

Considering the Past, Present and Futures of Indigenous Archaeology

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Introduction

Indigenous archaeology¹ arose from the still-smouldering (but still hot) ashes of colonialism during the final decades of the twentieth century to offer both a critique of mainstream archaeology and a way to expand and make it a more meaningful and ethical enterprise that addresses the needs of Indigenous and other minority and marginalised peoples. It has since become a familiar feature on the archaeological landscape, one that reflects a shift from the broad goals of a neoevolutionary, universalist approach to the archaeological record (a shared record of humanity) to one that acknowledges that record as the legacy and indeed property of specific descendant communities. It also provides an opportunity, one of several, to consider what constitutes ‘heritage’ and how and by whom it should be protected and managed.

What has followed has exceeded expectations in many respects. The early years were largely oriented to a “working together” model (e.g., Davidson et al. 1995; Dongoske et al. 2000), an avenue that continues to have widespread application. But other approaches and goals quickly emerged that not only highlighted Indigenous goals but situated Indigenous groups and individuals as the primary decision makers and beneficiaries—from interpretations based on Indigenous epistemology and traditional knowledge, to projects aimed at reconnecting

1 Although some colleagues use the plural ‘Indigenous Archaeologies,’ I adhere to the singular form, which is encompassing enough. One could as easily justify pluralising the main discipline of Archaeology because it is also so multifaceted, both in theory and in practice.

youth to elders and the land, to assertions of sovereignty, human rights and social justice.

Today, Indigenous individuals throughout the world are not only fully engaged in archaeology but are doing so in many different ways. This collection provides a glimpse into this continually evolving realm, showcasing some of its breadth to readers who may have previously had only limited awareness of it.

My contribution to this collection is not as discussant of the seven papers—they stand strongly on their own and need no assessment or summation. Instead, I take the opportunity to situate this set of papers in the larger context of Indigenous archaeology by first providing a point of reference and then by considering the four timely questions that editor Natasha Rai set out for the contributors, which considered theory, methodology, reconciliation and decolonisation. The other theme that factors into this collection is that Indigenous archaeology is often a strongly personal endeavour, and my own essay is no exception as I predicate my words on personal experiences and lessons learned through working with and for Indigenous colleagues and communities since the 1980s. It is in this regard that I bear witness to this collection and to the larger enterprise it reflects.

Bearing witness

For many Native American and First Nations groups in the Pacific Northwest of North America, ‘bearing witness’ is a central part of social interactions, ceremony and events for which certain individuals observe, remember and share with others what transpired. As Simons et al. (2020: 23) note,

Traditionally, and to this day, Salishan hosts “call witnesses” to observe the work done at a significant event, to approve its social, spiritual and legal legitimacy, and to carry news of the proceedings to those who could not attend. Witnesses are expected to stand ready to testify to the specifics of how the event was conducted and what it signified should it later come into question... As the [Truth and Reconciliation Commission] states ... witnessing means carrying what you have seen back home and carrying that knowledge into the future.

One lesson I learned early in working with communities is the importance of properly introducing oneself, usually phrased as “who are your people?” In her Introduction, Natasha Rai honours that custom by telling us who she is. I follow suit on that here. I am from the northeastern United States and my ancestors are from Greece (primarily) and the Ukraine. My initial career trajectory was steeped in processualism and oriented to early postglacial land use and human ecology. However, as a result of circumstance—initially as a Research Associate at the American Indian Archaeological Institute in Connecticut in the mid-1980s, working to restore erased Native American history, and then, and much more significantly, teaching for 15 years in a post-secondary programme on the Tk’emlups te Secwepemc Reserve in British Columbia, starting in 1991—that trajectory changed radically. What followed has been the privilege to witness the emergence and development of Indigenous archaeology, and to participate in this endeavour. I have borne witness by observing, engaging in and then sharing what I learned through teaching, publications and presentations, both academic and public, on Indigenous archaeology’s history, its practitioners, its applications, its theoretical underpinnings and the reaction it has elicited from both supporters and critics.² All of this informs the comments that follow.

