez's (2011, 2015, 2016) prior work developing community-based, indigenous research projects with California tribal nations. The result of these discussions was the establishment of FMIA—a community-based research partnership that uses the context of an undergraduate and graduate field school in tribal historic preservation to contribute to the ability of the Grand Ronde HPO to manage historic properties on the tribe's reservation in north-western Oregon.

The Grand Ronde HPO, as the tribal government entity charged with protecting tribal heritage and cultural resources, is responsible for oversight of FMIA. The project is co-directed by Breece Edwards (Grand Ronde Deputy Tribal Historic Preservation Officer) and Gonzalez. Members of the

Table 1 FMIA principles of a community-based archaeology

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1. Community works in partnership the HPO and Dept. of Culture to set standards and protocols for research
 2. Research goals integrate community needs and perspectives at the outset of the project
 3. Community members are compensated for their time and work at levels consistent with other paid research consultants. Grand Ronde and other tribal and indigenous students are provided with stipends to offset cost of attendance
 4. The HPO and Dept. of Culture have the right to determine how to share and/or disseminate the results of research. All resulting research outcomes, as well as grant and funding applications, are reviewed and approved by these entities
 5. Community has the right to determine the process of research on sensitive topics
 6. Collaboration is envisioned as a long-term relationship. Research partners are thus committed to finishing all projects and assisting with related needs beyond the life of the project
 7. Research methods are developed in accordance with community perspectives and values
 8. Research contributes to the capacity of a community to manage its cultural resources
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Grand Ronde HPO, the Department of Culture (under which the HPO is managed), and David Harrelson (Director of the Department of Culture) also participate in and play key roles in project decision-making. The project co-directors and affiliated partners developed eight guidelines that FMIA uses to define its research programme (Table 1). These guidelines do not represent an exhaustive list of protocols or methods. Rather, they offer a set of goals the project uses to develop archaeological and tribal methods for each stage of research, as well as to assess the effectiveness of the project's participatory collaboration. Within this framework the HPO and Department of Culture are authorized to: (1) exercise final approval for all grant proposals, associated budgets, and research conducted through FMIA; (2) supervise all archaeological and ethnographic work; (3) provide updates on the project and seek approval for all research-related activities from tribal council; and (4) facilitate engagement with cultural advisors, tribal elders, and tribal members. Furthermore, the UW-Grand Ronde partnership is designed as a long-term collaboration with multiple, related short-term projects that have clearly articulated beginning and end dates. Should current funding expire, FMIA remains committed to assisting the HPO—as consultants, reviewers, educators, etc.—beyond the life of the projects described herein.

Before FMIA initiated its studies, the Grand Ronde HPO met repeatedly with the Tribal Council and Culture Committee—a group of tribal elders and cultural advisors—to seek input on and approval for the project. These meetings consisted of formal reports and Q&As, as well as informal one-on-one meetings. Final approval for the project was granted by a Tribal Council vote that authorized the project and HPO to begin fieldwork in

the summer of 2015. In order to evaluate the successes and failures of the project, the HPO continues to solicit feedback for assessing and, where relevant, readjusting the goals of FMIA. This outreach is also critical for identifying tribal members who have an interest in participating in the project—as cultural advisors, participants in the field school, or potential HPO employees. FMIA also presents research updates and hands-on workshops on indigenous archaeology at the annual Grand Ronde History and Culture Summit. The goal of this outreach is to provide full transparency of the project’s research activities and offer multiple points through which tribal members can become involved.

In conjunction with fieldwork, the project began to record Grand Ronde elders’ oral histories during its second field season. While archaeology can contribute considerable material depth to understandings of Grand Ronde history, interpretation of material remains alone is an incomplete instrument for coming to know Grand Ronde history. In an archaeological context, tribal histories offer a means with which to not only develop lines of research inquiry, but also contextualize material remains in relation to tribal members’ own personal, lived experiences. The early engagement of elders and community members—in volunteering to provide oral histories, attending FMIA’s workshops and public presentations at the Grand Ronde History and Culture Summit, sharing cultural knowledge with FMIA students, and participating in the field school—are all positive indicators of FMIA and the HPO’s success in fostering community involvement in the project. Based on the HPO’s experience supervising oral history projects, this level of engagement at such an early stage is a promising signal of the long-term viability of FMIA.

Building Capacity with the Grand Ronde

As a community-based project, FMIA foregrounds the goals and needs of the Grand Ronde tribal nation (Atalay et al. 2014:14). The primary need identified by the HPO is building tribal capacity to care for tribal heritage on the reservation. The HPO is directly responsible for managing approximately 15,000 acres of tribally owned lands, coordinating repatriation, managing tribal collections and archives, and supporting cultural programming within the community. The HPO’s oversight also extends over the tribe’s usual and accustomed territories in western Oregon—approximately one quarter of the state’s lands. Over 50% of the state’s population currently resides in this territory, which includes the state’s three largest cities, Portland, Salem, and Eugene. In the past year alone, the HPO’s four-person staff reviewed over 6000 notices of federal undertakings—development projects that have the potential to impact tribal cultural resources. Given

the staffing and funding constraints of the Grand Ronde HPO, FMIA represented a significant opportunity to articulate a sovereignty-based approach to historic preservation and undertake tribally directed research for the benefit of the tribal community.