Coming of age

Indigenous Archaeology emerged as a named entity in the late twentieth century, initially characterised by some as yet another of the suite of new archaeological flavours appearing at that time—feminist, Marxist, critical interpretive, phenomenological, etc. However, Indigenous archaeology is really not as recent a development as it initially appears. Of course, Indigenous peoples had long served as guides and labourers for archaeological excavations and anthropological expeditions, but some had a very different role. As Rai notes in the introduction, Indigenous Australians were already involved by the mid-nineteenth century, citing Spriggs and Russell (2023). By the early twentieth century, Julio Tello in Peru, Manuel Gamio in Mexico and Arthur and Bertha Parker in the United States were directing archaeological research (Nicholas et al. 2022). In later de-

² I did indicate the personal dimension here. See, for examples, Nicholas and Andrews 1997a; Nicholas 2008, 2010a; Nicholas et al. 2022; Nicholas and Watkins 2024.

cludes others would follow, including Kamoya Kimeu in Africa, Badger Bates in Australia, Robert Hall in the United States and Daniel Weetaluktuk in Canada. In the 1970s, both the Navajo and the Zuni Nations in the American Southwest established their own archaeology departments.

What is especially significant today is exponential growth in the number of Indigenous practitioners involved in archaeology and heritage management. Not that long ago I knew or knew of most of them in North America, many in Australia and some in Africa, Scandinavia, the Pacific and elsewhere. That is not the case today; in fact, the number likely now exceeds well over a thousand worldwide. To provide just one example, when I was compiling the edited volume *Being and Becoming Indigenous Archaeologists* (Nicholas 2010a), it was a challenge to find the 36 contributors; this was not the case just 15 years later with the follow-up volume, *Working as Indigenous Archaeologists: Reckoning New Paths Between Past and Present Lives* (Nicholas and Watkins 2024), for which we could only include but a fraction of those on our list. What we have today is a remarkable development, what can be considered a critical mass reflecting tremendous diversity worldwide that will have a profound effect on archaeology and heritage studies worldwide.

Another point of reference is the accompanying growth in the number of publications, projects and presentations. One important point of reference is the 1999 Chacmool Conference on “Indigenous Peoples and Archaeology,”³ and the proceedings volume that followed (Peck et al. 2003). While there had been earlier conferences devoted to Indigenous heritage, this was the first explicitly devoted to ‘Indigenous archaeology.’ Looking at the session titles⁴ is insightful

3 The Chacmool Conference was an annual, student-organised conference held at the University of Calgary (Canada) from 1968 to 2017, with a different theme year. Each conference was followed by a proceedings volume that included most but not all presentations. Unfortunately, only a few of the volumes are available online. The final proceedings volume, “Chacmool at 50: The Past, Present, and Future of Archaeology,” is available here: <https://prism.ucalgary.ca/items/5981b67c-ce40-4098-9f35-6042d623f455/full>

4 Space limitations preclude listing the presentation titles within each session or the plenary titles.

as it indicates that some of the prominent themes touched on in this volume were already being explored 25 years ago (table 1)—education, heritage management, traditional knowledge, theory, worldview, materiality, politics and much more.

Among the topics addressed in the 1999 Chacmool presentations were community-based initiatives, field school programmes and other early forays into what was then a still nebulous realm; other participants considered what *might* or *should* emerge in the coming years. Aspects of the present collection reflects on the ‘coming of age’ that was anticipated at that conference. Consider the topics covered in this issue:

- the importance of relationships with non-human entities and the responsibilities humans have to them in keeping the world in order, with archaeology just one avenue to understanding/demonstrating that relationship—Blake and Jones;
- a discussion of relationality and epistemology that reveal the chasm that can separate Western archaeological endeavours and goals from Indigenous ones due to different worldviews, geographies and materialities—Bridges;
- a case study of how museums can serve community needs while also confronting the legacy of colonialism by honouring the ancestors whose physical remains and likenesses have been the focus of public curiosity, scientific study and local repatriation efforts—Kotze;
- the value of collaborative, inter-cultural, community-based approaches to archaeological survey and how this can inform academic research and cultural tourism regarding local values associated with historic places and objects—Lepori et al.;
- a very personal account by an Indigenous bioarchaeologist who shares her struggle in finding the right path to the study of the ancestral human remains (a child), one that is respectful and meaningful—Nhatarâmiak;
- an Indigenous-centred approach to heritage management that first confronts heritage policies tainted by colonialist interests, and then offers recommendations for more effective protection of Indigenous heritage sites—Thomas and Connaughton; and

- the importance of traditional knowledge and community consultation in understanding ‘rock art,’ an approach that can not only enhance, but correct the more usual approaches taken by archaeologists—Van Alst.

Four questions

The invitation that editor Rai sent to prospective contributors requested consideration of four questions. Collectively these questions reflect key elements of the current discourse aimed at more informed archaeological practice, but also much bigger issues of social justice and human rights. Below I offer comments on each to bookend editor Rai’s perceptive introductory essay.

1) Is it reasonable to bound the numerous and diverse applications of Indigenous Archaeology into one umbrella theory?

The idea of an overarching theory for Indigenous archaeology in its many manifestations is an intriguing one. My position is that not only is such a theory absent, but it is also both untenable and unwanted. One way to approach this is by noting that Indigenous archaeology has long been aligned with the post-processual turn in archaeology. This grouped it with Indigenous, feminist, Marxist, phenomenological and other archaeologies based on a number of features, including its critique of mainstream archaeology. Emphasising this alignment is constraining, however.

The three big elements of contemporary archaeology—culture history, processual and post-processual—are useful constructs but the boundaries between them are fuzzy, permeable and flexible. Culture history-based approaches, for example, are often an essential part of Indigenous interest in a reconfigured history. For example, Eldon Yellowhorn’s (2002) so-called internalist approach substituted Peigan historical referents (e.g., “Dog Days,” “Horse Days,”) for the more usual “Archaic”, etc. Culture history, of course, is also the most common dimension of contemporary archaeology,⁵ and dominates heritage management. Those Indigenous individuals and groups, such as the Tsleil-Waututh Nation in

5 Adherence to the arbitrary “prehistory”/“history” divide is dangerous, as Lightfoot (1995) warns, leaving Indigenous peoples without a history.

British Columbia, who are running their own heritage management companies (see Thomas and Connaughton's article) are necessarily aligned with provincial, state or territorial policies governing heritage and this extends to those nations that have their own heritage policies and permitting systems.

One can also argue for a processual thread within Indigenous archaeology, especially when considering the former's conception of culture as systemically integrated with the environment. Processualism is often referred to as science-based (albeit often framed by a neoevolutionary orientation). While a science-based archaeology is not excluded in Indigenous archaeology it is often not prioritised.

For the 1999 Chacmool conference I convened the session "Seeking a Theoretical Foundation for Indigenous Archaeologies" (table 2). My own position then, which I would later refine (Nicholas 2008), was that Indigenous archaeology's theoretical orientation could be characterised as an amalgamation of Indigenous epistemology, sensibilities, and worldview, that intersects or resonates with (but not a product of) feminist theory, Marxist theory and critical theory. The Chacmool session provided some early insights into an archaeology informed by/contributing to Indigenous interests and needs. McNiven's (2016) more recent review expands on this considerably.

There are additional challenges in archaeology (ostensibly the study of humanity through material culture)—those relating to what is not visible, such as memory and commemoration, materiality, intangible heritage and relations with other-than-human beings—that are essential aspects of Indigenous interests (e.g., Arthur 2019; Brady et al. 2024; Crellin et al. 2020; David 2003; Nicholas 2017; Woodfill and Henderson 2024). That said, the larger challenge for archaeologists, whether Indigenous or not, is navigating between and within different epistemological realms, as exemplified by Bridge's very timely contribution here.

The bottom line, however, is that no Indigenous community, let alone any descendant community, is concerned with 'theory' in any form—actor-network, entanglement, agency, etc. They want to know about their ancestor's lives, their belongings and their connections to the land. One place where all of this comes together are osteobiographies. These studies, rigorously entwined in scientific and local interpretive methods, classification and knowledge (e.g., Brownlee

2018), are highly desired by communities.