FMIA contributes to the capacity of the HPO to manage and interpret historic properties on the tribe's reservation in three critical ways. First, development of the FMIA low-impact archaeological methodology represents the first step in defining the HPO's tribal historic preservation plan. This plan outlines the process for undertaking historic preservation on lands directly managed by the tribe. Second, field, archival, and ethnographic research contributes to recovering stories of tribal survivance—how Grand Ronde became and continues to be a vibrant community despite histories of colonial dispossession and oppression. Third, all field and archival research occurs within the educational context of the FMIA field school, which provides undergraduate and graduate students hands-on training in community-based research and tribal historic preservation with, for, and by the Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde.

Capacity Goal # 1: Developing a Tribal Historic Preservation Plan

In the language of self-determination, tribal historic preservation plans and approaches to archaeology are expressions of sovereignty. That is, they exercise the fundamental right of a tribal nation to determine how its heritage will be cared for, now and into the future. Yet tribes' ability to implement approaches to historic preservation rooted in the values and cultural protocols of the nation is limited by the regulatory framework of historic preservation in the USA (Welch et al. 2009). For example, while Tribal Historic Preservation Officers have the authority to manage tribal lands under the direct ownership of a tribe, they only have consulting authority over lands managed by federal, state, and local agencies (King 2002, 2003). Although federal agencies are required to consult with federally recognized Indian tribes and seek their input on the management of tribal cultural resources, agencies are not bound to follow a tribe's recommendations.

The Grand Ronde HPO responds to these regulatory limitations by pursuing meaningful consultation with the non-tribal heritage managers who work in the tribe's ceded lands. Meaningful consultation goes beyond the guidelines for tribal consultation outlined by Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act or the National Environmental Policy Act—the two most relevant federal heritage regulations in the USA. The Grand Ronde HPO's approach to meaningful consultation encourages building interpersonal relationships with federal and state agency representatives and cultural resource management firms so as to provide space for in-

depth conversations about heritage. This includes opening dialogues about why tribal evaluations of historical significance may contrast with the object- and excavation-centred approaches that the heritage preservation industry commonly uses to define significance (Ferris and Welch 2014; Welch and Ferris 2014). Through these relationships the Grand Ronde HPO builds epistemic bridges—opportunities for heritage managers to see and evaluate tribal heritage from a tribal perspective. While developing these personal relationships requires considerable effort and time on the part of the Grand Ronde HPO, it is crucial in expanding the community of those personally invested in the care and protection of Grand Ronde heritage.

The Grand Ronde HPO also works to articulate a sovereignty-based approach to historic preservation in its relations with federal and state agencies. This includes partnering with the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Association and Bureau of Ocean Energy Management to define tribal cultural landscapes for these agencies (Edwards and Thorsgard 2012:5). Grand Ronde's definition of what constitutes a tribal cultural resource emphasizes the people, places, and practices shared within community that are enacted across a larger cultural landscape. This landscape-scale and practice-centred definition of tribal heritage integrates both the tangible—archaeological sites or objects—and intangible characteristics—viewsheds, soundscapes, tribal histories, place names, songs, etc.—that give meaning to and connect the Grand Ronde tribe to the land. The HPO also recently began using *belongings* instead of artefacts to describe tangible remains associated with the people connected to these ancestral places. This vocabulary shift encourages an approach to historic preservation that appreciates the human relationships that created—and continue to create and sustain—cultural landscapes and belongings. Working with Grand Ronde heritage therefore requires the following: adhering to cultural protocols; integrating tribal knowledge about the relationships between people, places, and practices into interpretations of cultural landscapes; and conducting historic preservation activities in ways that minimize disturbance to place, people, and practices.

Archaeology in a Grand Ronde Way: Sovereignty-Based Tribal Historic Preservation Plan

FMIA builds Grand Ronde's capacity to make historic preservation work for and in accordance with tribal values through a low-impact research methodology that prescribes when and how to use archaeological tools to care for and protect the reservation's historic properties. This methodology, adapted from Gonzalez's prior work (2015, 2016), provides the basis for the development of the Grand Ronde Tribal Historic Preservation Plan,

which outlines processes for managing tribally owned tangible and intangible heritage.

In the context of FMIA, collaborative thinking with the HPO facilitated the creation of a *Grand Ronde Way* for practising archaeology. This methodology is both culturally sensitive—it integrates tribal values and cultural protocols—and context-sensitive—it uses an array of modern archaeological field techniques to promote in situ preservation of tribal cultural resources. Four qualities define this methodology.

A Grand Ronde archaeology, first and foremost, creates *knowledge with* the tribe through the formation of personal, reciprocal relationships that are grounded in the values of honesty and integrity (Tamisari 2006). Creating knowledge with proceeds from a place of mutual respect for each other's knowledge contributions and is grounded in the practice of coming to know one another while working together to care for the past. The concept of care is important within the context of tribal historic preservation; it highlights the aspects of personal responsibility and reciprocity that are involved when working with tribal heritage.