2) What methodologies should we use to integrate both Indigenous epistemologies and Western archaeological practice? How do Indigenous archaeologists deal with this?

The goals and methods of Indigenous archaeology are clearly diverse, ranging from ways of knowing and doing that are guided by traditional knowledge, values and worldviews to those aligned with familiar ‘Western’ science. There are a variety of established methods for bridging these, including community-based participatory research and related approaches (see Atalay 2012; Kovach 2009). Other highly relevant avenues are ethnographic archaeology (e.g., Hamilakis and Anagnostopoulos 2009) and ethnocritical archaeology (Zimmerman 2008), along with Van Alst and Shield Chief Gover’s (2024) new collection that focuses explicitly on archaeological methodology employed by Indigenous practitioners.

There are some interesting parallels between Indigenous and feminist methodology (Conkey 2005), with each committed to changing archaeology so that an explicitly ‘feminist’ or ‘Indigenous’ archaeology was no longer required. ‘Both not only accept but expect ambiguities and seeming contradictions; fuzzy knowledge is not eschewed because it reveals a view of the world not filtered through the polarising lens of a Cartesian worldview, while also recognising a multiplicity of interpretations of observations.

The distinction often made between ‘Western’ knowledge (re: science-based) and ‘Indigenous knowledge’ (re: oral history based) is problematic because it ignores the fact that knowledge is knowledge, regardless of how obtained. The purpose of Archaeology (and other ‘Western’ sciences), is to observe, describe, measure, analyse and explain the world and everything in it in ways informed or instigated by philosophical understandings, ideology and worldview (often aligned with the Enlightenment). So-called Indigenous knowledge is very simi-

6 However, see Nicholas 2010b for a counter argument of sorts. Also, while some promote ethnocritical archaeology as inclusive of Indigenous archaeology, this distinction may be meaningless to Indigenous peoples who see the latter as an archaeology about them, by them, and for them.

lar, incorporating ways of creating, preserving, sharing, teaching about the world (and all of the beings and life forces within it), through observation, experiment, belief and other means. These may complement Western sources of knowledge or contradict them.

The Integration of oral histories with a science-based approach is exemplified by a recent study by Taylor et al. (2023) on the dispersal of horses in North America. Although this is not an example of Indigenous archaeology per se (although at least one Indigenous archaeologist was on the team), the study fully integrated Native American oral histories and local knowledge.

A much more ambitious project that foregrounds Indigenous knowledge and values within a science-based approach is the Center for Braiding Indigenous Knowledge Systems (CBIKS), directed by Sonya Atalay, which is funded by the National Science Foundation. The centre,

Connect[s] Indigenous knowledges with mainstream “Western” sciences to...work on complex, evolving challenges brought on by climate change, including dire impacts affecting land, water, plant and animal life; the danger posed to irreplaceable archaeological sites, sacred places and cultural heritage; and the challenges of changing food systems, all of which disproportionately affect Indigenous communities (University of Massachusetts 2023).

By taking a transdisciplinary approach, CBIKS will use community-based research to undertake place-based studies and projects in partnership with institutions and 57 Indigenous communities in eight international ‘hubs’ in the “...U.S., Canada, Aotearoa New Zealand and Australia” (University of Massachusetts 2023). Another example of Big Indigenous Research, is the ARC Centre of Excellence for Indigenous and Environmental Histories and Futures (2024), funded by the Australian Research Council of which archaeology is also an important but not exclusive element. Although such large, intersectoral and well-funded projects are unusual, they do mark a significant change in the recognition of Indigenous science by national funding agencies.

Finally, underlying research methods is the need for appropriate research ethics policies that recognise Indigenous values relating to heritage objects, places and landscape features, as well as genetic materials. Universities, professional organisations and funding agencies, and of course individual researchers, must ensure that their work, including the dissemination of research data, does no harm (e.g., Kowal et al. 2023).

3) How can Indigenous Archaeology be used as a path towards healing and reconciliation?

Often overused and not well understood, ‘reconciliation’ is a term used to acknowledge past wrongs (something relatively easy for national governments to do), but it must I argue also fundamentally mean changing how things are done (something not so easy). While state governments in many settler countries have belatedly sought reconciliation, their Indigenous populations have moved on to demand *decolonisation*—two very different goals. Even in countries such as Australia and Canada where national Truth and Reconciliation Commissions have been formed, putting their detailed recommendations into action can be extraordinarily difficult (e.g., Supernant 2020).

Healing—the restorative actions taken by individuals or groups who have been harmed by political or social injustice or inaction—is, in a sense, the other side of reconciliation. For many Indigenous peoples, heritage is an essential part of their identity, history and wellbeing. The loss of heritage objects and places due to their destruction, appropriation or neglect by those charged with protecting them amounts to a type of violence (Nicholas and Smith 2020). In such cases, healing requires not only the culturally appropriate means of healing but the cessation of the harm(s). Several recent projects showcase how archaeology can contribute to healing by integrating emotion and emphasising listening (Schaepe et al. 2017; Schmidt and Kehoe 2019; Supernant et al. 2020).

Effective healing and reconciliation require Indigenous individuals, communities and nations to control their heritage on their own terms. This means that the powers-that-be in settler countries must acknowledge Indigenous heritage sovereignty, something not really happening. On the other hand, the accompanying need for enough individuals with the knowledge and experience to take on the responsibility of necessary field programmes, research, protection and manage-

ment on behalf of their nations is being addressed through the rapid growth of Indigenous archaeology worldwide.

Yet other types of harm can be more subtle or complicated to heal or reconcile because of tensions between Indigenous nations, communities or clans. In British Columbia, for example, conflicts over heritage matters have arisen between Wet'suwet'en hereditary chiefs and elected leadership over the Coastal GasLink Pipeline (Simmons 2021). Ultimately, this is tribal business and no one else's, so resolution is necessarily an internal matter. However, in situations like this it may be very difficult for archaeologists, including those who themselves are Indigenous, to remain neutral.

Finally, what happens when archaeological and historical data do not align with oral histories and oral traditions—a situation that may also cause harm even when revealed by well-intentioned and community-directed projects? Despite the increased recognition of oral histories (e.g., Wilson et al. 2024; Nicholas and Markey 2014), there are those who have questioned their accuracy (e.g., Mason 2006). How this may play out is illustrated by the recent exchange between Henige (2019) and Menzies and Martindale (2019) in the Northwest Coast. Again, Indigenous methodology provides one avenue for resolution (see Echo-Hawk 2000).

4) What role does Indigenous Archaeology play in decolonisation efforts? Can we take this further?

'Decolonisation' has become a keyword in most discourse on Indigenous relations in the early twenty-first century. However, how it is envisioned ultimately requires a significant, if not radical restricting of power relationships between the descendants of the colonised and the colonisers. This extends into the realm of archaeology. Some years ago, in considering the challenges that Indigenous peoples have long faced with archaeology, I had an epiphany: "I do not think it a stretch to view archaeologists as historically being the bourgeoisie, monopolising the means of knowledge production and being the primary beneficiaries, and Indigenous peoples as the proletariat, still with limited access to the benefits arising from that knowledge production" (fig. 1; Nicholas 2006). That situation is beginning to change with the rapid increase in the number of Indigenous archaeologists.

Nonetheless, the interests of Indigenous and other minority peoples in settler countries remain underserved. Many have heralded the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) as a means to redress Indigenous concerns. It is an important part of the current discourse in Indigenous archaeology regarding social justice and heritage protection (Laluk et al. 2022). Yet putting UNDRIP and other ‘voluntary’ measures such as Canada’s Truth and Reconciliation Commission’s recommendations (2015) into practice remains fraught with problems (McAnany et al. 2022) because it requires those currently holding power over Indigenous matters (heritage and otherwise) to relinquish or at least share in decision making. How this will factor into archaeology and heritage management in the signatory countries is now anyone’s guess, but Indigenous archaeology is going to have a prominent role.