Given the complicated and fractious nature of our discipline's relationship with indigenous peoples, and tribal nations in particular, fostering respect and trust is itself a laudable goal. But approaching research as a social relationship achieves more than the formation of more equitable relationships between archaeologists and indigenous peoples. Mutual trust and respect establish a basis from which partners can examine the intersections between archaeological and indigenous ways of knowing (Haber and Gnecco 2007). Borrowing from Fricker's (2008) and Alcoff's (2010) work, exploring these intersections results in a wider set of epistemic resources that can be brought to bear when studying and interpreting indigenous history and heritage. For indigenous archaeologies, this epistemic diversification achieves an integral goal: improving archaeological practice and interpretation by incorporating indigenous knowledges and practices (Atalay 2012:39; Colwell-Chanthaphonh et al. 2010; Martindale and Nicholas 2014).

Second, using archaeology as a tool to manage Grand Ronde heritage raises significant concerns in relation to the community's health and well-being. In order to minimize the danger associated with disturbance to archaeological sites and objects—what Grand Ronde defines as manifestations of the sacred—the project employs cultural protocols to structure FMIA's field practice and foster respectful relations with and to tribal heritage. For example, all project participants commit to remaining sober during the entirety of fieldwork as well as when handling belongings. Sobriety is a sign of respect for the sacred and is imperative for protecting the health and well-being of individual practitioners and the community at large. Furthermore, the project cultivates a culture of respect by avoiding

any and all disturbance to sacred sites and refraining from archaeological investigations before and during significant community events such as Powwow or Salmon Ceremony.

Third, FMIA's field studies are premised on recovering a maximal amount of information from places while minimizing physical and thus spiritual disturbance to them. The project employs a multistage field strategy that includes a suite of complementary, non-destructive, or minimally invasive data collection methods (Gonzalez 2016). These methods include archival research, planimetric and topographic mapping, geophysical survey, aerial photography and survey, intensive surface collection, and interviews with cultural advisors and elders. Combined, these methods build an increasingly detailed and informed understanding of surface and near-surface archaeological deposits. Invasive archaeological methods such as excavation are used only when (1) available evidence can sufficiently narrow the scope and impact of disturbance; (2) when the methods employed will have a low likelihood of disturbance to places that should never be impacted, such as burials or other sacred places; and (3) when the HPO and its cultural advisors agree that there is significant potential to reveal information that is important to the tribal community.

Finally, flexibility is a key element of research design. While archaeological research methods need always be flexible enough to specific site contexts, indigenous and community-based collaboration requires an additional layer of flexibility. When doing archaeology with a tribe, the methods one uses also shift in relation to the meanings and practices that are connected to specific spaces and in accordance with the role that those places and/or practices play within community. A Grand Ronde approach is thus mindful of the needs of community in relation to the needs of specific places. This involves asking: Is it appropriate to use archaeology to study this place? And if so, do I have the tribal histories necessary to carry out this work?

A Model of Meaningful Consultation: The FMIA Field School

While FMIA's research is limited to historic properties on the reservation, the project's low-impact archaeological methodology has a larger impact on the capacity of the HPO to manage and care for tribal heritage off the reservation. Specifically, FMIA serves as a model that the HPO uses in its meaningful consultations with heritage managers to advocate for how to work with Grand Ronde's heritage on and off reservation.

In each of the three seasons of fieldwork, the HPO invited representatives from local universities, Cultural Resource Management firms, and federal and state agencies (ie. the U.S. Forest Service, Army Corps of Engineers, and Oregon Department of Transportation) to observe the field

school and learn directly about the project's low-impact archaeological methodology. During these visits senior HPO and FMIA staff, along with students, demonstrated how the project is using non-invasive and minimally invasive techniques such as drone survey and aerial photography, geophysical survey, and the catch-and-release intensive surface collection method to document Grand Ronde ancestral sites. Many of these representatives have also attended FMIA-led lectures and workshops on indigenous archaeology at the annual Grand Ronde History and Culture Summit. These events have been an important venue for discussing how other tribal HPOs and non-tribal heritage managers can integrate collaborative and community-based research methods into their work. It is the HPO and FMIA's shared desire that our combined efforts persuade non-tribal heritage managers to develop similar collaborative, culturally sensitive and context-sensitive approaches for managing Grand Ronde heritage.

Capacity Goal # 2: Recovering Survivance

FMIA uses archival and field research to support the Grand Ronde HPO's ongoing work to document 19th- and 20th-century cultural landscapes on the reservation. Specifically, the project recovers stories of Grand Ronde survivance in the context of settler colonialism. Survivance, as defined by Gerald Vizenor (2008:1), refers to an "active sense of presence" within tribal communities. It rejects situating tribal members' experiences exclusively within frames of oppression, tragedy or victimry and instead views the impacts of colonialism within a broader context of sustained creativity—how the tribe responded positively and with purpose in challenging circumstances. Situating survivance in relation to settler colonialism underscores the need to see lived experiences of colonialism not as singular events but as connected to ongoing, structural attempts to dispossess tribal nations of their land, heritage, and sovereignty.

In the past two decades archaeologies of colonialism have rejected once-common acculturationist or culture-contact frameworks, replacing them with approaches that recognize the culturally and environmentally situated nature of colonial entanglements between the indigenous peoples of the Americas and European and Euro-American explorers, colonists, traders, and settlers (Cusick 1998; Rubertone 2000). There now exists a growing literature on the strategies indigenous communities employed to resist, adapt to, and appropriate European and Euro-American material culture and practices in a variety of mercantilist, frontier, mission, and other contexts (Gifford-Gonzalez and Sunseri 2007; Graesch et al. 2010; Lightfoot et al. 2013a; Mrozowski et al. 2015; Silliman 2014). While this body of work provides new insight into the diversity of European and American colonial

projects and their impacts on indigenous peoples, acculturationist thinking has not been entirely excised. This is most clearly seen in the temporal focus of these studies on first encounters and 16th- through 18th-century colonial settlements. The social, ecological, and demographic upheavals of this early modern period are crucial for tracking trajectories of competing American and European geopolitics. Yet the persistent lack of work that is diachronic—that fully bridges the history of these early encounters with the sustained, settler colonial interactions of the 19th and 20th centuries—risks reifying the pernicious idea that indigenous history is marked by discontinuity, decline, and assimilation (Liebmann 2012:19–21). Likewise, the present lack of attention to settler colonialism perpetuates an approach that treats colonialism as a singular, past event rather than a force that continues to shape tribes' contemporary reality.

Within archaeology, survivance encourages scholars to think beyond dichotomous categorizations of material culture as either Euro-American or Native American and to instead consider how objects manufactured or used by colonial governments may have been pragmatically deployed, strategically refused, and infused with new cultural meanings by tribal communities. Though few archaeologists have engaged with survivance (see Atalay 2006; McGovern 2015; Silliman 2014), we believe it supports interpretively rich and temporally broad indigenous histories that are called for in emerging approaches to archaeologies of colonialism (Lightfoot 2005; Panich 2013; Schneider 2015).

An Archaeology of Settler Colonialism at Grand Ronde

The history of the Grand Ronde community during the 19th and 20th centuries is a multi-layered story. During the first half of the 19th century, Euro-American settlers seeking agricultural and mineral wealth inundated western Oregon. By the mid-1850s, appropriation of unceded indigenous land, foreign epidemics, ecological degradation, and failed treaty negotiations heightened tensions throughout the region. This was especially true in south-western Oregon, where calls to exterminate tribal groups erupted into the Rogue River War. In an effort to quell hostilities, the federal government negotiated seven treaties with western Oregon indigenous communities. These treaties formally ceded 14 million acres to the USA and stipulated removal of all indigenous people to the 61,000-acre Grand Ronde Reservation in north-western Oregon (Figure 1). In the winter of 1855/1856, the US government forced approximately 2000 people from their homes—an event referred to as Oregon's Trail of Tears. The original reservation community was comprised of over 27 bands and tribes, spoke at least eight languages, and maintained an array of cultural practices. Despite these differences, and the host of challenges presented by reserva-

tion life—including lack of economic opportunity, poor health conditions, and assimilation pressures—the subsequent century is marked by community unity and persistence. Perhaps the most salient example of this is the widespread adoption of Chinuk Wawa, a pre-reservation regional *lingua franca*, as the reservation language. As Zenk and Johnson (2010:458–459) note, Chinuk Wawa did not just resolve communicative difficulties between reservation groups; it also emerged as a symbol of Grand Ronde identity during the 20th century when assimilation pressures reached their zenith. Today, the Grand Ronde Education and Culture Departments offer Chinuk Wawa immersion classes for tribal youth and adults on the reservation and at the tribe’s Portland offices.

At Grand Ronde, telling stories of survivance through archaeology means recovering the lifeways of reservation bands and tribes as they moved through and created anew their social world. Currently, FMIA is conducting two field-based projects on Grand Ronde’s survivance.

Project 1: Grand Ronde Land Tenure

The first project combines cartographic and archaeological research to trace the history of reservation settlement patterns and land ownership (Kretzler 2018). Digitization and analysis of reservation maps, allotment records, and ethnographic reports has revealed new information about the spatial politics that structured reservation life. Following removal, the reservation community established band- and tribe-specific settlements along the South Yamhill River (Figure 2). The distribution of these settlements was not haphazard but was structured by inter-community relationships that reproduced the cultural landscape of pre-reservation western Oregon. And while these initial settlements may have been relatively impermanent, allotment records from three decades later demonstrate that these settlement patterns persisted into the 20th century. Residence, in other words, may have been one way those at Grand Ronde cultivated familiarity and belonging on an otherwise hostile and foreign landscape. FMIA has initiated archaeological investigations at a property associated with the Molalla Encampment (see Figure 2) and later tribal allotments. Recovered material evidence is poised to reveal new information about how historically rooted practices remained salient to the Grand Ronde community.