In a conversation I had with noted Māori scholar Dr Linda Tuhiwai Smith in 2015, she posed the question “What happens after decolonisation?” This is an important question to ponder but one we do not really need to answer because decolonisation is “both a process and a goal as much a process as it is a goal; as much a political act as one of renewal and revitalization. It is also a reassertion of Indigenous identity and intent in moving towards a desired but still-elusive postcolonial world” (Schaepe et al. 2020: 63). Whether framed as ‘decolonising,’ or ‘postcolonial,’ ‘anti-colonial’ or even ‘unsettling,’ I think that those involved in Indigenous archaeology have a good sense of what a better future should look like (Lemos 2023; Lydon and Rizvi 2010; Pagán-Jiménez 2004; Zimmerman 2024).

Conclusions

Indigenous archaeology has emerged as an exciting, multicultural, intersectoral enterprise that—in theory, method, goals and application—extends well beyond the familiar bounds of archaeology. For Indigenous peoples, archaeology offers one avenue—sometimes an important one, but often not—to information and insights into their heritage. Indeed, many do not need archaeology to tell them what they already know through other means. However, when archaeology is done with, for, and by Indigenous peoples, it is directed to/by community interests, needs and values, and thus meaningfully connects new information about the past with what is already known. Most importantly, it is an approach based

on Indigenous terms, which stress relationships, reciprocity, responsibilities and respect.

What lies ahead? I have pluralised ‘futures’ in the title of this paper because Indigenous archaeology can and will have many different trajectories, including those indicated in the contributions to this volume. However, rather than I refrain what those futures may be, I instead identify seven themes that (will) figure prominently in Indigenous archaeology:

- *Different epistemological regimes.* Negotiating between these is required not only in the practice of archaeology and heritage management, but also in getting non-Indigenous policy makers, as well as the public, to acknowledge and respect unfamiliar conceptions of heritage and their material expressions.

- *Contradictory results.* There are numerous instances where archaeological studies complement oral histories but also those that do not support or even contradict traditional knowledge. Those instances of contradiction have been used by critics of archaeology/oral history to deny the reliability of one or the other.

- *Defining ‘Evidence.’* Even more problematic is the question of what constitutes ‘evidence’ or truth (in an era of ‘truth and reconciliation’). Indigenous peoples seldom turn to archaeology to validate their histories. Yet there are highly sensitive situations where archaeological data are rejected or misinterpreted (e.g., unmarked graves versus natural anomalies) because they challenge beliefs held by some.

- *Quality of research.* Not all archaeology is done to the same standards, and some work—regardless of who does it—may be below standard or simply poorly done. This can be particularly problematic when Indigenous communities rely on those whose work is inadequate (see Nicholas and Andrews 1997b).

- *A racialised archaeology?* Is Indigenous archaeology a race-based enterprise? There are many non-Indigenous individuals (myself included) aligned with it—does this matter? It may, for reasons outlined by Echo-Hawk and Zimmerman (2006) but also in terms of the current discourse on identity politics. Some colleagues with Indigenous ancestry simply do not identify as Indigenous because they are apprehensive about being called out. Issues of representation,

voice and Indigeneity continue to loom large.

- *Critical self-awareness.* David Clarke's (1973) perceptive assessment of archaeology's "loss of innocence" stresses the value of critical self-reflection (his "critical self-consciousness"). I expect to see valuable insights emerge when Indigenous scholars deconstruct Indigenous archaeology (e.g., Echo-Hawk 2010).

- *The Influence of Gender.* The degree of gender parity in Indigenous archaeology is remarkably high. Based on informal observations, there are as many women as men participating, maybe more so, along with Two Spirit, Queer and other individuals. This will undoubtedly influence research questions, goals, interpretations and benefits.

How and the degree to which these issues play out in the future will be part of the continued growth of Indigenous archaeology and demarginalizing descendant communities in the Archaeology.