Project 2: Grand Ronde Schooling and Childhood

FMIA began fieldwork at the Grand Ronde Agency School in the summer of 2015. This school—one of at least five recorded on the reservation—was operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs as a day/boarding school from the late 19th century into the 1950s. After its closure the schoolhouse

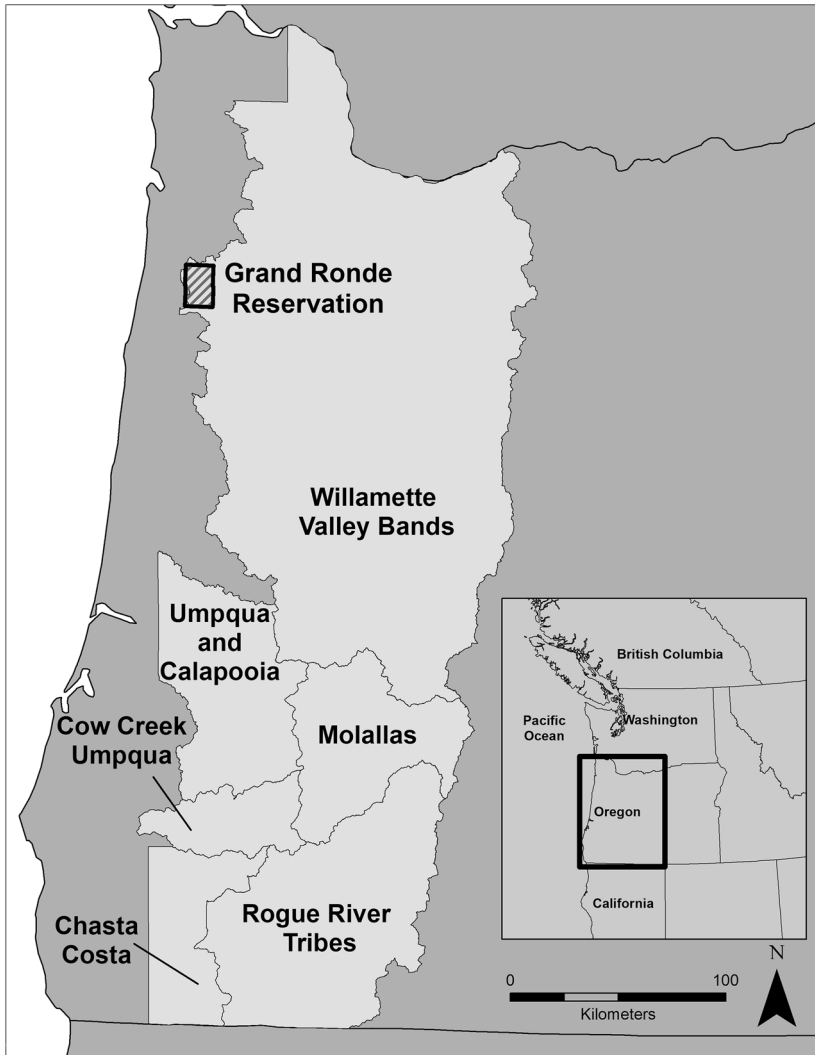


Figure 1. Map of the Grand Ronde Reservation and territories ceded by treaty

building served as a space for religious and cultural community events until it was demolished in early 2015 due to its deteriorated structural integrity. In contrast to familiar, traumatic histories of tribal education (Adams 1995; Surface-Evans 2016; Trafzer et al. 2006), research at the Grand Ronde Agency School offers an opportunity to tell a story punctuated by joy, hope, and belonging. Notably, the school remains a source of

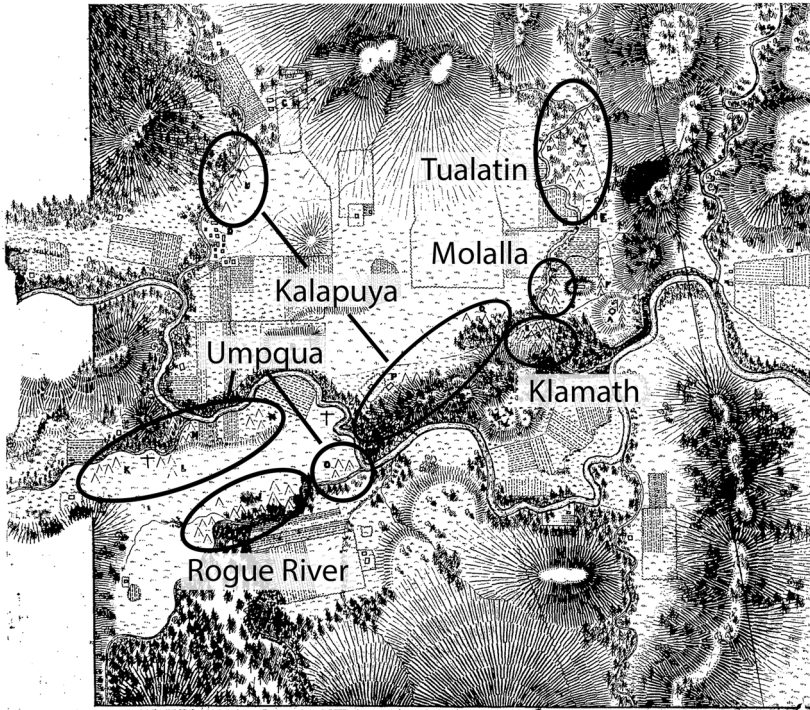


Figure 2. Lieutenant W.B. Hazen’s Map of Grand Ronde Indian Reservation, 1856

pride for the tribal community as tribal members served as teachers and administrators throughout its operation.

Archaeological research at the property sheds light on the material aspects of schooling and childhood on the reservation. Excavation of the schoolhouse privy, which appears to have been used for a relatively short time span (c. 1900–1945), has uncovered a dense material record of students’ and teachers’ daily life—everything from what they ate, to the teaching tools they used, to contraband such as a Superman comic and Beecham’s Chewing Gum that children threw down the hole, perhaps to avoid punishment (Figure 3). Economy of resources is a repeated narrative within school records and is observed materially through the abundance of still-sharp pencils worn down to the eraser.

Archival documents particularly underscore the social and political importance of food on the reservation and within the school. For example, one School Superintendent’s request to the Bureau of Indian Affairs to supply “candies, nuts, and oranges” for the “entertainment of the pupils” was summarily denied, as the children only deserved such treats on



Figure 3. Schoolhouse belongings (L–R: pencils, chalk, child-sized scissors)

Thanksgiving or Christmas. Yet other administrators reported the purchase of 2000 lb of salt salmon, a culturally important food, for the children. Paleoethnobotanical analysis of privy soils has identified an abundance of other culturally important foods and plants at the schoolhouse including strawberries (*Fragaria* sp.), blackberries (*Rubus* sp.), and huckleberries (*Vaccinium* sp.), the common introduced medicinal plantain (*Plantago lanceolatum*) and St. John's Wort (*Hypericum perforatum*). Elders' testimonies also recount that teachers led tours of native plants and foods as rewards for students' good behaviour. Together, these accounts point to a divide between the school's stated objectives—to civilize Grand Ronde children by training them to be farmers, blacksmiths, labourers, and housewives—and the local negotiation and refusal of these policies by parents and children at the school.

FMIA's investigations of early reservation settlements and the Grand Ronde Agency School provide a material understanding of daily life on the reservation, from its founding through the mid-20th century. The value of an indigenous and community-based-driven approach to recovering Grand Ronde's survivance lies in its ability to critically examine material and archival sources with community knowledge. Doing so not only leads to more comprehensive accounts of Grand Ronde history, it also recentres our interpretive gaze onto the intentions, strategies, and actions of indigenous peoples themselves. This reframing dislodges narratives rooted in settler colonial discourse, supplanting them with an interpretive process grounded equally in tribal histories and archaeological investigations.

Capacity Goal #3: Training the Next Generation

Few US field schools currently provide formal training in tribal historic preservation (Cipolla and Quinn 2016; Hunter 2008; Mills et al. 2008). Given that consultation with tribal nations is a growing aspect of heritage management in the USA, learning how to build meaningful consultation is a critical skill, one that most archaeological field school graduates lack. FMIA's 6-week residential field school fills this gap by offering tribal and non-tribal undergraduate and graduate students training in community-based participatory research and archaeological and ethnographic methods.

The FMIA field school is a natural extension of a community-based, indigenous archaeology that seeks to build the capacity of archaeologists and non-archaeologists—which we use here to refer to descendant, local, or affiliated communities as well as students—to substantively contribute to archaeological practice. FMIA is not unique in this regard; indeed, a substantial number of indigenous archaeologies carry out research within the context of an undergraduate field school (Cipolla and Quinn 2016; Gonzalez et al. 2006; Silliman 2008). For FMIA, the educational context of the field school reframes archaeological research from an extraction of information into a respectful and reciprocal exchange of knowledge. Furthermore, as co-directors of FMIA, the Grand Ronde HPO—as opposed to an outside individual or entity—teaches students directly about tribal history and archaeological practice. That opportunity alone is a compelling impetus for the HPO's sponsorship of the field course.

The FMIA field school trains students how to work with and for a tribal nation while also cultivating their ability to be active members of the research team. In doing so we seek to remedy a persistent problem with archaeological field training at the undergraduate level. Though field schools provide ample hands-on learning opportunities, students often walk away from projects with limited exposure to decision-making strategies. FMIA creates a dialogic learning environment that builds the capacity of our students to be equal and active members of the research team in four ways.

First, the training programme is premised on the understanding that students should leave the project with a comprehensive training in all research methods employed on the project. Before FMIA students begin to work at historic properties, they spend 2 weeks participating in a variety of seminar, laboratory, and field-based workshops on community-based research, survey, mapping, excavation strategies, and research design. These workshops provide foundational knowledge in both the theory and application of these methods and provide students with a low-stakes learning environment in which they can practice methods prior to using them to

study tribal heritage. Students are then rotated through all work assignments—from surface collection to site mapping to geophysical survey to excavation—to ensure that they have additional time and experience using all project field methods.

Second, throughout the summer the field school travels to Mt. Hebo, Tillamook Bay, downtown Salem, Sauvie's Island, Fort Vancouver, and other places important to the Grand Ronde community. During these trips, tribal members and HPO staff share relevant histories about the cultural landscapes of these places, reinforcing a central teaching: that the history of Grand Ronde is inscribed in place and remembered through the persistence of practices. Furthermore, field trips give students an opportunity to experience, first-hand, the variety of places and cultural landscapes that the Grand Ronde HPO actively works to protect (Figure 4).