The yet-to-complete first quarter of this century marks a coming of age for Indigenous archaeology. The number of Indigenous individuals involved in archaeology and heritage matters now must number in the thousands—something that could not be anticipated a decade ago. As another measure, the number of books, journal articles, blogs, symposia and other media output continues to grow exponentially, including (for this year alone) a new handbook of Indigenous archaeology (Smith et al. 2024), a book devoted to Indigenous archaeology methods (Van Alst and Shield Chief Gover 2024), a new collection of Indigenous archaeology autobiographies (Nicholas and Watkins 2024) and this journal issue. All of this points to bright futures for Indigenous archaeology.

One final instance of bearing witness. One thing I have heard repeatedly within Indigenous communities, stressed by both leadership and citizens, is "We are tired of talking; we want action," in response to countless meetings with government representatives and others. Indigenous archaeology promises action and delivers on it.

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Thursday

Opening Ceremony – Reg Crowshoe (Blackfoot Nation)

Plenary Session: “Honoring the Past”

George Nicholas

Russell Collier (Gitxsan Treaty Office)

Sessions

“Seeking a Theoretical Foundation for Indigenous Archaeologies” (George Nicholas)

“Indigenous World Views and the Archaeological Record” (Alice Kehoe)

Friday

Plenary Session: “Discussing the Present”

James Chatters

Thomas Morning Owl (Confederated Umatilla Tribes)

Sessions

“Cooperation and Education: A Two-Way Street” (Marjorie Connolly)

“Archaeology, Tourism and Economics” (Chip Colwell)

“The Three “R’s”: Rights, Respect and Representation” (Claire Smith and Stephen Loring)

Saturday

Plenary Session: “Building the Future”

Ken Isaacson

Stephen Loring

Sessions

“Past, Present and Future Concerns in Indigenous Archaeology” (Neal Ferris)

“Strong Like Two People: Giving the Past a Future in Dogrib Education” (Judy Sterner)

Roundtable Discussion: All Participants

Table 1. Basic programme for the “Indigenous Peoples and Archaeology” Chacmool Conference, November 11-14, 1999 (Plenaries and session titles/organisers in order of schedule, table by George Nicholas).

- "Divergent Worldview and Ways of Knowing as a Source of Conflict between Archaeologists and Indigenous Peoples' — Heather Harris (Cree-Métis)
- "Towards Archaeological Histories of Urban Indian Communities in 19th-Century Massachusetts' — Russell Handsman
- "*Hisatqatsit Aw Maamatslaalwa* — Comprehending Out Past Lifeways: Thoughts About a Hopi Archaeology" — Micah Lomaomvaya (Hopi), and T.J. Ferguson
- "The Ghost Dance of Archaeology" — Tara Million (Saddle Lake Cree)
- "Traditional Knowledge in the Information Age" — Eldon Yellowhorn (Piikani)
- "Knowledge Systems, Theory, and Consensus Building: The Role of Evolution" — Christine VanPool and Todd VanPool
- "Essentializing Culture: Conceptual Hurdles to Pluralism in Archaeology" -- Jeremy Cunningham
- "Why Can't we Be Friends?" — Randall McGuire
- "Getting Things Right, Making Things New: Causes for Optimism in Reconciling Westn and Native American Knowledge" — Philip Duke and Cel Gachupin (Zia Pueblo)
- "The Politics of an Indigenous Archaeology" — Tamara Bray
- "A Necessary Tension: Integrating Processual, Post-processual, and Other Approaches to the Past" — George Nicholas
- Discussion: Larry Zimmerman, Claire Smith, Lester-Irabinna Rigney (Nurungga Nation [Australia])

Table 2. "Seeking a Theoretical Foundation for Indigenous Archaeologies" Presentations (George Nicholas, organiser), 1999 Chacmool Conference (table by George Nicholas).

One Big Problem: Unequal Power Relations

~~The Bourgeoisie~~
Archaeologists

- defined (still) by their monopolization of the means of production and subsistence

~~The Proletariat~~

Indigenous Peoples

- defined (still) by their lack of access to the means of production.

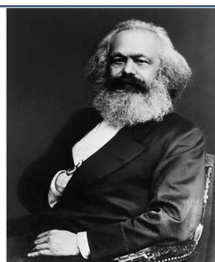


Fig. 1. One way to think about the historic relations between Indigenous peoples and the discipline of Archaeology (Nicholas 2006).