Third, students receive similar lessons while living *in community*, the phrase that is used to describe the experience and attendant obligations of living on the reservation and contributing to community life. The HPO and individual tribal members have invited the field school to participate in Veteran's Powwow, ceremonies at Achaf-Hammi (the Grand Ronde plankhouse), and Youth Culture Camp, as well as partake in basketry classes and community plant-gathering trips. Like field trips, these activities illustrate the interconnections between people, places, and practices and demonstrate what it means to keep community at Grand Ronde. The lessons students learn in community about tribal members' efforts to revitalize cultural practices personalize abstract debates about archaeological ethics and heritage management.

Finally, following training workshops, all students consult with HPO and FMIA staff to develop an independent research project that contributes to the HPO's capacity to care for tribal heritage. In applying their own knowledge to produce work of benefit to the tribe, student-directed research reflects a key learning goal of our indigenous and community-based approach to education: fostering student investment in and ownership over the process of research (Freire 2000). Completed student projects include managing the FMIA Facebook page and public blog; taking a lead role in geophysical survey data collection and analysis; creating artefact illustrations; producing digital story maps; project photography; and others. At the end of the field school, students submit their projects to the HPO for future use in historic preservation efforts and public outreach. They also showcase their work on the FMIA public blog (blogs.uw.edu/gonzalsa/FMIA). Curating student work on the blog provides an additional avenue for the Grand Ronde community to learn about FMIA's research, while creating a venue for students to reflect on their learning by communicating their work to a broader public audience.



Figure 4. FMIA students learning in place and in community (L–R: UW graduate student Yoli Ngandali processes maple bark; Brown University graduate student Eve Dewan identifies plants; San Francisco State University student Rex Halafih at Mt. Hebo)

Field School Outcomes

The FMIA field school has been transformative—for the HPO, project staff, and our students. For the HPO, the training programme is an opportunity to build the capacity of Grand Ronde tribal members to work within the HPO while directly teaching future archaeologists how to engage in collaboration and work with tribal heritage. To date the FMIA field school has completed three field seasons and trained a total of 30 undergraduate and graduate students from a variety of institutions, including four tribally affiliated undergraduate students (Table 2). The majority of these students have continued to work with FMIA as interns within the Pacific Northwest Archaeology Lab at UW and, for students from Oregon, as interns within the HPO.

While one of the primary goals of the field school is to provide tribal members with a pathway for employment by the HPO, the office has limited hiring capacity. Given this constraint, the HPO and FMIA currently sponsor the participation of 1–2 Grand Ronde tribal participants per field season, with preference given to applicants who are currently enrolled in

Table 2 Demographics of Field Methods in Indigenous Archaeology field school, 2015–2017

	2015	2016	2017	
FMIA students	Non-native	9	Non-native	5
	Grand Ronde	2	Grand Ronde (Spouse)	1
	Indigenous (Mexican–American)	1	Indigenous (Mexican–American) Pacific Islander (1 Tongan; 1 Filipino)	2
FMIA staff	Total	12	10	4
	Undergraduate	0	Undergraduate	0
	Graduate (UW)	1	Graduate (2 UW; 1 Brown)	3
Institutional affiliations	Total	1	3	8
	University of Washington	11	University of Washington	8
	Western Oregon University	1	Brown University	1
Institutional affiliations	Portland State University	1	Pacific Lutheran University	1
			San Francisco State University	1
			Western Oregon University	2
Total	13	13	13	
			University of Washington	7
			Brown University	1
			Oregon State University	1
			Pacific Lutheran University	1
			Washington State University	1
			Western Oregon University	1
			PLU	1
			WOU	1
			Brown	1
			Grand Ronde (Elder)	1
			Indigenous (Maasai)	1

Table 3 Former FMIA student career and job placements

	FMIA field season ^a			Total
	2015	2016	2017	
Degree in process (B.A.)	1	4	4	9
Degree completed (B.A.)	11	6	0	17
<i>Undergraduate appointments</i>				
PNW Archaeology Lab Internship	8	4	2	14
HPO Internship	1	2	0	3
Grand Ronde Culture Committee	0	0	1	1
<i>Post-grad appointments</i>				
Grand Ronde collections manager	1	0	0	1
Enrolled in Ph.D. programme (archaeology)	1	0	0	1
Ph.D. applicant(s)	2	0	1	3
Seasonal archaeologist	2	0	0	2
PNW Archaeology Lab, Paid Intern	0	2	0	2

^aField season refers to first year of FMIA involvement

undergraduate degrees in a field related to historic preservation. Of the four Grand Ronde-affiliated graduates of FMIA, two continue to work with the HPO, one has applied to M.A. and Ph.D. programmes, and one is working in a related field (Table 3). Both the HPO and FMIA view these tribal appointments, as well as the involvement of a number of indigenous-identified students, as positive indicators of the project's success in developing a pipeline for indigenous archaeologists. However, despite the project and HPO's concerted efforts to recruit non-Grand Ronde tribal students to the programme, none have enrolled in the course. Based on feedback from local tribal HPOs, there is considerable interest in programme, but its 6-week length makes it exceedingly difficult for individuals with family commitments or those who are currently employed in HPO programmes to attend. As such, FMIA plans to host a 2-week intensive training programme in the summer of 2019 that is specifically targeted for early career tribal heritage managers. We are hopeful that this alternative format will increase the accessibility of the training programme for tribal students.

Indigenous Archaeologies: Building the Capacity of Archaeology

Although the primary purpose of Field Methods in Indigenous Archaeology is designed to fulfil the specific needs of the Grand Ronde Historic Preservation Office, its capacity building goals enhance the ability of

archaeologists to work with and care for tribal heritage. Here, we briefly consider the specific methodological, interpretive, and relational impacts of FMIA's indigenized field practice for archaeology.

First, the application of a low-impact archaeological methodology for studying Grand Ronde heritage encapsulates the real potential of collaborative and epistemically diverse thinking. Working across archaeological and Grand Ronde perspectives inspired creative thinking and ultimately alternate routes for working with and coming to know Grand Ronde tribal cultural resources. This included adapting the catch-and-release surface collection strategy (Gonzalez 2016) to the unique cultural and site-based contexts of Grand Ronde. The success FMIA and the HPO have had in using catch-and-release signals its broader potential as an alternate method of intensive surface collection for both tribal historic preservation programmes and archaeologists.

While many of the methods used in the FMIA low-impact archaeological methodology—airial and pedestrian survey, intensive surface collection, site mapping, etc.—are common archaeological tools, their overlapping use alongside tribal protocols and emphasis on maximizing information gained while minimizing impacts is novel. FMIA demonstrates archaeologists' capacity to work with tribes to implement plans for the protection of cultural resources that are culturally sensitive, context-dependent, and promote their in situ preservation. FMIA's work is located on the reservation and unique in that it is a partnership where the HPO has shared—rather than consulting—authority. Yet we remain hopeful that FMIA serves as an example for other heritage managers of how to work collaboratively with a tribe to define culturally sensitive and effective heritage protocols. In other cases, collaborative research with tribes is leading to creative research, mitigation, and heritage management plans that integrate tribal knowledges for the long-term benefit of cultural and environmental resources (Edwards and Thorsgard 2012; Lightfoot et al. 2013b; Murray et al. 2009; Welch et al. 2009). These examples further demonstrate how exploring intersecting principles of heritage management enhance our collective ability to care for tribal heritage across multiple contexts—from the Academy to cultural resource management.

Second, evaluations of indigenous archaeologies commonly highlight the significant interpretive benefits of engaging with oral histories and traditions. Integrating tribal histories with archaeological and other lines of evidence adds historical and epistemic depth to material interpretations of reservation life. Conversely, the use of archaeological methods and recovery of belongings opens up new pathways for remembering and learning from the past. While there is continued scepticism expressed within the Grand Ronde community regarding the cultural appropriateness of unearthing belongings, there has also been consensus among members of the Culture

Committee and Tribal Council about the value of remembering tribal history materially. In the relatively short time this project has initiated oral history interviews with elders, fragments of the past—child-sized pairs of scissors, pencils worn down to stubs, slivers of still-sharpened chalk—have ignited discussions about what it was like to grow up in community. Certainly, without these tools the community would still know its history, but the tactile sense of history encapsulated in belongings elicits strong emotional and memory triggers that provides a crucial context for collective remembering.

Finally, as we take stock of indigenous, collaborative archaeologies' contribution to our discipline, an opportunity exists to ask how these forms of practice transform the relations that exist within our own disciplinary community. In creating a co-investigatory research project, FMIA has approached field training as an opportunity to create a more democratic approach to archaeology that builds the capacity of both community members and students of archaeology to be active, equal research partners. FMIA counters an hierarchical approach to field training by cultivating students' knowledge of archaeological and indigenous research methods so that they have the confidence to apply their training to solve problems. FMIA thus attempts to *create knowledge with* all of its partners and, in the process, foster a learning environment where teachers have the opportunity to become students and students teachers. According to Freire (2000:69), in resituating ourselves as teachers–learners and students–teachers we all become “subjects, not only in the task of unveiling [our] reality, and coming to know it critically, but in the task of re-creating that knowledge”. This is the goal of an indigenous and community-based pedagogy: to mutually recognize our collective selves as subjects who, in making our worlds, have the power to transform it.

FMIA, through its research and training programme, is doing its part to create an archaeology for the seventh generation, one that is designed to *work for* communities and contribute to the next generation's capacity to care for tribal heritage. The lessons students take away from indigenous and community-based education are important. Programmes such as FMIA ensure the next generation of archaeologists and tribal heritage managers view community-based collaboration, low-impact field methodologies, and epistemically diverse thinking as vital elements of archaeological research. While archaeology and historic preservation are not the only critical needs of an indigenous nation like Grand Ronde, the tribe's ability to exercise sovereignty in relation to the study and representation of their heritage is vitally important and intersects with the health and well-being of the tribal community. In providing both tribal and non-tribal students with opportunities to participate in indigenizing archaeology, FMIA and the Grand Ronde HPO have had the opportunity—and indeed obligation—to

demonstrate the difference working with and alongside a community makes so that this lesson might, in turn, be demonstrated for others. It is in these spaces of learning and doing together that we begin to create alternative futures that respect our collective humanity and dignity.

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